People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

University of Kasdi Merbah – Ouargla-

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of English Language and Literature

The Sixth Estate? Hollywood and the Making of the American Public Opinion vis-à-vis War on Terror and the Promotion of American Model of Democracy

A thesis submitted to the Department of English Language and Literature- Faculty of Letters and Languages- Kasdi Merbah University- Ouargla in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of 'Doctorat en Sciences' in American Civilization

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Dedication

To The Fascinating Three Abrahams; My Father, My Son and Lincoln

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Abstract

The present study explores the United States governmental and military institutions' trends in militarizing the entertainment industry epithet Hollywood to manufacture consent and dissent in American public opinion vis-à-vis war on terror and prompting the American model of democracy. The study, also, embarks on a historical survey to provide an informative and comprehensible scope on public opinion, its formalisms, mechanisms and notably its manifestations in American socio-political life with reference to salience and intensity. Furthermore, the study reveals the longstanding collaboration between Hollywood and US government's departments and military institutions and its vital role in rallying support, sustaining favorable views, and prompting endorsements for the government, the military and their actions through the positive depiction the US, its socio-economic models and its military, while propagating prejudicial stereotypes that perpetually vilifies 'the Other'. Moreover, the study opts for content analysis and film analysis methodology to analyze several films to prove that Hollywood deliberately constructs films to brainwash and manipulate American public opinion in regard to war on terrorism, and democracy promotion. Finally, the outcome of study is a testament of the reel power that attests Hollywood is wielding the most sophisticated propaganda and disinformation campaign in American history that influence, shape and define public opinion vis-à-vis salient issues in the American political life mainly war on terrorism.

Keywords: Hollywood, Public Opinion, Movies, Cinema, War on Terror, Democracy.

Résumé

L'étude présentée discute de l'influence du gouvernement américain et de son institution militaire dans la manipulation de l'opinion publique à travers l'industrie cinématographique qui tâche à manipuler l'opinion et la pensée populaire, afin de dominer la pensée globale des foules, les mettant sous contrôle et sans la moindre contestation ou opposition pour légitimer une guerre illusoire et injuste contre un terrorisme dessiné et façonné par une démocratie américaine utopique et sans failles.. Par ailleurs, l'étude révèle la collaboration inconditionnelle et historique entre les départements politico- militaires et l'industrie Hollywoodienne qui sert d'outil dur et efficace pour fédérer, allier et contrôler une opinion publique se nourrissant essentiellement d'œuvres artistique et cinématographique. Ce qui aboutit à un consentement indiscutable et intransigeant donnant une carte blanche de confiance à l'institution militaire et politique qui a son tour redouble de manipulation à travers le façonnage de paysages politico- social exemplaire et modéliste tout en montrant du doigt le mal et les mauvaises parties dangereuses et nuisibles. En outre. L'étude procédé à travers une méthodologie analytique en faisant une autopsie méticuleuse et pensée de plusieurs œuvres cinématographiques, pour pointer et collecter des preuves irréfutables, de la manipulation qu'exerce Hollywood pour diriger et contenir les foules via un lavage de cerveau sournois et imperceptible, pour lustrer et sacraliser cette guerre contre le terrorisme que mène cette démocratie modèle d'exemplarité et de leadership. Enfin, l'étude témoigne du vrai rôle que détient Hollywood pour exercer et exécuter une propagande sans précédent avec une compagne organisée et maléfique de désinformation sur l'histoire des états Unis ce qui influence, façonne et contrôle l'opinion publique vis à vis des questions majeurs et vitales.

Mots Clés : Hollywood, L'opinion publique, Films, Cinéma, La guerre contre le terrorisme, La démocratie.

List of Abbreviations

ABC	American Broadcasting Company
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
BAFTA	British Academy of Film and Television Arts
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOD	Department of Defense
DOS	Department of State
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
IMDb	Internet Movie Database
JFK	John Fitzgerald Kennedy
MGM	Metro Goldwyn Mayer
NAMPI	National Association of the Motion Picture Industry
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
OPA	Office of Public Affairs
OSI	Office of Strategic Influence
OTS	Over the Shoulder Shot
OWI	Office of War Information
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
POV	Point of View Shot
RKO	Radio-Keith-Orpheum
TTP	Tiger Television Production
US	United States of America

USSR   Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WMD   Weapons of Mass Destruction

WWI   World War One

WWII   World War Two

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Military Institutions

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Introduction

For decades' citizens of the world have developed an affectionate attachment to the motion picture industry and mainly American cinema epithet Hollywood. Every day, millions of people in the United States and around the globe spend hours and hours fixated in front of their phone screens, tablets, television or sitting in cinema theaters eagerly watching movie after movie about diverse topics and issue for the sole purpose of entertainment regardless of the hidden and undeclared content of these movies under the name of 'it is just fun. 'And with a distribution chain that reaches almost every country in the world, not to mention peer-to-peer websites and applications that provide free download of movies and blockbuster, and the availability of translation to all languages, made Hollywood the dominant film industry in the world and made consumers more addict to its products (movies).

Furthermore, Hollywood's dominance subordinated if not destroyed all indigenous forms of cinema and made them transparent compared to the American movie through plot, imagery, budget, sophisticated equipment, publicity and celebrities' fame. Also, people's perception of Hollywood shifted from an entertainment role where the masses decompress and enjoy to a role of educator in diverse topics about life in other places, traits and characters from other cultures , cultural conflict between the east and the west, the glory of the American socio-economic and political models in every aspect of the modern life, the incompatibility of indigenous culture and the inertia of indigenous people compared to US citizens, the need of the world for the policemanship of the US and the need of the masses for US sponsored democracy, and that is not remotely the entire list.

Accordingly, the cultural dimension of movies and the power of the reel weigh a toll on the brain of the audience triggering a chain of brainwashing attempts, cultural identity modifications, xenocentrism towards indigenous cultures and the development of a non-

healthy affection to the socio-economic, political and gendered models of the United States, which is depicted through movies as the supreme model of modern life, sophisticated most developed culture and the superpower of the world in regard to politics, economy, and military.

On the other hand, the notion of the 'other' infested Hollywood movies with prejudice, racism and stereotypes in an explicit rather than implicit manner leading the audience in America to form a negative perception about the 'other' which comes to represent, not only an entirely different culture, but an entirely different entity that does not conform with the socio-cultural and political standards legislated by the United States and perceived to be the right conduct for any society. Also, the negative image perpetuated by movies vis-à-vis the 'other' prompted a rise in phenomenon like xenophobia and islamophobia in the United States and leading the public to cultivate prejudice and racism and thereby exclude them from all types of socio-cultural, economic and political rituals of the empire, and cast them away as merely a nuisance and undesired aliens who threaten the American way of life.

Consequently, the need of the US government for a concealed propaganda weapon to wage its disinformation war and to deploy it as a vessel for government's ideology and policies urged the government's officials, institutions and the Pentagon to endeavor to dominate Hollywood which makes a very luring vessel considering its outreach, entertainment nature, chain of distribution, its socio-cultural value in American society and its psychological effect embodied in the reel power combined with imagery, drama and music. Subsequently, a huge deal of collaboration and a firm link has been established between the motion picture industry and the US government and military institutions with the purpose of distorting, shaping, direction American public opinion in regard to salient

issues, and in particular war on terrorism and democracy promotion which have been the subject of hundreds of Hollywood blockbuster prior and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

The title of this study is 'the six estate?' with an exclamation mark at the end unconventionally requiring an answer as to whether we can consider Hollywood a sixth estate that can be a game-changing in politics and public opinion taking into account that the fourth estate is the press, the fifth estate is the new social media like Facebook and Twitter which played a massive role in Arab-spring propaganda and uprisings. The title also combines two principles of the last two-decades US foreign policy; war on terrorism and democracy promotion and whether Hollywood productions can play a role of a vessel for policies in their regard.

Furthermore, the main problematic of the study is to inquire if Hollywood has been powerful enough to be called a Sixth estate which can manipulate, shape, direct, alter and distort public opinion, and is being used as an Avant-garde apologist of American war on terror and democracy promotion and the main aim of the study is accordingly to uncover and expose how Hollywood movies are constructed in a specific way, at the gist of the White House, Cia, Pentagon and other government actors, to manipulate, shape , direct and distort public opinion in regard to contemporary issues mainly war on terrorism in the Middle East and promoting American model of democracy to the oppressed masses therein.

 Also the study endeavors to reveal different aspects of depiction of the conflict adherents by depicting the US army as heroic, exceptional, powerful and ethical and its mission is noble and humane with no self-serving underlying agendas, and on the other hand depicting the 'other' which is constructed in the image of Arabs, Muslims and other minorities as blood-thirsty terrorist, savages, primitives, uncivilized, hostile, violent and

unworthy of trust, sacrifice and likes to be oppressed as they support oppressive regimes. The study also endeavors to achieve the following objectives:

- Expose the near-and-dear relationship between Hollywood and different government departments and agencies and reveal the different ways by which Washington controls and manipulates Hollywood to be its policies' vessel and crusader.

- Measure the effects of Movies on people's minds, thoughts and behaviors, and discover whether the mass deception strategies employed by Hollywood have been successful in manufacturing certain responses on societal layers' level.

- Show how Hollywood has been successful in eliciting certain desirable Public Responses vis-à-vis some subject of intense controversy such as war on Terrorism, invading Iraq, promoting democracy, spreading the message of intolerance towards America's unfriendly states.

- Uncover the damage caused to Muslims, Arabs and other minorities through Hollywood's relentless prejudicial depiction of these societal categories negatively, and increasing Islamophobia and Xenophobia towards them respectively.

- Showing how Hollywood have been used as a "beauty salon" to embellish and enhance the image of the American Interventionist Army with reference to historical changes in American Sentiments towards their protectors from the time of Doughboys to present day. Meanwhile, the same industry has managed to create monsters out of anyone who tried to counterbalance US influence or live in a different way then what the US has dictated.

- Discuss Hollywood outside US borders, and show how it can cause a culture shock to people with different societal values and norms. Moreover, show how the over exposure to Hollywood movies, especially at immature ages can blast native

cultural identity and create a fifth column that sympathizes with American ideals and way of life.

- Expose the different methods that Hollywood is using to brainwash not only the public but the world in general in favor of US interests and role models.

- Discuss the role of Hollywood celebrities in American politics through endorsing government policies

- Discussing the deployment of Hollywood as a deterrence arsenal against terrorists and enemies of the United States through powerful depiction of the states and its super soldiers.

Although several critics and writers undermine the power of Hollywood in shaping public opinion, several others wrote impressive full-proof narratives about the power of the real in distorting public opinion. Moreover, the major studies that have discussed the vague link between Hollywood and US Government include a book by the title "*Hollywood, the Pentagon and Washington: The Movies and National Security from World War II to the Present Day*" written by a the sociologic and strategic defense specialist Jean-Michel Valantin who argues in favor of the combination Hollywood-Pentagon as a vital element for US security and a symbol of US power. In his book he explorers with evidence the consistent collaboration between the US Department of Defense and Hollywood film studios.

Another top-list book that discusses Hollywood stereotypes and its perpetual negative depiction of the 'other' is "*Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*" written by Jack G. Shaheen, a writer and lecturer specializing in addressing cinematic racial and ethnic stereotypes, who exposes the slanderous history of Hollywood's depiction of Arabs and Muslims and how such depiction serves hidden political agendas or empowered by politicians in the White House in favor of justifying illegitimate actions or circumvent

retribution. Furthermore, he wrote another best-seller entitled *"Guilty: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs After 9/11"* in which he reveals the continuity of the deliberate cinematic aggression through associating more infamous, unhuman, demeaning stereotypes against Muslims especially after the 9/11 which include mainly libels of terrorism, violence and hostility.

Moreover, other books have discussed the relation between government officials and Hollywood especially Hollywood and the CIA and how this agency managed to broadcast its agenda and launch its disinformation campaign through Hollywood screen and portray itself as an agency dedicated to the service and protection of the American People now matter what the cost will be. Such books include mainly *"Spooked: How the CIA Manipulates the Media and Hoodwinks Hollywood"* and *"The CIA in Hollywood: How the Agency Shapes Film and Television."*

In addition to the previously mentioned studies, we cannot ingnore a book entitled *"Reel Power: Hollywood Cinema and American Supremacy"*written by Matthew Alford, a renown movie producer and a lecturer in the department of Drama: Theatre, Film, and Television at the University of Bristol. In his book he argues that films like *Transformers, Terminator, Black Hawk Down, Tears of the Sun,* are designed and constructed with sheer guidance and assistance of the US Defence Deaprtment to serve as explicit and vocal cheerleaders of the US military. In addition, his other book *"National Security Cinema: The Shocking New Evidence of Government Control in Hollywood"* provides concrete evidence of DOD control and influence over Hollywood movie production through all stages from script writing to shooting locations. The study also makes use of diverse sources and resources including books, journal articles, online newspapers articles and blockbusters which are the core catalyst of this study.

Nonetheless, the combination "Government-Military-Hollywood-Public Opinion" has not been a subject of discussion or study, though it is blatant that Hollywood is more prone to produce political and ideological film that serve the government and its agencies and neglect the truth and the true sentiment of people, and in the other hand tarnish the image of the 'other' which makes this study the first to endeavor to establish the link between all these previously mentioned institution and expose their collaboration and determination to create a sixth estate that works in favor of government and military agendas in the name of entertainment and fun. Also the importance of this study is to prove that Hollywood is number one propaganda machine in the world, the crusader of the White house, the 'Universal Soldier' of the DOD and the apologetic of human atrocities and destruction committed by Americans.

The study deals mainly with Hollywood production of movies and blockbusters and their design to affect public opinion in America primarily and in the world in general. Thus, the study, according to its variables, was envisioned in three chapters. The first chapter discusses public opinion in America, how it is formed and what affects it in regard to salience and intensity and with reference to media in general and movies in particular. Also the chapter undertakes the consent and dissent in public opinion vis-à-vis war on terror, mainly war in Iraq and Afghanistan and how Hollywood tries to produce government policy-compatible films in both cases.

The second chapter endeavors to uncover the longstanding firm relationship between Hollywood movies and the US government and its departments, the CIA and the Pentagon to distort, shape and alter the American public opinion in favor and vis-à-vis US wars abroad to counter and abort terrorism and the holy mission to allegedly promote democracy and liberate the masses from the tyranny of some dictators like Saddam, Gaddafi, Castro, Chavez and others. The chapter will also discuss the relation between

policy makers, government propagandists and the movie industry with the purpose of brainwashing the masses and eliciting certain public supportive euphoria to sustain wars or policies in regard to war on terrorism.

The final chapter undertake the task of discussing the image of the 'other' mainly Muslims and Arabs in Hollywood movies which have been used as a framework to exclude these targets from public and social life and seek to corner them in ghettos, deprive them of basic liberties and deprive them of life and liberty without any due process of law or remorse or any fear from public reaction (example of Abu Ghraib Prison and Guantanamo Prison). And on other hand, Hollywood excelled in portraying the US army as a legion of exceptional elitist heroes who embarked upon the breath taking journey of laying sacrifices on the altar of freedom for the sake of liberating people who suffered the horrific ordeal of dictators or Muslim fundamentalists' tenure and protecting the American people from the so-portrayed savages and hostiles on reel.

The chapter also deploy content analysis methodology and film analysis methodology with emphasis on mise-en-scène analysis to analyze three important blockbusters: "*The Dictator,*" "*American Sniper*," and "*Rules of Engagement*" to bring to light the fact that Hollywood movies are deliberately constructed, with the assistance and control of US government and Pentagon, to convey certain messages, sustain policies of anti-terrorism, vilify Muslims and Arabs and elicit support and sympathy for American Army and its war veterans. In addition, the chapter discusses the fire back of such prejudicial production on two counts; the increase of anti-American sentiments and the creation of a pro-US fifth column which infiltrate indigenous cultures. All in all, the study will reveal all the insidious tactics of Hollywood to brainwash and alter the American public opinion to launder US government politics and legitimize US army interventions and killings in the name of war on terror and promoting democracy, and go beyond US borders to explore the

dangerously tumultuous effect of Hollywood all over the world by endangering the cultural security of other nations through Americanizing the world and creating the fifth column.

Finally, the study is a testament of the reel power of Hollywood and the strength of the movie industry which resides in its potential of diffusing messages in an entertaining way without alerting the viewer that he is being subject to some sort of coaching on how to respond and/or feel about certain issues or events in his world. And thus, resulting in two results one is immediate and the other is long-term. The immediate result is to initiate the process of brainwashing the viewer and hook him and change his perspective about the issues at hand especially in regard to young age categories. While the long term result is re-building and reconstructing a new cultural identity of the viewer. In addition, the study will reveal the hidden mechanisms behind Hollywood movies which attempt to brainwash the American public in favor of unjustified atrocious actions and policies of US government and military and most of all market the idea of 'Unilateral World Order' led by the United States.

Chapter One: Public Opinion in America

Introduction

The foundation of American democracy rests on the very first phrase of the American Declaration of Independence: 'We the people…'; it suggests that the burden of forming, creating, and liberating falls into the hands of the people and that every citizen is entitled to voice his opinion, which constitutes the very foundation and the intrinsic value of the American political mind. Henceforth, public opinion has become of extreme importance not only to the people to divulge their vision about the form and nature of government and conduct of politics domestically and abroad, but also for the government to endeavor to understand what the people really want and what kind of policies would be gratifying to the majority of the people or appealing to only some elite segment of the entire society.

The following chapter will not solely and conventionally endeavor to explain all the ins and outs of public opinion in America, but it will also attempt to reveal the downsides and some tactics employed by the government to understand, define, shape, invoke, and distort the American public opinion vis-à-vis salient issues to carry out specific agendas on the domestic level or vis-à-vis foreign policy with emphasis on the two concepts of war on terror and democracy promotion. Additionally, the chapter will critically examine early attempts of manipulating public opinion in America— on small and large scale— using media with special emphasis on the motion picture industry.

1.1.A Brief History of Public Opinion, from Antiquity to Modern Times

The recent trends in world politics and the wide spread of the notion of democracy forcefully engaged everyone in the daily politics and contemporary issues that their nation might undergo and experience and/or issues that their leaders and politicians might foresee. Such trends uncorked the holy grail of the ideas of John Lock, John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham, Thomas Jefferson and other thinkers and philosophers who set the trail for the

masses to seek liberty not only from shackles and chains but also from gags and blindfolds.
Nonetheless, the idea of Vox Populi— as much as it was new to the Americans when
Jefferson's *we the people* was heard around the world— is as old as history itself, starting
from early city-states and societies in Mesopotamia to the founders of democracy with its
contemporary definition in Athens and Rome, to the French revolution that had literally
inspired the American Revolution.

However, before embarking on the breath-taking journey of exploring the history and
pioneers of public opinion, proper definition from various perspectives must be provided
and discussed as lanterns for coming minutia regarding the plethora surrounding public
opinion in general and in America in particular. The term public opinion in its
contemporary meaning traces its origins to the outset of democracy in ancient Greece and
Rome, where it was used to indicate regard, esteem and reputation as holding high
opinions of somebody (Donsbach and Traugott 11-12).

More importantly, the Latin language used several words to refer to public opinion.
Examples include the term '*fama*', which refers to reputation and '*existimatio*', which
refers to the impression generally produced by a politician on his fellow citizens and the
opinion held by the latter of the former because a Roman politician's reputation relied
mainly on what the citizens were saying about him. Other terms include '*vox popul*', which
literally means voice of the people and later came to be a well-known phrase '*vox populi
dei vox*', which means voice the of the people is the voice of God, implying the strength
and importance of public opinion in the Roman Republic, which represent the unanimous
will of the entire Roman people (Rosilio-Lopez 7-9). Yet, though Vox populi dei vox join
the idea of Gustav Le bon , in his eminent masterpiece '*The Crowd*', as a powerful
statement and testament to the might of the public in bringing about a radical change to
government and state (Le bon ix), it was recorded in a letter from the renown 8th century

medieval scholar Alcuin of York to the Emperor Charlemagne who distrusted the motto saying that the opinion of the populace are always close to insanity (Crespi 101).

Edward L. Bernays, who is considered the father of public relation and propaganda in America, explained in his famous book '*Crystalizing Public Opinion*' that public opinion is a term that describes an imprecise, volatile, and changeable cluster of individual judgements. He went further and added that it is the cumulative result of individual opinions, uniform, or conflicting of members that make up any society regardless of their gender (Bernays, Crystalizing Public Opinion 61-62).

Walter Lippmann, a prominent public relation figure and a contemporary to Edward Bernays, on the other hand did not hold a keenly positive opinion about public opinion, which he considered a problem to democracy and not a solution (Lippmann xii). Lippmann believed that public opinion consists of pictures inside men's heads which so often mislead men in their dealings with the world outside, yet these pictures are either dominated by emotions and hopes or affected by stereotypes that alter men's attitudes towards an issue (18-19). Furthermore, he coined the term 'pseudo-environment' to connote the image on which opinions are constructed (xvii).

Endeavors to give the mercurial term *public opinion* a shape have been numerous ever since. The Dutch psychologist and communication scholar Ginneken Van Jaap defined it as a dynamic process—not the static sum of individual opinions— which continually evolves new and shifting patterns (Ginneken 8-9). German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, in her celebrated contribution *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion – Our Social Skin*, defined public opinion as: "a social psychological process lending cohesion to human communities …a process which agreement about values of the community and the acts derived therefrom is continuously reestablished" (Noelle-Neumann 59). Surprisingly, Harwood L. Childs, a professor of politics at Princeton

University and a leading authority on public opinion studies, presented in his handbook more than 50 different definition to the term public opinion and argued that it is unwise to try to restrict the notion of public opinion in a definition based on some aspects like the nature or value of the public, subject or extent of consensus. He preferred to define public opinion as simply as any collection of individual opinions designated (Wilson 89).

In addition, public opinion can bear several aspect-based definitions as follows:

a) Rationally Formed: Public opinion is the social judgment of a self-conscious community on a question of general import after rational public discussion.

b) Well-Informed (Elite Group): Public opinion may be said to be that sentiment on any given subject which is entertained by the best informed, most intelligent, and most moral persons in the community.

c) Important Topic: The attitudes, feelings, or ideas of the large body of the people about important public issues.

d) Extent of Agreement: A majority is not enough, and unanimity is not required, but the opinion must be such that while the majority may not share it, they feel bound by conviction— not by fear— to accept it.

e) Intensity: Public opinion is more than a matter of numbers. The intensity of the opinions is quite as important. Public opinion is a composite of numbers and intensity.

f) Effective Influence: Public opinion in this discussion may simply be taken to mean those opinions held by private persons which governments find it prudent to heed. (Oskamp and Schultz 16).

All in all, the phenomenon of public opinion— albeit complicated and can yield different perspectives— rests on the idea that the voice of people is at most importance to politicians and decision makers. Additionally, public opinion in America came to acquire

much of its contemporary sense from its deployment in the works of liberal thinkers like John Stuart Mill, John Locke, and Jeremy Bentham who advanced the ideas of freedom of expression and the consent of the government upon which most contemporary democracies rest (Donsbach and Traugott 12). However, such ideas that fuel public opinion and occupy its core value are historically archaic, and their roots can be traced all the way to 5000 years ago in Ancient Mesopotamia where the first city-state system come to being. Generally speaking, when talking about antiquity ruling structures, ancient empires, kingdoms and dynasties, we immediately invoke the image of bloodthirsty kings, totalitarianism and absolutism: an image of a king who commands from his throne, an ogre who kills at a whim and accepts no advice, a king whose words cannot be challenged and does not bargain for the loyalty of his subject, but the reality is considerably far from what we believe and can be surprising.

Indeed, it is in these previous words of trepidation that myths about kings were forged like the epic of Gilgamesh the demi-god, king of Uruk the first city in Mesopotamia, and most of all a tyrant bloodthirsty warrior who defeated everything in his path: even gods. The only rival that conquered Gilgamesh was death after his failed journey to find the secrets of immortality (Rufus). Nonetheless, that's not the full image of Gilgamesh, who represented the supreme executive power in the city of Uruk. During his reign, the early manifestation of clash of civilizations come to derail the peace of Uruk as another rival, King Agga, the king of Kish, was about to invade Uruk.

Predictably, one would think that King Gilgamesh would rally his army and engage in a blood and gore conflict to fend off the imminent danger, but what he did may come as surprise. First, he met with elders of the city in a convened and presented the issue before them, and they told the king that surrender is in the best interest of the people and city (Isakhan). The presence of an assembly of elders as a mean of representation of a segment

of society is remarkably democratic in antiquity, and though many would consider an assembly of elders to be a representation of elite group opinion (well-informed) and not the average population, it is nevertheless, by Harwood L. Childs' definition, a form of public opinion.

Nonetheless, Gilgamesh did not take the elders' proposal into heart, for he knew that the opinion of the masses outweighs the opinion of a group, and the real authority rests with the people and not an elite class of society. He then consulted the popular assembly, which is formed of average men, mainly those who were going to battle, and received an approval to engage in war. This latter opinion overrode the first one (Glassman 306-307). Clearly, the early tendencies of democracy and public opinion manifested crystal clear in the politics of ancient Mesopotamia and set the trail for to-be-kings to keep pace with the form and politics of the city of Uruk. Indeed, the precedents set in the city of Uruk were cherished in the Neo-Babylonian Empire, where the king, out of the increasing need to develop a sophisticated political system, had to listen and indulge the opinion of a large array of people: bureaucrats, merchants, physicians, clergy, poets, military leaders...etc. In addition, the Assyrian kings like King Esarhaddon inquired military advice from famous scholars like the Babylonian scholar Baal Ush Hazib (Isakhan).

Moving forward, in the year 1800 BCE, other tendencies of an antiquarian democratic system were recorded in the myth of *Enuma Elis* (spelled Enuma Elish), which was recuperated by English archaeologist Austen Henry Layard in 1849 in the form of seven tablets written in Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script from the ruined Library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh in today's Mosul, Iraq (Matthews and Benjamin 9). The myth corresponds to the contemporary stories of the creation of Eve and Adam albeit very different in content.

In this myth, 50 gods, who governed the universe more or less equally with all of its creatures, convened in an assembly to govern and discuss the issues of the universe and even held an election to choose a God to be in command of all gods and consequently become in charge of the universe, and it was God Marduk, later known as the Pantheon God of Babylonia and the one who dictated his laws on Hammurabi (11-13, 105-106, 120). The very idea of gods forming assembly, convening to discuss and give opinion, and then electing a commander reflects the political mind that dominated the politics of that era, and illustrates how people thought of government and politics and cherished the idea of opinion and election.

Likewise, Romans, as already mentioned, held the notion of public opinion at the center of their lives for it did not only glamorize or blemish someone's reputation but it also dictated action to politicians and government alike. Roman politician Marcus Caelius Rufus regarded public opinion as a decisive and prescriptive aspect of Roman politics to which meticulous attention must be devoted, and he always accumulated public opinion and acted accordingly (Rosilio-Lopez 9-10). More importantly, the early manifestations of public opinion in Rome happened inside the Gladiators' arena where applause showed approval from public and boos showed disapproval, and sometimes the hand gesture known today as 'thumb up' meant acceptance or life while using the same gesture upside down meant refusal or simply death to the conquered gladiator.

Similarly, and round the same Hellenistic era and area, Athens surface as foundation of democracy and the recourse for contemporary discourse of public opinion and freedom of expression, and we could safely say Athenians were the concierge of democracy. Furthermore, the term demos Kratos was coined therein to signify the power of the people and obviously the voice of the people that vests any power in any political, military or social body it deems fit.

The trail of Athenian democracy, contrary to popular belief, is remarkably different than what most people think. More importantly, what we label by today's definition a democracy is totally different from the Athenian concepts and conducts of democracy. Accordingly, the idea of public opinion in ancient Athens is especially different from the contemporary concept and more important. Indeed, there was no golden age for public opinion, not in antiquity, not in the Medieval Era and not even today.

Though several scholars insist on categorizing Athens as a pure majority system, it should be noted that Athenians excluded slaves, women, and alien residents from the political theater, which means their voices and opinion were irrelevant and unheard, and they left a self-serving elite to govern the entire nation (Cartledge 4-5). Nonetheless, the Athenians were second to none in the ancient world in realizing the concept of participatory democracy, starting by advancing the notion of equal participation in the political auditorium to landowning citizens who were eligible to serve as soldiers, which is very common in that era. Moreover, the epics of Homer, '*The Iliad*' and '*The Odyssey*', offer a great and surprising insight into the political exchange and verbal interaction (opinions and viewpoints) between warriors, leaders kings and assemblies. Another aspect of Athenian life that shows the importance of public opinion is the widespread of political pamphlets, political and court speeches, and writings that were produced by famous Athenian philosophers and political theoreticians like Plato, Socrates, Aristotle and Xenophon that dealt with issues that irritated Greek citizens (Raaflaub 23-25).

 Back again to the Arab Peninsula around 7th century AD, Prophet Mohamed, peace be upon him, the recipient and disseminator of the message of Allah, placed a great worth on the idea of 'Shura' which means consultation, or sometimes rule by consultation, a notion that parallels the concept of democracy in Western political thought. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Shura can be defined as:

Consultation. Based on Quranic injunction to Muhammad to consult with

his followers, and to Muslims to consult with each other in conducting their

affairs Modern scholars consider Shura to be the basis for the

implementation of democracy. Liberal scholars argue that Shura declares

the sovereignty of people in electing representative leaders to democratic

institutions designed to act in the public interest. For conservative thinkers,

Shura must be based on the principle of the ultimate sovereignty of God and

geared toward implementation of traditional Islamic law. (Esposito 293-

294)

In Holy Quran, Surah Ash-Shura, the foundation of the idea of difference and consent

in opinion is laid clear in verse 32: "…and who (conduct) their affairs by mutual

consultation..." meaning that Muslims should not make decisions on state, political, social

or economic issues that would affect the lives of the masses without consulting with them

and brainstorming about the issues at hand. In addition, another verse, consecrated to the

Prophet (PBUH) in Surah Aal-e-Imran, states: "…So pardon them, and ask (Allah's)

forgiveness for them; and consult them in the affairs…" which means that the prophet

always consulted and took the opinion and advice of his companions about various

important concerns so they enthusiastically implement the decisions they reach.

Furthermore, the Holy Quran is full of verses that esteem the opinion of the individual in

regard to matters that affect his faith and existence (Ibn Kathir 4556).

During the Middle Ages to the Age of Discovery, public opinion had seen ups and

downs, between wars of religion and the ultimate papal guidance and the crackdown on

free speech by absolute monarchs of Europe. Voices of writers, philosophers, and thinkers,

or generally the enlightened and educated lay of population of Middle Ages' Europe were

heard by princes, advisors, councils and kings. Furthermore, the wide spread of printing as

a legacy of the protestant reformation in the 16th century and onwards gave access to more segments of people to hold and express opinions in regard to contemporary issues. In addition, the Italian Renaissance philosopher and diplomat Niccolo Machiavelli wrote that: "…princes should not ignore popular opinion, particularly in such matters as the distribution of offices" (Davison). On the other hand, the French Revolution, which was supposedly the concierge of freedom, cracked hardly on public opinion and freedom of expression. In Paris, more than tierce of the revolutionary tribunal's indictments were related to crime of expression and opinion. Moreover, a national network of agents tasked with monitoring public opinion were installed by the revolutionary government (Walton 5-6). Indeed, the very revolution that gave the world "*Declaration of the Rights of Men*" turned its back to its own principles and embarked on national tour to gag mouths of opponents and freedom fighters alike.

However, the same period witnessed a breath of fresh air of the public opinion in North America as 13 colonies transformed their opinion into a revolution that gave birth to one of the early countries built upon moral ideal and principles of equality and liberty. Sir Thomas Paine was one of the early colonists to realize the importance of public opinion in fomenting revolution. He soon drafted his famous pamphlet "*The Common Sense*" which in large part served not only as a catalyst for fueling the war and neutralizing loyalist but also as a hook to engage people in the daily politics of their colonies. Thereafter, the discourse of freedom of speech and public opinion was statically present and firm in American's political life and liberty. The American bill of Rights celebrates the first amendment that states resonantly through time:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or
> prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or
> of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition

the government for a redress of grievances. (Schmidt, Shelly II and Bardes 127).

The 20th and 21st centuries' political thinkers, scientist and theorists, contrary to their predecessors in ancient times, did not merely celebrate the power of public opinion but also classified it as an enormously important phenomenon to which thousands of books, articles and seminars were devoted. It is now a multidisciplinary feature in communication, politics, sociology, psychology and public policy. Politicians and governments alike pay great attention to public opinion and its intensity before taking any decision or passing any bill that would affect the lives of citizens. More importantly, analytics organizations and companies were created to measure public opinion via public opinion polls vis-à-vis politicians' popularity, policies' popularity ...etc.

1.2. Public Opinion in America: Historical Roots and the Inception of Government by Public Opinion's Ideal

The legacy of bible reading in America throughout the colonial and post-colonial era, along with the wide spread of printing and newspapers before and in post-revolutionary era, commended people to be avid readers and often associate their opinions with God and morality. More importantly, people felt the urge of political activism to prevent government's abuses of civil liberties, and the constitution was people's shield when doing their bid of publicly stating their opinions about their fellow politician or objecting to government's policies or even campaigning against government's course of action vis-à-vis domestic and foreign matters.

Thus, every White House resident paid keen consideration to American public opinion to ensure the smooth run of his tenure and adjust their political agenda accordingly. President Abram Lincoln wrote abundantly about public opinion while in office, stating first that, "In this age, in this country, public sentiment is everything. With it, nothing can

fail; against it, nothing can succeed. Whoever molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes, or pronounces judicial decisions", referring to the idea that voice of people constitutes the powers vested in government, which is one of the greatest ideals of American democracy (Bardes and Oldendick 4).

In the year 1924, the profession of public relation was introduced in the United States by its pioneer Edward L. Bernays. Nonetheless, it is important to clarify a few concepts before moving forward. Likewise, public relation is not public opinion, but according to Bernays, it is the endeavor to engineer public support for an activity, a cause, a movement or an institution using information, persuasion and adjustment. In other words, public relation is how to control public opinion and manipulate consent or refusal for a cause or a policy or elicit desire or revulsion for a product or a person (Bernays, The Engineering of Consent 3-4). Bernays also noted in his book '*The Engineering of Consent'* that:

> Evidence of the power of public opinion prove to every man the necessity of understanding the public, of adjusting to it, of informing it, of winning it over. The ability to do this is the test of leadership…competition for attention of public has been continually broadened and intensified because the public decides whether an enterprise is to succeed or fail. New instruments of transportation and mass communication airplane, radio, movies, television accelerate the spread of ideas. (5)

Bernays explains the main factor that will tolerate the perpetuity of an enterprise, a policy, or a political career, and in the same time qualifies it to be the main trait of leadership which is understanding, adjusting, informing and winning public opinion. In other words, in Bernays narrative, the successful politician or government is the one who control opinion and twist it in his/its favor. Moreover, he mentioned three main public

relations broad function in controlling and manipulating public opinion and behavior, and labeled them: adjustment, information and persuasion. (7)

Propaganda is also a concept that needs a lot of scrutiny and comprehension when dealing with public opinion, for they have an entirely different definition and the relation between the two is causality; cause and effect. According to *Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science*, propaganda can be defined as:

> A systematically slanted information which is intended to affect the outlooks and attitudes of whole peoples. Originally a Vatican term concerned with the propagation of the faith, the word acquired a pejorative ring after World War I… In 1937 Yale University set up the Institute for the Study of Propaganda. Early research by social scientists concentrated on 'content analysis', the noting of repetitive phrases and symbolic terms. More recent work has been concerned with changes in attitudes as a result of media campaigns, especially during elections. It must be remembered that in democracies all propaganda has to face counter-propaganda, probably from several quarters. (Bealey and Johnson 426)

The concierge of the Nazi propaganda Joseph Goebbels, described it to be:

> A maligned and often misunderstood word. The layman uses it to mean something inferior or even despicable. The word propaganda always has a bitter after taste. But if you examine propaganda's most secret causes, you will come to different conclusions: then there will be no more doubting that the propagandist must be the man with the greatest knowledge of souls. I cannot convince a single person of the necessity of something unless I get to know the soul of that person, unless I understand how to pluck the string in the harp of his soul that must be made to sound. (Welch 26-27)

Indeed, propaganda is mainly an attempt to brainwash individuals or masses and distort public opinion, usually using false information. Moreover, the volatility, novelty and evolution of the term makes it hard to concisely define, most propagandist as Joseph Goebbels try to offer a plethora of descriptions instead. In addition, Edward Bernays joined Goebbels in offering descriptive profile rather than a concise definition. In his renowned book, he described propagandists as entities who manipulate organized habits and opinions of the masses, this unseen mechanism of society constitutes an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. He went further and offered an illustrated description of what is propaganda, and he stated:

> In theory, everybody buys the best and cheapest commodities offered him on the market. In practice, if everyone went around pricing, and chemically testing before purchasing, the dozens of soaps or fabrics or brands of bread which are for sale, economic life would become hopelessly jammed. To avoid such confusion, society consents to have its choice narrowed to ideas and objects brought to its attention through propaganda of all kinds. There is consequently a vast and continuous effort going on to capture our minds in the interest of some policy or commodity or idea. (Bernays, Propaganda 11)

Inferring for the previous descriptions and definitions, it is safe to say that nowadays, propaganda is everywhere and has been basically used in all domains, political, social, cultural and economic. It is also imperative to understand that propaganda is not only meant to reshape and define an opinion but sometimes to counter an already existing one.

All in all, public opinion is shaped and distorted by propaganda all around the world but no more so as in America. Correspondently, to understand the importance and power of public opinion in America and why many governmental institution, including the White House, seek to control or at least manipulate it, we must understand the reasons behind its

potency, which go deep into the foundational philosophies of the United States. The first reason that glamorizes the value of public opinion in the American political life is the ideas of the enlightenment and, precisely, of John Locke's consent of the governed (Stuart 15). The notion of consent of the governed in the American political mind is of extreme importance as stated in the US Declaration of Independence:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. (US Declaration of Independence 1776)

The declaration of independence not only emphasized the notion that all powers vested in a government's body are powers of the people and that the elected officials are merely an embodiment of the will of the masses, but it went further and granted the people the right to abolish, overthrow and establish a new government if their rights, prerogatives and liberties are not well protected and valued. In other words, sovereignty rests with the people. Furthermore, Abraham Lincoln, the most celebrated American President, gave a different interpretation to the concept of consent, characterizing it as self-government, and in his legendary Gettysburg Address defined a proper and suitable form of government as "government of the people, by the people and for the people." Lincoln also noted that self-

government will be only reached if all governed are granted an equal voice in the government (Thurow 55).

Another important factor that immensely supports the pertinence of public opinion in America is the American political culture that represents the body of shared ideas, beliefs, customs, and, most importantly, the system of values and norms that define the relation between the American people and the American government. In addition, a great reflections of American political culture comes from the American dream, or as the Declaration of independence puts it 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' More importantly, American political culture rests on several principles that draw the lines between peoples' prerogatives and governments vested powers.

Moreover, these core principles comprise ideals that the founding father not only regarded as sacred but also as sought to promote throughout the American life. Accordingly, these ideals, included liberty, equality, democracy, individualism, nationalism and diversity. The terms liberty and equality had found their roots in precolonial American society and had been embodied literally in the US Declaration of Independence, albeit with a totally different interpretation as the notion seem to exclude blacks, slave or freemen, women and other races.

Moreover, the notion of democracy is the embodiment of the rule of people, the incarnation of the motto 'government of the people by the people and for the people,' but even a government conceived by the people and dedicated to their best interest is overpowered by the notion of individualism that rests on value of individual prerogatives and rights above those of the government.

Another notion is the notion of nationalism, which is a swinging element, especially in public opinion, and always at the center of American politics, elections and films. Finally, the notion of diversity is not synonymous with multiculturalism as a de facto in America

but rather a melting pot where people are compelled to forsake their customs and traditions, denounce allegiance to their race and ethnical background, and assume a full American profile colored in red, white and blue. Yet, even if conforming to American values and norms, different races are always subject to ridicule, racism and stereotypes, especially in American movies which seek to portray everyone in a negative way, mainly Muslims and Arabs, and perpetuate such a negative depiction (Dugger). Generally speaking, the previously mentioned core ideals constitute the American system of values and norms along with the American heritage of ethics and morals, and all of them serve as redefining factor for American political attitude, which in turn serves as the guideline and recourse for public opinion (Schmidt, Shelly II and Bardes 207).

American political attitude can be simply defined as the way Americans feel and perceive their government's actions and policies vis-à-vis economic, social, political and military issues. Although, the term political attitude bears almost the same definition as public opinion, the terms are not the same for political attitude stands for both values and opinion and is tempered by a specific ideology, conservative or liberal in the American case, while public opinion is how the masses feel in regards to a specific issue. More importantly, the ideological divide in American political attitude is often represented by the two major parties in the United States: Republican, which stands for a conservative ideology, and Democrat, which stands for the liberal one. Indeed, ideology is a dominating attitude and opinion in America; it is the millstone around the neck of individual and public opinion and there is no opinion nor attitude that is ideology-free (Watts 226-227).

Undeniably, ideology draws the outer shape and the intrinsic core ideas of public and individual opinion. According to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, ideology underlay and dominate all intellectual production— whether conscious or unconscious. As they put it in their distinguished manuscripts '*The German Ideology*', "...Ideology itself represents the

production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, all that "men say, imagine, conceive, and include such things as politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc…" (Marx and Engels 47). Other attempts were made to place the term ideology in its proper comprehensible frame, notably by Terry Francis Eagleton, a British literary theorist, critic, and public intellectual, who provided numerous definition for the term in his notable work '*Ideology.*' According to Eagleton (1-2), the following definitions are currently in circulation used to explain and describe ideology:

a) The process of production of meanings, signs, and values in social life;

b) A body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;

c) Ideas that help to legitimate a dominant political power;

d) False ideas that help to legitimate a dominant political power;

e) Systematized communication;

f) Forms of thought motivated by Social interests;

g) Identity thinking;

h) Socially necessary illusion;

i) Action-oriented sets of beliefs;

As already mentioned, ideology has split the US public, who by definition dominate and decide all aspects of average Americans' life, mainly to republicans and democrats. Since the year 1828, republicans and democrats have been running the country and referring to each other as the only alternative with the exception of the US President Millard Fillmore, who was neither republican nor democrat. Consequently, Americans have no asylum from ideology except these major two: liberalism and conservatism, which by definition conquered American life and subsequently subjugated all trends in American political socialization. Certainly, there were other ideologies throughout history and even nowadays which endeavored to make their ways into American politics but were either

neutralized or demonized by negative propaganda, which is the case for Nazism, Fascism, Communism, Libertarianism, Socialism...etc.

Without a doubt, political socialization makes a large compound of public opinion's substance as its agents accompany and direct the individual's mind and thought from infancy and onwards, and these agents are for the most part tampered with ideology and propaganda. In fact, political socialization can be defined as the process of adaptation and integration by which one becomes politically aware (Bealey and Johnson 258), meaning that political socialization is how we acquire our views, perspectives, and opinions about politics and government, from the morning chat on the breakfast-table, religious sermons and rituals, work, and media including films and blockbusters to peer discussion in college. All of them make what we call agents of political socialization. All in all, through the process of socialization, Americans gain frames of reference (guidelines or schemas) that constitute the outlet by which political, economic, social and cultural issues are evaluated and deemed acceptable or refused by members of the American society (Patterson 171). Below is a figure (Figure 1) that shows the main agents of political socialization that constitute the main mechanism of opinion formation in America and elsewhere:

Fig. 1: Agents of Political Socialization
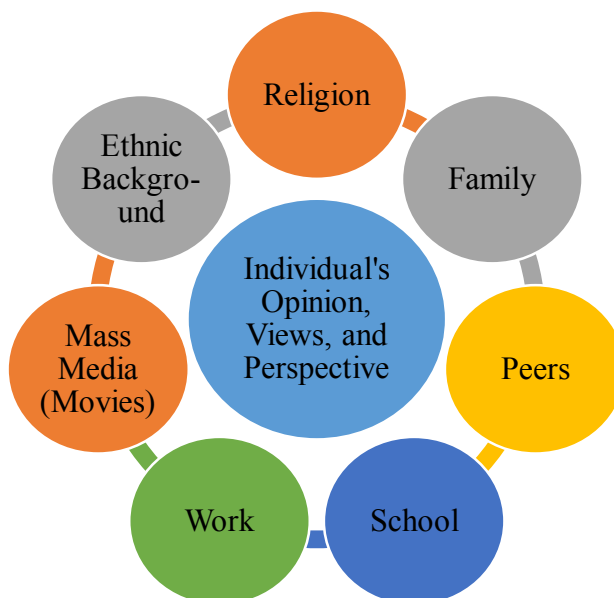
Beyond any reasonable doubt, the strength of public opinion in America is recognized as second to none to the extent that most people refer to the American government as 'government by public opinion'. Yet, of all the events and trials that America had endured and tested throughout time, public opinion is that which deserves best attention for it sits high over presidents, governors, elected officials, representatives and senates. In addition, the form of the American government in general— three branches with checks and balances, and the legislative branch is a bicameral one with elected representatives— reinforces the role of the people in policy making and political engagement and strengthens the idea of accountability via politician popularity polling and reelection prospects.

Relevance of public opinion in American life was manifested in early days of the republic as authors of the *'Federalist Papers'* recognized and acknowledged the role of public voice in developing public policies and referred to it as the public voice proclaimed by the representatives of the people (Bardes and Oldendick 3-4). Founding father and the first US President George Washington noted in his farewell address that "…in proportion as the structure of government give force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

Additionally, Abraham Lincoln realized the importance of public opinion in America to invoke support for his position and policies in regards to the then-salient issue of slavery, and on several occasions he stated that, "public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail. Without it nothing can succeed" he also noted that: "he who molds public sentiments goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decision." He even went further in his attachment to public opinion and bought a newspaper in an attempt to control and shape public opinion and propagate information and propaganda in favor of his policies. The fact that he bought a newspaper was not revealed until recently. (Holzer 6-9)

Furthermore, American public opinion— albeit complicated to comprehend and measure and is shaped by a wide variety of frames of reference like propaganda, political affiliation and ideology ...etc.— bears mainly three major characteristics that in large part determine the dimension of public opinion. The first is con and pro position on issues, also referred to as 'direction', meaning that American public opinion either holds a pro position and accepts the issue and endorses it, or it holds a con position on the issues meaning it is declined by the public. The second characteristic of public opinion in America is 'intensity', which refers to the strength of sentiments and feelings that the public holds in regard to a specific issue. (163)

Usually, politicians pay more attention to the intensity of opinion because it is a sign that the people might act on their beliefs. To illustrate the factor of intensity we take the issue of 'gun control' in America. Throughout time, most Americans (as much as 70% or more) are in favor of a stricter gun control laws; nonetheless, as a de jure matter no stricter laws are in place. A recent Gallup poll that asked Americans if they are satisfied with current gun control laws showed that only 17% of Americans are satisfied with status quo but despite this fact politicians did not and will not opt for introducing stricter bills in favor of gun control because the 17% is an intense opinion meaning while those who voiced their dissatisfaction about gun control, they are not willing to act upon their beliefs while the 17% who oppose gun control are willing to cause troubles to politician via lobbying or any other mean necessary (Gallup Organization).

The third characteristic is salience, which refers to how important the public regard an issue vis-à-vis other issues and place it in a priority position in their life or in their political or social discourse. Salience is usually related the latter factor intensity because the stronger people feel about an issue the more likely they think it is important and make their salient issues list. In addition, salience can be measured by simply inquiring the people

what they think is an important issue or simply by beholding the issues discussed in presidential election or governor's or mayor's election in America (164).

More importantly, salient issues in post 9/11 America are usually the following: economy, gun control, employment, equality, gay rights, health insurance, illegal immigration, national security and war on terror. Furthermore, during an election, polling organizations usually ask questions in regard to salient issues to determine the popularity and election prospects of each candidate (Aisch and Parlapiano). Nonetheless, it must be noted that despite the intensity and salience of some issues, there are always boundaries of action that constitute a clear limitations of the influence of public opinion, and, accordingly, politicians usually act within the boundary of what the public is willing to settle for, and not what it originally asked or hoped for (Patterson 183). Moreover, Americans, thanks to the federal system's layers of governments, enjoy a more advantageous situation is carrying out their public wants into action on a local level, meaning that individuals can mold policies that suits their local needs, requirements and preferences on state and county levels in conformity with national guidelines and constitutional regulations (Erikson, Wright and Mciver 73).

The more important point is government responsiveness to public opinion in America. Despite the facts aforementioned, public opinion in America does not necessarily dictate public or foreign policy; sometimes elected officials choose to ignore the public sentiments in low profile issue; nonetheless, they always tend to swing towards public opinion on salient and high profile issues due to the factors of accountability and re-election prospects. However, sometimes politicians opt for policies that endeavor to reshape public sentiments towards a specific issue. The main measuring-method used by politician to understand public opinion vis-à-vis relevant and salient issues is *'polling'*. In ancient Greece, people decided who lives or dies in a gladiator arena by wooing or hailing, which is kind of

polling to decide the outcome of the battle; they were also present in assemblies and spoke their minds freely, which is also sort of a polling or a referendum. Imperial China conducted census to predict the amount of collectable taxes and adjust the taxes already levied...etc. (Bethlehem 15).

All around the United States and the world, polling is a continuous daily process. Everyday polls are conducted to measure peoples' opinion in regard to issues that directly or indirectly affects their lives, countries or opportunities. Furthermore, Americans have been in the business of conducting political polling for more than 80 years now, and with advancement in technology and communication, polling has become even easier and more accessible and can be conducted on larger populations. In September 1936, George Gallup conducted his first ever poll in America asking just one simple question: "Do you think expenditures by the government for relief and recovery are too little, too great, or just about right?" In addition, Gallup considered opinion polls as a continuous referendum in regards to salient issues or agenda setting, organizing issues' priority from high to low and thereby enabling politician and policy makers to fathom the needs and preferences of the American public (Newport, Jones and Saad xi-xii).

Henceforward, polling became very crucial during election and for conducting political campaigns for both the public and the running candidates. For the public it works as an echo of what people prefer; their salient issues, policy preferences, ideological tendencies and voting trends. For the candidates it allows them to comprehend the opinion that the electorate holds and what issues must be tackled and how they should be tackled. In other words, polls are a two-edged sword; if interpreted in a good way, they will allow politician to shape their policies and action in the best interest of their people, but if interpreted in a Machiavellian way; it will grant government and politician a chance to twist and manipulate public opinion which is the case most of the times (Stonecash 1-3).

More importantly, the accuracy of polling through time has made it the subject of attention and study in order to better interpret public opinion regardless of the purpose, and the following table (Table 1) illustrates Gallup Poll accuracy record in American presidential elections from 1936 to 2012:

Table 1

 Gallup Poll Accuracy Record in Presidential Elections, 1936–2012

Year	Nominees	Final Estimate	Election Results	Deviation
		%	%	%
2012	Barack Obama	49	51.1	+2
	Mitt Romney	50	47.2	-3
2008	Barack Obama	55	52.6	-2
	John McCain	44	46.0	+2
2004	George W. Bush	49	50.7	-2
	John F. Kerry	49	48.3	+1
2000	George W. Bush	48	47.9	0
	Albert Gore, Jr.	46	48.4	-2
	Ralph Nader	4	2.7	+1
1996	William J. Clinton	52	49.2	+3
	Robert Dole	41	40.7	0
	H. Ross Perot	7	8.4	-1
1992	William J. Clinton	49	43.0	+6
	George Bush	37	37.4	0
	H. Ross Perot	14	18.9	-5

1988	George Bush	56	53.4	+3
	Michael Dukakis	44	45.6	-2
1984	Ronald Reagan	59	58.8	0
	Walter F. Mondale	41	40.6	0
1980	Ronald Reagan	47	50.7	-4
	Jimmy Carter	44	41.0	+3
	John Anderson	8	6.6	+1
1976	Jimmy Carter	48	50.1	-2
	Gerald Ford	49	48.0	+1
1972	Richard Nixon	62	60.7	+1
	George McGovern	38	37.5	0
1968	Richard Nixon	43	43.4	0
	Hubert H. Humphrey	42	42.7	-1
	George Wallace	15	13.5	+1
1964	Lyndon B. Johnson	64	61.1	+3
	Barry Goldwater	36	38.5	-3
1960	John F. Kennedy	51	49.7	+1
	Richard Nixon	49	49.5	-1
1956	Dwight Eisenhower	59.5	57.4	+2
	Adlai Stevenson	40.5	42.0	-2
1952	Dwight Eisenhower	51	55.1	-4
	Adlai Stevenson	49	44.4	+5
1948	Harry S. Truman	44.5	49.5	-5
	Thomas E. Dewey	49.5	45.1	-4

	Strom Thurmond	4	2.4	+2
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt	51.5	53.4	-2
	Thomas E. Dewey	48.5	45.9	+3
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt	52	54.7	-3
	Wendell L. Willkie	48	44.8	+3
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt	55.7	60.8	-5
	Alfred M. Landon	44.3	36.5	+8

Source: Gerhard Peters. "Election Year Presidential Preferences." The American Presidency Project. Ed. John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters. Santa Barbara, CA: University of California. 1999-2016.

<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/data/preferences.php>

A quick glance at the Gallup poll accuracy record in presidential elections shows a conspicuously meticulous prediction of the elections' outcome which has improved throughout time to reach at worst 3% deviation rate giving a holistic feed about the electorate to policy makers and candidates alike. The public went further and demanded the Congress to monitor polls before voting on laws and upholding the wise superior judgement of the people expressed via opinion polls (Weissberg 1-4).

1.3. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Conduct in America: Partisanship and Legitimacy

In his farewell address, the first American president George Washington enunciated:

> Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and
> harmony with all... It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant
> period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel

example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence…
just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation
which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in
some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of
which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. (McIntire
31-32)

Admittedly, the most renown founding father had set the general guidelines of foreign
policy for the newly-incepted republic, and at the same time he had put in motion a moral
dogma to ensure that public opinion will always keep foreign policy in check with the very
moral ideals and principles that sparked the inception of the United States, which so
eloquently resonate in the preamble of the Declaration of Independence: life, liberty and
pursuit of happiness and that all mankind are equal.

Thenceforward, the parameters set by Washington under the scrupulous scrutiny of the
people made of the young republic a beacon of freedom to other nations. In the subsequent
decades to its foundation, the US supported Latin American countries, led by the
Libertador Simon Bolivar, in their struggle against the European traditional colonial
powers that had been pillaging the continent for centuries. Consequently, Latin American
countries broke free from the hegemony of Europe only to fall soon after in the hegemony
of the United States.

In fact, the young republic grew to be a leviathan, a Gulliver among Lilliputians, and
declared in 1823 that America is for the Americans, as James Monroe put it. Subsequently,
this statement, which was meant originally to dispel European presence in the Americas,
took the form of a doctrine that legitimized American hegemony in the Western
Hemisphere and all around the world as the American people hailed for the might of the
country who defeated the red coats (Lynch 201-208). Of course, the Monroe doctrine was

thought to protect the Americas from outsiders (Europeans) but Simon Bolivar warned that it was 'the writing on the wall,' and that soon America will replace the Europeans as the authoritative puppeteer of South America.

Indeed, Bolivar's grim warning of destructive hegemonic Goliath proved prescient and while South America submitted to be pillaged by America, Bolivar died on his way to exile. Gabriel Garcia Marquez's celebrated novel '*The General in His Labyrinth*' tells Bolivar's last months before death, and more importantly, Hugo Chavez, the late Venezuelan president and critic of US policies in Latin America, adopted his Orwellian vision about politics to construct Bolivarianism and reconstruct the pink tide that stood toe to toe in face of American imperialism. The U-turn in American foreign policy calls for three different deductions: the first is that Americans rally behind their government in its hegemonic cause in opposition to the founding-father's principles; the second is the American public opinion does not dictate foreign policy, and the third, which is the Americans' interest in foreign policy, is subordinated to their interest in domestic policy due to their lack of information or programming attitudes. For the most part, the relation between American public opinion and foreign policy can be described as elusive and vague (Foyle, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Elite Beliefs as a Mediating Variable 141-143).

Before proceeding with the analytical frame of public opinion–foreign policy relation in America, a distinction between the terms foreign policy and diplomacy must be made. Generally speaking, foreign policy refers to policies and decision made within the country but the result of these decisions and policies take place outside the country and consequently affect other countries, as opposed to domestic policy which affect the lives of citizens within the country. Diplomacy constitutes the tools through which foreign policy is implemented (Kaufman 9-10). This very definition explains to a certain degree the speculation and possibility that American public opinion does not place foreign policy

issues among its prioritized salient issues for policies in that regard; war on terror and promotion of democracy, for instance, affect in large part other countries in a noticeable way but not within the United States.

Additionally, foreign policy can also be defined as a government's strategic design and course of action in dealing with other countries and other international actors, ranging from international organizations like the UN to a terrorist cell or insurgent group in a foreign country, on the world stage. Consequently, an average person would think that foreign policy is not salient and it will seldom affect public policy or citizens at home. Nonetheless, and particularly in America, foreign and domestic policy are intertwined as the assassinated US president John F. Kennedy enunciated in 1951 in the House of Representatives:

> Foreign policy today, irrespective of what we might wish, in its impact on
> our daily lives, overshadows everything else. Expenditures, taxation,
> domestic prosperity, the extent of social services — all hinge on the basic
> issue of war or peace. (Dallek 158)

Any foreign policy decision, especially in regard to dispatching troops for a military intervention or engaging in a full scale war, would ultimately affect the peoples' lives at home in one way or another. For instance, the war on terror provoked more attacks at US interests abroad as well as home, not to mention the extravagant budget directed for such wars that had to be sourced out of the pockets of taxpayers. In other words, budget that should have been allocated for jobs or insurance ended up as empty-bullet shells on the streets of Baghdad and Kabul. Nonetheless, historically speaking Americans still believe that wars are good for economy as it was the case after the great depression which from the Americans' perspective was ended by World War II. Another likewise precedent was set by US president George W. Bush who told the late Argentinian President Nestor Kirchner,

during the 4th Summit of the Americas, hosted in Mar del Plata, that the best way to revitalize Argentinian economy was to go to war (Weisbrot and Ali).

Foreign policy likewise requires massive support that probably outweighs domestic policy requirements for while the latter is legitimized and issued mainly by the Congress (representatives of people), foreign policy decisions rest mainly with the president and his Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense cabinets, and it seldom reaches the Congress which places a huge burden on the executive branch to rally support for its approach to international relations to elicit public opinion. In fact, in modern democracies, generally speaking, public opinion and legitimacy are interlocked notions; foreign policy decisions may appear so righteous and legitimate and thereby elicit public support, and then they attract stronger and sustainable public support to legitimize further illegitimate decisions for in America, in particular, public support matters much more than legitimacy (Strong 16). Consequently, foreign policy issues that receive enormous support from the masses will prompt such issues to be salient in citizens' life like war on terrorism, promotion of democracy, nuclear programs of the 'allegedly' unfriendly-US states …etc.

It should be noted that in America, while the president's hands are constrained vis-à-vis domestic policies with the Congress and the Supreme Court thanks to checks and balances, he enjoys more liberty in foreign policy which doesn't require any congressional or judicial validation, and cannot be vetoed. Moreover, the president doesn't necessarily always act on the inclinations of public opinion concerning foreign policy but he does rather act in the best interest of the nation due to uninformed or sometimes misguided opinion vis-à-vis certain foreign policy issue. In this regard, the notable founding father Alexander Hamilton wrote in the federalist papers 71 that:

> The republican principle demands that the deliberate sense of the
>
> community should govern the conduct of those to whom they entrust the

management of their affairs; but it does not require an unqualified

complaisance to every sudden breeze or passion. [Instead,] when occasions

present themselves in which the interests of the people are at variance

with their inclinations, it is the duty of persons whom they have appointed

to be guardians of those interests, to withstand the temporary delusion in

order to give them time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection.

(Foyle, Counting the Public In, Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign

Policy 3)

Furthermore, Hamilton's assumption that public opinion might hamper wise foreign

policy was joined by Walter Lippmann, who believed that when public opinion affects

foreign policy decisions, it maliciously constrains the hands of policymakers to make

prudent choices. Additionally, Hans Joachim Morgenthau, one of the major twentieth-

century figures in the study of international relations joined Lippmann and Hamilton with a

more realistic perspective and wrote in this regard, "the rational requirements of good

foreign policy cannot form the outset count on the support of a public opinion whose

preferences are emotional rather than rational." (Holsti, Making American Foreign Policy

56). The three pioneers, who represent the classical realism school of foreign policy,

justified their inclination to ignore public opinion in making foreign policy due to the slow

response of the public while foreign policy issues require immediate actions and the

public's lack of relevant and pertinent information about the issue, and as such public

opinion might in fact jeopardize the country's interest if relied upon when making foreign

policy (Foyle, Counting the Public In, Presidents, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy 3-4).

Nonetheless, classical realists insisted that public opinion should be ignored before

making foreign policy but not after. In other words, when policy makers have successfully

designed and planned their strategies, they should opt for building support through the very

sentimental, moody and emotional foundations that caused public opinion expulsion from foreign policy making in the first place, and as such public opinion and foreign policy will finally be aligned with each other, and this perspective is labeled by the '*Almond-Lippmann consensus*' (5).

Contrariwise, the liberal school represented in the idea of Woodrow Wilson, in accordance with George Washington's farewell address, believed that the public enjoys an intrinsic virtuous quality that provides a just, righteous, steady and valuable recourse to the nation's foreign policy. Furthermore, he argues that "only a free people could hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interest of mankind to any narrow interest of their own." Moreover, Wilsonial liberalism insisted that public opinion affects foreign policy by limiting the extreme tendencies of elitism, represented in the interest of lobbies and interest groups like the oil industry, the military industry and the AIPEC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) by urging and prompting the government to make foreign policy that is in the best interest of the people and immunize the government and its official from the death grip of such lobbies and interest groups (5-7).

Although American foreign policy is inclined to the classical realism school, presidents often opt for involving the masses to shift policy towards majority public opinion, especially when opinion polls show that the issue that is subject to dispute or legislation, is salient and the opinion is very intense and cannot be ignored (Canes-Wrone 1-10). Furthermore, polling has enabled presidents to understand and measure public opinion and increased their responsiveness to public preferences albeit with reluctance and delay, and sometimes they opted for employing the same polling along with public relation experts to reshape public opinion to what they initially require to gain more support and

momentum to their decisions and policy and increase their election prospects (Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy 289-290).

Unquestionably, the power of public opinion in American policy making— whether domestic or foreign— is a millstone around the neck of presidents and policymakers. Therefore, trends towards manipulating public opinion in America are more apparent than attempts to cater to it. In addition, the 9/11 events marked a U-turn in public opinion involvement in foreign policy, not only as a recourse but also as a laundering mechanism and legitimizing spell cast upon critical foreign policy decisions mainly in regard to war on terror and promotion of democracy, which cost Americans not only taxpayer boxes but many American lives. Furthermore, despite the realistic approach implemented to American foreign policy that neglects and ignores public opinion, the latter is still the puppeteer of the political scene of American politics. Nonetheless, policymakers, the president, and government officials in America are constantly advancing manipulative tactics and tools in the quest of reshaping and redefining public opinion in favor and in support of the very policies they have designed. Such tools and tactics include controlling the media, censorship and most of all fear, which is the ultimate weapon for rallying support for a certain decision, and as Adlai Stevenson put it, "The tragedy of our day is the climate of fear in which we live and fear breeds repression. Too often, sinister threats to the Bill of Rights, to freedom of the mind are concealed under the patriotic cloak of anti-Communism" (Cohen 197). Despite the fact that the cloak of anti-communism is disengaged, the cloak of anti-terrorism is actively engaged, and the purpose is always the same; manipulating public opinion and rallying support for dishonest policies.

1.4. Consent and Dissent in American Public Opinion vis-à-vis War on Terror and Democracy Promotion

Post 9/11 discourse of American politics shows a drastic increase in invoking terms like war on terror, democracy promotion, pre-emptive war, jihad, radical Islam, weapons of mass destruction, and so on, of the plethora of libels mainly dedicated to surging feelings of fear and trepidation in United States. In his celebrated book '*Selling War to America: From the Spanish American War to the Global War on Terror,*' Eugene Secunda noted that, "battles are won in combat but wars are won by winning the hearts and minds of the people," and fear is the best way to rally support for the war on terrorism (Secunda and Moran). Indeed, the surge of fear was a pivotal factor in rallying support for post 9/11 US foreign policy, which relied mainly on military intervention and full scale war under the pretexts of war on terror, pre-emptive wars and democracy promotion. Furthermore, the American people was prone to believing everything the government disseminate via the media as 89% of the American people gave media a good or excellent rating (Hess and Kalb 252).

Moreover, post 9/11 events were immediately trailed by spiking degrees of trust in the government and an almost complete consent to its policies implemented domestically and abroad. The American author, journalist and former *New York Times* executive editor Jill Ellen Abramson attributed the surge of trust and of consent to the element of fear insidiously deployed by policymakers through media; she enunciated, "you couldn't find a story that's more relevant to the lives of the people of the country." Additionally, war on terror made it to the top of salient issues on which public opinion was very intense and less controversial as the majority of Americans were willing to go to bloody confrontations to save American lives and promote democracy, all thanks to the media in all its forms (251-252). Additionally, in his addresses to the American people, George W. Bush was

repeatedly sending messages of fear and intimidation of eminent danger and threat that emanated from the '*Axis of evil*' as he labeled it to refer to Iraq, Iran and North Korea (Berinsky 29). Surprisingly, it was revealed that months post 9/11 attacks, the Bush administration managed to completely set the agenda of the media so that war and military adventures were positively covered and people were convinced with the war quests. (Nacos, Bloch-Elkon and Shapiro 182-183)

Fig. 2: Major Media Types
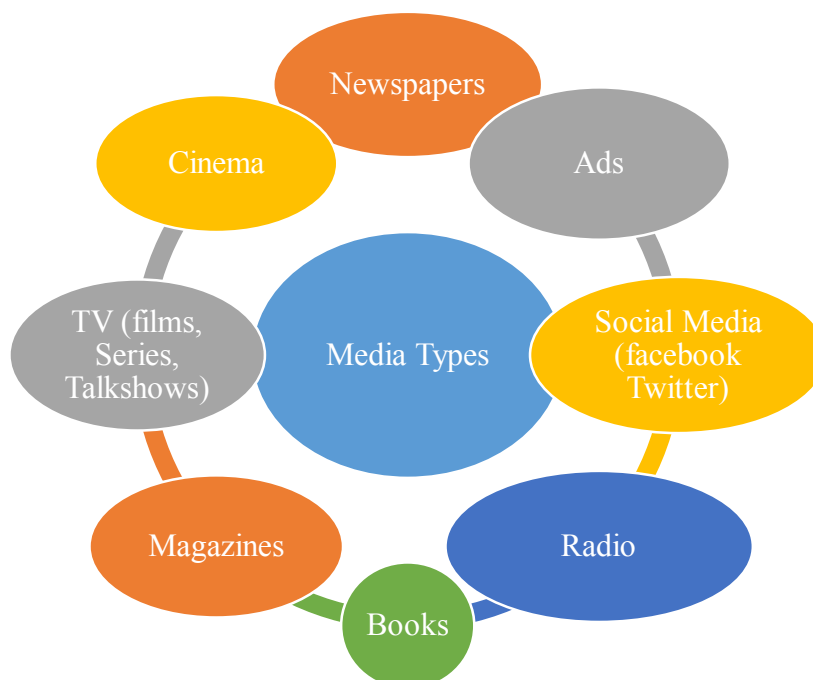
Simultaneously, with the reassuring surge in public trust in government and the unwavering consent shown by the Americans towards their government, the Pentagon created an Office of Strategic Influence (OSI) devoted to aboard propaganda, and its foremost mission was to influence public opinion particularly in Islamic and Arab countries. The OSI's narrative was to feed disinformation to foreign media to weaken its opponents and to give more credibility to the disinformation campaign at home. More importantly, the Pentagon hired an international public relation firm called the Rendon Group, based in Washington D.C. and headed by John Rendon Junior who referred to himself as the

information warrior, to wage the pentagon's disinformation campaign as the firm was known to have achieved great results in the negative depiction of Iraqi atrocities during the gulf war where it was hired by the Kuwaiti royal family. The reason behind engaging the services of the Rendon Group was to make sure that public opinion is swayed in favor of war; as George W. Bush put it in his memories, "… we had a big job ahead of shaping opinion at home and abroad and could little afford bellicose mistakes at the start" (Gardner 224-227).

Concurrently, the CIA embarked upon the mission of manufacturing consent through its Office of Public Affairs charged with guiding media coverage to mold public sentiments and rally them around the flag by any means necessary. Among these means is the motion pictures industry which was and still is the target of state propaganda disguised as entertainment. Consequently, hundreds of movies, blockbusters, and series were produced in the pre and post 9/11 era that positively depict the spy image in movies, celebrate the army, and raise concerns about terrorism and weapons of mass destruction like, for instance, *Clear and Present Danger, the Sum of All Fears, the Rambo Franchise (*the protagonist John Rambo fought and took down almost all American enemies single handedly, from the Viet Cong in Vietnam to promoting democracy in Afghanistan and fighting communists, to the destruction of Mexican drug cartels *), Alias, 24 ...etc.* The same production perpetuated a negative image about 'the other', mainly Muslims, to decrease sympathy towards them and paint all Islamic states as jihadists ready to blow up themselves in American shopping malls or highjack planes and crash them over the Americans' heads (Schou).

More importantly, the propaganda mission deployed through media of all sorts had succeeded in rallying support for governments and implanting hatred and disgust towards other races and nations who were depicted unfriendly or dangerous to the US and its people. The example of Iraq and Afghanistan are living proof of the side effects of the unduly exposure to propaganda. Moreover, movies like *The Sum of All Fears* received over 60% of

approval rating and critics consensus on Rotten tomatoes, and grossed over 200 million

dollars in US Box Office in the first week of their release (Rotten Tomatoes). In addition,

Mathew Alford, the British documentary producer, noted in his book '*Reel Power:*

Hollywood Cinema and American Supremacy' that, "When the President and his advisers

do apply force, it is with heavy hearts; they never apply excessive violence and are ultimately

successful… the film celebrates and makes light of the enormous covert powers of a globally

operating US national security state and its allies" (Alford 92).

Concurrently with the disinformation and brainwashing crusade, the Gallup firm has

been polling to measure US public opinion in regard to the aforementioned issues; for

instance, regarding Iraq, the firm used only one multiple choice question over a period of

time: "What is your overall opinion of Iraq? Is it very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly

unfavorable or very unfavorable?" and the following table shows the detailed results up to

February 2020:

Table 2

 Americans Overall Opinion of Iraq

Date	Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	No opinion
	%	%	%	%	%
2020 Feb 3-16	3	16	53	28	1
2019 Feb 1-10	1	17	53	26	3
2018 Feb 1-10	3	20	47	26	4
2017 Feb 1-5	3	16	49	30	3
2016 Feb 3-7	2	13	48	31	6
2015 Feb 8-11	2	13	45	36	5

2014 Feb 6-9	2	14	46	34	4
2013 Feb 7-10	3	16	46	30	4
2012 Feb 2-5	2	22	46	26	4
2011 Feb 2-5	2	23	46	24	4
2010 Feb 1-3	3	20	44	29	3
2009 Feb 9-12	2	26	40	26	7
2008 Feb 11-14	3	17	44	33	3
2007 Feb 1-4	3	12	41	41	3
2006 Feb 6-9	3	18	39	36	5
2005 Feb 7-10	4	25	38	28	5
2004 Feb 9-12	4	17	39	35	5
2003 Mar 14-15 ^	3	2	25	68	2
2003 Feb 3-6	1	4	33	57	5
2002 Feb 4-6	2	4	39	49	6
2001 Feb 1-4 ^	2	7	34	51	6
2000 Nov 13-15	2	4	35	53	6

Source: The Gallup Historical Trends: Iraq. Washington D.C.: The Gallup Organization, 1991-2020 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1633/iraq.aspx>.

Correspondently, Opinions that range from mostly unfavorable and very unfavorable are dominating the American public opinion's spectrum. More importantly, the unfavorable opinion reached its intense peak by March/April 2003, which marked the beginning of the American aggression in Iraq, giving more momentum and sustainable support to American government in its effort to neutralize an eminent threat, promote

democracy in Iraq and destroy the alleged Iraq's WPD under false pretexts. The table is a testament of the American consent to its government's action achieved through mass media propaganda and sponsored by the big interest groups— mainly 'big oil.' More importantly, the war with Iraq had left a comforting sentiments among Americans that the country is safer after the war (see Table 3), that the terror of the 'mushroom cloud' had been successfully aborted, and that the Iraqi people are enjoying the blessing of the American democracy.

Table 3

American Public Opinion Vis-À-Vis US Safety After War on Iraq

Date	Safer	Less safe	No change	No opinion
	%	%	%	%
2004 Mar 5-7	50	37	10	3
2003 Dec 15-16 ^	56	33	9	2
2003 Nov 14-16	48	43	7	2
2003 Oct 24-26	45	43	10	2
2003 Apr 22-23	58	33	8	1
2003 Apr 10	51	37	9	3

Source: The Gallup Historical Trends: Iraq. Washington D.C.: The Gallup Organization, 1991-2020 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1633/iraq.aspx>.

The US propaganda machine did a remarkable job in swaying opinion against enemies of the United States. Post 9/11 media discourse blather was meant to sell the Americans that Osama Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda foremost infamous figure and number one wanted for the 9/11

terrorist events, was not in fact working alone but he had strong ties to Iraq's Baath party, and in particular ties to the incumbent leader Saddam Hussein. For the Bush administration, the pretext of WMD was not enough and was not very convincing— of course not to the Americans who were already predisposed to the idea of unfriendly Iraq, but to the world community who is now under the trepidation of terrorism.

Thus, in the period between September 11 and March 2003, home media and the OSI's main task was to convince the public, home and abroad, that Saddam Hussein was an accomplice of Osama Bin Laden, and was in fact an avid sponsor of terrorism and AL-Qaeda. Indeed, polling the question: "Do you think Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11th terrorist attacks, or not?" done by the Gallup firm (see table 4) proved three facts. First, the terrorist stereotypes can be applied to Arabs and Muslims unfriendly to US. Second, the media brainwashing pool is efficient and prosperous, and finally it is safe to launch war on Iraq with repercussion home or abroad (Holsti, American Public Opinion on the Iraq War 30). To sum up, the consent manufactured by media in favor of war on terror and promotion of democracy was second to none, and it was not until years later that people started experiencing the dire consequences of America's military adventures around the world, which is the same case for American public opinion in regards to military deployment to Afghanistan (see fig. 3).

Table 4

Americans Who Believe That Saddam Hussein Was Personally Involved in The 9/11 Attacks

Date	Yes, was involved	No, not involved	No opinion
	%	%	%
2006 Mar 10-12 ^	39	54	7
2004 Oct 1-3 ^	42	53	5

2004 Jun 21-23 ^	44	51	5
2003 Dec 15-16 ^	53	42	5
2003 Sep 19-21	43	50	7
2003 Mar 14-15 ^	51	41	8
2002 Aug 19-21 ^	53	34	13

Source: The Gallup Historical Trends: Iraq. Washington D.C.: The Gallup Organization, 1991-2020 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1633/iraq.aspx>.

Fig. 3: The Rightfulness of American Military Campaign in Afghanistan
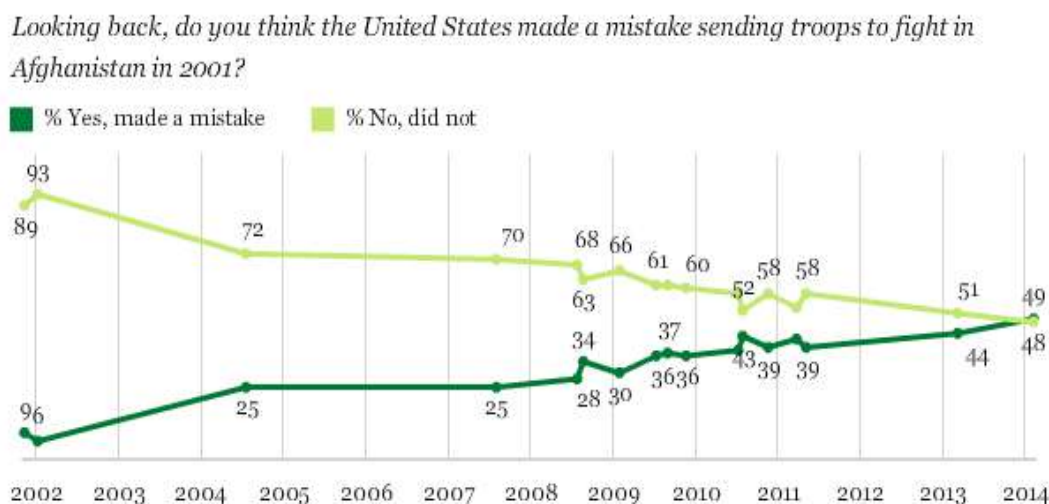
Source: More Americans Now View Afghanistan War as a Mistake. Washington D.C.: The Gallup Organization, 2001-2014 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/167471/americans-view-afghanistan-war-mistake.aspx>.

By June 2004, the 9/11 commission report was issued and found that "no credible evidence that Iraq and Al-Qaeda cooperated on attacks against the US"; also, a week later the Senate Intelligence issued another report joining the 9/11 commission in blaming the CIA and intelligence community for the poor, if not deliberately misleading, intelligence

on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (Holsti, American Public Opinion on the Iraq War 32). The reports marked a pivotal change in US public opinions regarding the US military operation in Iraq and Afghanistan from consent to dissent (see table 4, and fig. 3).

Furthermore, the rise of causalities and the declining trust in government and its intelligence were very toxic for public support of the American military adventures because it is a wisdom in American politics since the Vietnam War that Americans will not rally behind perpetual and bloody military conflicts (Gelpi, Feaver and Reifler 3-4). Subsequently, patterns shown in polling in regard to Iraq were very similar to those in Vietnam (Berinsky 30-32), and by the end of 2004 the support for war in Iraq had decreased dramatically and by the end of 2004 more than half of the US public were against war on Iraq (see table 5).

Table 5

Americans Who Favor or Oppose War on Iraq

Date	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
	%	%	%
2007 Jan 15-18	36	61	3
2006 Feb 9-12 ^	40	56	4
2005 Jun 16-19	39	59	2
2005 Mar 18-20 ^	47	47	6
2004 Nov 19-21 ^	48	46	6
2003 Oct 24-26	54	43	3
2003 Apr 22-23	71	26	3
2003 Apr 10 †	72	22	6
2003 Apr 7-8	68	28	4

2003 Apr 5-6	70	27	3
2003 Mar 29-30	70	27	3
2003 Mar 24-25	71	27	2
2003 Mar 22-23	72	25	3

Source: The Gallup Historical Trends: Iraq. Washington D.C.: The Gallup Organization, 1991-2020 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1633/iraq.aspx>.

Consequently, the American public opinion has grown increasingly frustrated and dissatisfied with the Bush administration's military failure in Iraq as more causalities were reported, which hammered the last nails for Bush's unwavering public support and more voices were calling for bringing the dough boys home (Gelpi, Feaver and Reifler 6-7). In 2011, when Barrack Obama decided to withdraw US troops from Iraq, he received massive public support (see table 6). Although most Americans held war on Iraq as a big mistake on false pretext, which was the "weapons" that were never found in Iraq, George W. Bush in an interview about his memoires *'Decision Points' with* NBC reporter Matt Lauer, in an attempt to launder his legacy, apologized to the Americans for involving them in the Iraq war, but the real stigma is that he never apologized to the Iraqi people (Bush).

Admittedly, American public opinion played a huge role in sustaining military operations abroad as a part of war on terror and democracy promotion scheme, but at some point when the propaganda machine and the media could not sell any more deception to the public, consent turned into dissent and calls to withdraw and cut those military losses short were heard around the world. More importantly, trends in dissent invaded not only the daily news and reporting about the war but also the movie industry, where films like *Fair Game* and *The Green Zone* were produced to contest the disinformation campaign as

well as military interventions abroad based on deliberately falsified intelligence. (Keeton and Scheckner 97-98).

Table 6

American Public Opinion in Regard to Obama's 2011 Decision to Withdraw Nearly All US Troops from Iraq

Date	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion
	%	%	%
2014 Jun 20-21	61	34	4
2011 Oct 29-30 ^	75	21	5

Source: The Gallup Historical Trends: Iraq. Washington D.C.: The Gallup Organization, 1991-2020 <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1633/iraq.aspx>.

1.5. Media, Propaganda Machine and the Making of American Public Opinion: Fabricating Enemies, Adjusting Public Behavior and Manufacturing Consent

In the past 200 years, America has carried out military interventions, full scale wars, and/or coup d'états in nearly every continent with the pretext of protecting lives, U.S. interest, war on terror and promoting democracy. In addition, more than 700 billion dollars are spent every year as defense budget; most of it goes to financing wars abroad and funding the media which constitutes the forefront of American propaganda machine, and the result is more war-torn nations, immeasurable death tolls, more stereotypes, prejudice and racism on screens, and finally more anti-Americanism (Sirvent and Haiphong 186).

Nonetheless, the 700 billion dollars have to be recovered somehow, for Uncle Sam is not Mother Theresa. Accordingly, Noam Chomsky argues in his book '*Profit Over People: Neoliberalism & Global Order*,' that all American wars are economically motivated. Additionally, he argues that the founding father intended for America to be governed by the elite wealthy class, and he quoted the first Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court and President of the Continental Congress John Jay, who enunciated, "…the people who own the country out to govern it" (Chomsky, Profit Over People: Neoliberalism & Global Order 38-39). Furthermore, Chomsky stated that the US constitution was in fact an aristocratic charter that attempted to give power to an elite class of society and exclude primarily those who were poor, and he quoted James Madison in regards to the issues of elections and voting franchise, where Madison stated,

> If elections were open to all classes of people, the property of land proprietors would be insecure. An agrarian law would soon take place, giving land to the landless. The constitutional system must be designed to prevent such injustice and secure the permanent interests of the country which are property rights. (39)

Madison therefore argues in favor of the government's special treatment of a certain class of people (wealthy, aristocrats) and property owner, and subsequently, an equal term of ownership is parallel to big business in contemporary discourse, such as big oil, big tobacco, military industry…etc. He also remarked that the real threat to the American model of democracy, which is primarily elitist and economically steered, was "An increase of population will of necessity increase the proportion of those who will labor under all the hardships of life & secretly sigh for a more equal distribution of its blessings." (40)

Chomsky's narrative about political economy and the ruling class in America questions almost all the foundation of American democracy such as the consent of the

governed which is the core idea on which public opinion rests that subjugates the ruling

class to the people while in fact, as Chomsky argues, it subjugates the people to their ruling

class; he states,

> The people must submit to their rulers, and it is enough if they give consent
>
> without consent. Within a tyrannical state or in foreign domains, force can
>
> be used. When the resources of violence are limited, the consent of the
>
> governed must be obtained by a device called "manufacture of consent" by
>
> progressive and liberal opinion…the enormous public relations industry,
>
> from its origins early in this century, has been dedicated to the "control of
>
> the public mind. (38)

More importantly, in another publication joined by Edward Herman, Chomsky

emphasized the idea of economically-driven propaganda. He argued that media serve and

propagandize for powerful societal class interests that mainly have a death grip on

economic and finance sectors; such big interests include the weapon manufacturers lobby,

the oil lobby, the tobacco lobby, the pharmaceutical lobby, the insurance lobby …etc.

(Herman and Chomsky xi-xu). Such interest groups, pressure groups, and lobbies literally

control politics via money in America; as aforementioned in regard to war in Iraq, the oil

industry played a significant role in promoting the catastrophe and in the aftermath the Iraq

oil contracts were split like an apple pie between Exxon Mobil and British Petroleum

(Ziady). Indeed, American politician sponsored by big interests have been deploying media

with all of its branches in the quest of propagandizing society for all sort of issues with the

aim of manufacturing consent. Moreover, movies that have come to acquire a substantially

global audience were designated as one of the foremost vessels of propaganda as it elicits

more emotional responses than the news, which is rigid and dry.

Correspondingly, the father of public relation Edward Bernays joins Chomsky's findings in the possibility and mechanisms of public opinion manipulation through large-scale propaganda via media branches, albeit on different sides of the barricade; while Chomsky issues grim warning on public opinion manipulation, Edward Bernays is its trailblazer. Furthermore, Bernays's 1928 article *Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and The How* sets the primary bricks for the public opinion manipulation process, adjusting public behavior and manufacturing consent or dissent using positive propaganda, as he wanted to make it more appealing and legitimate, he wrote in his article that

> Public opinion can be manipulated, but in teaching the public how to ask for what it wants the manipulator is safeguarding the public against his own possible aggressiveness. To create and to change public opinion it-is necessary to understand human motives, to know what special interests are represented by a given population, and to realize the function and limitations of the physical organs of approach to the public, such as the radio, the platform, the movie, the letter, the newspaper, etc. If the general principles of swaying public opinion are understood, a technique can be developed which, with the correct appraisal of the specific problem and the specific audience, can and has been used effectively in such widely different situations as…changing the impression which the American electorate has of its President, introducing new musical instruments, and a variety of others. (Bernays, Manipulating Public Opinion: The Why and The How 958)

Furthermore, Bernays urges propagandists to approach people's opinion via their most accessible communication organs, like the radio and motion pictures. He strongly articulated the potential of such media as a vessel for propaganda that will sway public

opinion pro or con a specific issue because they constitute a media that the public not only loves but also understands, not to mention the prospect of mass production and distribution which means a subsequence mass audience and mass recipient of propaganda messages (961,971). In addition, US presidents like Ronald Reagan realized the effectiveness of television and visual media in mobilizing the public (Canes-Wrone 7). An example of Reagan's prescient statement is the CNN-effect where visual media's increasing coverage and depiction of a specific issue can be the primary catalysts behind people's pressure on policymakers to act (Holsti, Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy 291).

  Eventually, the large scale of media broadcast and mass production of shows and movies, or what is called the media proliferation and the growing television consumption in America that reached 5 hours per day (Koblin), led politicians and states to endeavor to use it not only as a vessel of politics but also as a tool for public diplomacy (Aurbach and Castronovo 131). Furthermore, Bernays wrote in his book *Propaganda,* in regards to movies as a container of propaganda and a tool for disinformation:

> The American motion picture is the greatest unconscious carrier of
>
> propaganda in the world to-day. It is a great distributor for ideas and
>
> opinions. The motion picture can standardize the ideas and habits of a
>
> nation. Because pictures are made to meet market demands, they reflect,
>
> emphasize and even exaggerate broad popular tendencies, rather than
>
> stimulate new ideas and opinions. The motion picture avails itself only of
>
> ideas and facts which are in vogue. As the newspaper seeks to purvey news,
>
> it seeks to purvey entertainment. (Bernays, Propaganda 156)

Unquestionably, mass media and propaganda are inextricably linked, and their effects and action are incessant although more blatant during war times where presidents are in desperate need of public support and positive coverage. For instance, the war on Iraq and

Afghanistan received great support thanks to the acquiescence of the media who provided only positive coverage of the US military exploits in battles and broadcasted only information that would interact with the public's belief system (Olmastroni 3). Meanwhile, they withheld any information that would jeopardize the war efforts (such as causalities among US Army) or disengage the patriotism and military venture's enthusiasm generated by the 'rally around the flag effects' (Schmidt, Shelly II and Bardes 234). Moreover, media tends to suppress not only negative coverage that would undermine the propaganda campaign or the disinformation mission but also any content with different or opposing ideology labelling it the suppression of dissent, as George W. Bush put it in his war announcement, "You are either with us, or against us." (Lewis 44-45)

Indeed, the idea of manufacturing consent and engineering a war-supportive opinion begins with finding the right factor that will shake people's belief system and then provide a way-out, as Chomsky argued in his book *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*. This factor is always emotion, particularly fear, and accordingly the remedy is resorting to military campaigns to assuage fear and get rid of the very alleged foes that had caused it in the first place. He wrote:

> It is also necessary to whip up the population in support of foreign adventures. Usually the population is pacifist, just like they were during the First World War. The public sees no reason to get involved in foreign adventures, killing, and torture. So you have to whip them up. And to whip them up you have to frighten them. Bernays himself had an important achievement in this respect. He was the person who ran the public relations campaign for the United Fruit Company in 1954, when the United States moved in to overthrow the capitalist-democratic government of Guatemala

and installed a murderous death-squad society. (Chomsky, Media Control,

The Spectacular Achivements of Propaganda 18)

Furthermore, Walter Lippmann talked about the same factor of emotion and fear, and he

insisted that media stories are dominated by emotions of people that make the news rather

than facts. He also argued that the problem was that the public creates a much distorted

image, cut off from reality, because of the media with all of its bias and stereotypes and

called this image the 'pseudo-environment.' In other words, he said, pseudo-environment

and 'the picture in our head' created by the biased media and propaganda machine

constitute men's full picture of the world (Lippmann xvi-xvii).

Other tactics used by the propaganda machine through media are fabricating enemies,

framing stories and sustaining the illusion that America is under attack and American lives

are at jeopardy (Chossudovsky 151-153). The notion of framing stories refers to the

organization of ideas, storyline, characters, and tone of coverage for the purpose of placing

a particular idea, person or policy at the center of public attention giving more momentum

to the propagated information (Ferguson 60-62). This is coped with a permanent infliction

of change to the individual's system of values and norms that make it an easy prey for

future disinformation campaigns, not to mention the use of music and drama effects that

deepens the impact of issue and insidiously elicit a stronger emotional response

(Christiansen 10-14). Additionally, the process of fabricating enemies of America has been

handed long ago to the media pool. Take, for instance, Latin American presidents who are

ridiculed daily and accused of all heinous crimes including drug trafficking (Weisbrot and

Ali), in particular the late Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez who was the subject of first

U.S.-staged media coup d'état in the world in 2002 (Golinger 79-80).

More importantly, all media branches were manipulated and used for propaganda

dissemination including movies, which played a great role in the laundering and support

job of military actions and American exceptionalism. In the aftermath of 9/11, Hollywood executives met with Bush's senior political advisor Karl Rove to discuss the potential of Hollywood in going to war and contributing to the war on terror. Unquestionably, the answer was that 2 thirds of Hollywood production were war movies in collaboration with the Pentagon, CIA and the White House and depicting themes of patriotism, exceptionalism, war on terror, American humanitarian efforts and simultaneously vilifying the barbaric 'other.' Such movies included Saving *Private Rayan*, *Saving Jessica Lynch*, *Collateral Damage*, *The Sum of All Fears*…etc. (Keeton and Scheckner 83-92)

Conclusion

The chapter endeavored to spotlight some major conception in regard to public opinion in general and in America in particular. Throughout this chapter, the importance of public opinion in shaping policies and pressuring policymakers to act in a specific manner has been proven. Nonetheless, vice-versa also applies as the 20th century marked the rise of the public relation business, of which the main purpose is to shape, reshape and define public opinion using different methodologies— mainly the media.

A firm link between propaganda and media has been established, and subsequently the largest supplier of information to the people in America and around the world is the subject of massive propaganda and disinformation campaign with the objective of rallying support for some policies like war on terror and democracy promotion. Media has been ever since the vessel of the propaganda machine that tries to manipulate public opinion to manufacture either consent or dissent mainly in regard to salient issues like military interventions and waging full scale wars as was the case in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Subsequently, all branches and types of media have been sent to a propaganda war campaign, including peoples' favorite entertainment sphere: the movie. In collaboration with the White House, CIA and the Pentagon, Hollywood has been producing movies in

service of government policies, politicians or America's big interests to engineer more

consent and rally more support for issues like war through top 10 box office movies like

Saving Private Ryan and The *Sum of All Fears.*

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Chapter Two: Hollywood's Ties and Collaboration with US Government's and Military Institutions

Introduction

Motion picture, film, movie, cinema and blockbuster: all of these terms are used on a daily basis when referring to different things or probably the same thing. Nonetheless, the current chapter will endeavor to bring light to these vague, sometimes interchangeably used, terms. More importantly, this chapter will discuss the urge to militarize and enlist Hollywood, the biggest entertainment industry in the world, in service of the American government and its propaganda machine.

Furthermore, the chapter will examine the longstanding relationship between Hollywood and the Pentagon, the White House, the CIA in particular, and US national security agencies in general and how these collaborations in the past decades forged Hollywood movies to be a vessel for government's propaganda and made the motion picture literally an American disinformation crusader.

Additionally, the chapter will analyze and demonstrate the political dimension of Hollywood and how it turned from being an entertainment outlet to a political podium of the government and for national security agencies to carry out their business of laundering politics and dirty wars joined by celebrities as a strengthening factor for such tactics and also for bleaching the image of politicians in America. Finally, the chapter will consider the prospect of using Hollywood movies as a deterrence weapon using psychological factors through the very positive and invincible depiction of US army and the US in general as an intimidation preventive strategy.

2.1. Hollywood: A Brief History of an Entertainment Giant

Hollywood is the veracity of the American dream; it has been near and dear to Americans' hearts and a devout companion through every momentous historical events.

Hollywood walked Americans on the moon in *Apollo 13;* it mourned the beloved

assassinated president in *JFK* and *Jackie*, and celebrated another ones' legacy in *Lincoln*

and *The Crossing*. It marched through America's civil war-torn heart with African

American Union soldier in *Glory*, celebrated their struggle for freedom in *Amistad* and *12*

Years a Slave, and it honored their desegregation battle in *Selma* and *Malcom X.*

Moreover, Hollywood has been with Americans all along through WWII, the Cold

War, the Gulf War, and the War on Terrorism while doing a marvelous job, not only in

making events more tangible and foreseeable to Americans, but also in bringing the bad

guys and all sort of related stereotypes to Americans' imagination and subsequently

American life. However, what Hollywood succeeded in bringing to the Americans, besides

feelings of laughter and entertainments, are feelings of fear and trepidation that: "America

is under attack; nobody is safe, and we must save American lives."

In 2005, a poll was conducted by Discovery Channel, which inquired who is the

greatest American president of all times. The outcome was extremely surprising as George

Washington ranked fourth, Abram Lincoln second, and Ronald Reagan ranked first

(Wilson). A close look at the life of the ex-movie star Ronald Reagan would undoubtedly

reveal that he is the embodiment of the American dream; a poor boy from humble

background who anchored his way in the land of opportunities to be the US president.

Many would argue, though, that Lincoln's struggle is very similar, perhaps harder, to that

of Reagan, but they ignore the swinging factor, which is the Hollywood badge of fame for

Reagan was a prominent figure in the motion picture industry that came to forge the

aspiration and the big essence of what it means to be a true American (Coyne 7).

Furthermore, Hollywood's activism and progressivism did not only define and shape

the boundaries and the aura of the American dream, but it was more of a trident mirror for

the American society. Americans could see the 'other' through Hollywood;

simultaneously, the world beholds America through reels of Hollywood, and thirdly, Americans could see themselves and develop a more ethnocentric view about themselves, paving the way for consolidating the myth of exceptionalism and elitism in America. Additionally, since its inception, Hollywood was a podium and a literal amplifier of diverse ideologies through history cloaked with entertainment and underplayed with pervasive political messages and agenda. All in all, American movies did a marvelous job in shaping, defining, consolidating and propagating the modern American national identity with all of its components and characteristics (7-8). Nonetheless, new ideas were featured as a part of the American dream and subsequently a vital component of American political trends through American cinema, which is 'America is always under attack,' and an action must be carried out to save America and the Americans (White 150-152).

Nonetheless, before embarking upon the breath-taking ride of reviewing some landmarks in Hollywood's history, it is imperative to provide definition for terms that will be discussed and used repeatedly and sometimes interchangeably like: movie, film, blockbuster, cinema and motion picture. According to *Oxford Dictionary of Film Studies*, the term cinema is in fact an abbreviation of the term cinematograph, a film camera invented in the 1890s. The term refers to films, movies, and all institution through which films are produced, distributed and exhibited to the public, synonymously with movie theaters; however, a distinction must be made as the term denotes both institutions where film is produced and exhibited and film text, language, form sounds, style…etc., which are also denoted by the same term (Kuhn and Westwell 333).

On the other hand, the term film, which according to *Oxford Dictionary of Film Studies* is synonymous with movie and occasionally synonymous with cinema in its entirety, refers to any kind of motion picture shot and edited to gather to create a meaningful story with the purpose of entertainment or otherwise (422). Moreover,

Merriam Webster Dictionary defines film, movie and motion picture synonymously as "a recording of moving images that tells a story and that people watch on a screen or television" and "a series of pictures projected on a screen in rapid succession with objects shown in successive positions slightly changed so as to produce the optical effect of a continuous picture in which the objects move" (Merriam-Webster 269,473). Additionally, the term blockbuster denotes the same idea of movie or film, except it received an extremely high production and marketing budget, massive advertisement and a considerable public and critiques' attention (76). Finally, the term Hollywood, which aside from the geographical denotation, refers to: "the entire phenomenon of popular entertainment cinema and synonymous with the film industry in the United States (Kuhn and Westwell 400).

The story of Hollywood cinema did not actually begin in Hollywood, Los Angeles, California. The story of cinema began in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century with the Lumière Brothers and George Méliès, a year after the American inventor Thomas Edison's companies displayed for the first time a sequence of moving images through a mechanical peep-hole device called the Kinetoscope in 1894. The French Inventors Lumière Brothers exhibited their first motion picture on screen in 1895 using their devised projector called 'Cinématographe'. The first film projected by the Lumière Brother was called "La Sortie des ouvriers de l'usine Lumière" or "Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory", giving birth to cinema in its contemporary denotation and paving the way for French filmmakers to be the pioneers of cinema in its early days, long before Hollywood studios were established (Thompson and Bordwell 8-9).

Simultaneously in metropolitan American cities— New York, San Francisco, Brooklyn ...etc.— Thomas Edison's invention of the Kinetoscope kicked a spree of small stores called Nickelodeons that featured 5 to 10 minutes' fictional mute one-reel stories

infested by only actors' gestures and movements since sound was not introduced until

1927 in *The Jazz Singer* (see fig. 4). Nonetheless, the early 1900s marked the exodus of

filmmakers to the promise land Los Angeles escaping the strict rules and law suits imposed

by Thomas Edison's patents company that hampered movie makers. More importantly, the

city of angels constituted an appropriate weather atmosphere and diverse landscape and

terrain features for making films, not to mention the quick escape to Mexico in case of a

patent law suit notice, and not to mention that Hollywood was still a small town and

producers and filmmakers could easily buy large areas of land. Consequently, Hollywood

grew quickly to be the center of America's motion picture production (Benshoff and

Griffin 58-59).

Fig. 4: Nickelodeon Store Featuring Kinetoscope Parlor in San Francisco in 1894

Source: Bierend, Doug. Thomas Edison's Steampunk Version of Oculus Rift. 29 May

2014. 20 February 2020. <https://www.wired.com/2014/05/kinetoscope/>.

The business of film that began in America as an exclusive business for white Anglo-Saxon protestant soon attracted lots of minorities from different racial and ethnic background, but not more so as the Jews who saw the potential of the infantile industry and strived to control it. Subsequently, Jews were able to spread their tentacles all over the industry and deployed it in service of ethnicity and diaspora showing their cause to the entire world and eliciting sympathy and support for the ostracized Jews. Nonetheless, not all minorities were welcome in the film business. Blacks and women were specifically excluded and cast away; for the blacks it was a Whiteman work-sphere and for women it was the job of a man that she cannot perform (60).

Furthermore, in its early days, cinema was considered to be a subject of entertainment for Proletariat and immigrants but seldom for the Bourgeois or Aristocrats, who had believed that cinema is socially dangerous as it promotes undesirable ideas. Subsequently, early signs of censorship mechanism were installed and the supreme court of the United States echoed the sentiment by declaring that cinema was not an art form protected under the first amendment of free speech but was merely a business that must be regulated. However, it was not enough to hamper the leviathan from spreading and growing, leading to the replacement of Nickelodeons by Movie Palaces, also called the 'cathedrals of the motion picture,' which could sit in hundreds of viewers. This simultaneously led to the social institutionalization of cinema as ritual in American society and the beginning of Hollywood Classical Cinema, which lasted until 1960s where the Contemporary Hollywood Cinema kicked in (60-63), (Thompson and Bordwell 473) .

Correspondingly, the Classical Hollywood Cinema era marked the huge growth in terms of studios and films, which reached almost 500 films per year compared to 200 films in contemporary times. Moreover, film production fell in the oligopolistic authority of 8

major Hollywood production companies, the Big 5 and the Little 3. Below is a list of the companies and their creators with reference to their ethnical background:

The Big 5 production companies:

- Warner Brothers: Founded in 1923 by brothers Harry, Albert, Sam, and Jack Warner, Polish Jewish descendants.

- Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM): founded in 1924 by Louis B. Mayer, also Jewish.

- 20th Century Fox: founded in 1935 by William Fox, a Hungarian Jew.

- RKO: founded in 1928 by David Sarnoff, also Jewish.

- Paramount: founded in 1912 by Adolph Zukor and Jesse L. Lasky, both Jewish.

The Little 3 production companies:

- Columbia Pictures: founded in 1924 by Harry Cohn, Jack Cohn and Joe Brandt, all of them Jewish.

- Universal Pictures: Founded in 1912 by Carl Laemmle, Mark Dintenfass, and Charles O. Baumann, all of them Jewish.

- United Artists: Founded in 1919 by D. W. Griffith, Mary Pickford, Charlie Chaplin, and Douglas Fairbanks; the last are Jewish.

To sum up, it is entirely safe to label Hollywood as 'a Jewish Cartel', which comes as no surprise as the largest entertainment industry in the world that has tackled all issues everywhere but failed to produce a blockbuster that depicts Zionist crimes in Palestine or implicitly condemn them. On the other hand, the industry is so tickled and happy to produce hundreds of blockbusters condemning the extinct Nazism and the Holocaust (Gabler 208-213).

Concurrently, the standards of stardom were introduced. The Hollywood early star system was merely a person, an actor or actress, that the public likes and would pay to see his/her movie. More importantly, this star must match the criteria: a strong man or passive

woman with middle-class American values and background, a heterosexual orientation, and most of all 'white.' Furthermore, the star system, which is still ongoing with more flexible criteria and political inclinations, made some actors like gods who introduced novel standards of beauty, values, norms, behaviors, and more importantly dictated ideology and affected public opinion. Indeed, the star system, which made specific persons the subject of intense fascination, admiration, imitation and idolization, succeeded in changing some values, norms and concept in the American society due to the reach of their broadcasted influences, which reached roughly 80 to 90 million Americans every week during the Classical Era (Belton 3-13).

Although, profit is Hollywood's guiding principle and primary goal through production and marketing, the industry has been vigorous in finding other sources of profit through Public Relation agencies, government institutions, and so on (Wasko 3-4). For instance, tobacco companies cannot advertise on TV but the PR agencies hooked them up with the motion picture industry, which resulted in thousands of new adolescent smokers every year (Sargent 345). Nonetheless, Tobacco lobby is not the only one with strong ties to Hollywood producers; other institutions and big interests constantly endeavor to deploy Hollywood as a messenger on their behalf, notably the American government with its prominent institution like the CIA, Homeland Security and the Pentagon.

2.2. Arms of Mass Propaganda: Enlisting and Militarizing Hollywood

Whether it is about a rogue Russian general with a finger ready to nuke the US, a communist who bought a WMD from the black market and ready to detonate on US soil, an American working as humanitarian assistant, a doctor in a war-torn country taken hostage by rebels, a deadly virus engineered in Chinese labs and launched in US metropolitan cities, an Al-Qaeda terrorist who plans to highjack a plane and crash it into US buildings, an Arab suicide bomber armed with a vest of explosives and ready to blow

himself up in shopping mall, or even aliens who are invading US cities with their green faces and bullet-proof helmets, very Hollywood scenario ends in the same way: Americans prevail and Americans will always be victorious and save the world from eminent danger of aliens, rogue defecting Russian communists, and the like. Furthermore, Hollywood has always been present and at the center of events, from World War I through the depression, to World War II, warming American homes with courage and confidence during the Cold War and showing them dreadful terrorist of the Middle East during the first and second Gulf War and the Mad Mullah during the Afghanistan War.

Moreover, Hollywood brilliantly reflects the American state of mind, particularly the state of fear that usually plagues the American audience in their daily life during war time or in its prelude (Upton 39-40). This craft of arousing fear and trepidation was mastered and manipulated by Hollywood since World War II where the Nazi Boot sound knocking the doors of safe democracy-longing masses, torture screams that resonated in American homes louder than Gestapo dungeons, and the magnificent Nazi parades that cloaked the agony of the oppressed Europeans, alarmed the Americans of an impending threat and armed their government with a consent to plunge the dough boys in Normandy for the sake of American lives and democracy in Europe (Kracauer 105-109).

Accordingly, with an average American exposed to television for approximately 34 hours per week, according to Nielsen's global survey of multi-screen media usage, not to mention time spent on tablets and smart phone and the more than 7 films per month, constitute an unprecedented smooth platform for the propaganda crusaders to pass their messages on any type of media they choose; whether TV series, movies, reality shows, news ...etc (Jones and Flaxman 121). More importantly, psychologists stress the power of image and seeing in leaving long and lasting effects of ideas and conceptions, especially among children, making the visual type of media—mainly movies— the most suitable

device for propaganda dissemination. Sometimes the target is preferably children to guarantee a consumer of propaganda for life. Furthermore, images are specifically designed to conjure up the connotation and presence of something that is missing, making the concept more perpetual (Berger 7-10).

Another reason for engaging the services of the propaganda crusader, the mass deception weapon also known as Hollywood, is the factor of emotion. The emotional landscape occupies a great deal of the American persona, any American will be willing to act out of emotion more than acting out of logic and necessity. Emotion is the driving force behind intense and salient issues that conquers public opinion's frontline in America. Thus, movies are emotion packages, which are in fact a booby-trap of ideology and propaganda wrapped neatly with music, mise-en-scene, characters (celebrities), narrative and plot, imagery, drama, and armed with emotions that are designed to elicit a specific response from the viewer that serves a cause or a policy or stimuli to draw the viewers' attention a specific issue (Smith 4-9).

Moreover, cinema do in fact mimic human consciousness and offer an approximation of reality that human consciousness will react to and act upon. The renown British neurologist Oliver Wolf Sacks wrote in this regard:

> With its taut stream of thematically connected images, its visual narrative integrated by the viewpoint and values of its director, is not at all a bad metaphor for the stream of consciousness itself. And the technical and conceptual devices of cinema—zooming, fading, dissolving, omission, allusion, association and juxtaposition of all sorts—rather closely mimic (and perhaps are designed to mimic) the streamings and veerings of consciousness (Sacks 217).

Oliver's ideas about film were joined by the French philosopher Henri-Louis Bergson, who enunciated that: "mechanism of our ordinary knowledge is of a cinematographic kind", and the British film critic V. F. Perkins, who described film as "the projection of a mental universe— a mind recorder." The gist of the aforementioned concepts is that films elicit emotions in the viewer that make him/her surprised, afraid, anxious, crying, relieved and/or calm, which is sometimes pleasurable as seeing happy endings or dreadful as seeing a terrorist beheading an American tourist or blowing up himself in a shopping mall, and thereby keeping the viewer's consciousness alert, precautious and protective. Therefore, taking into account the film's huge ability to infiltrate human consciousness and its ability to dictate emotion and thereby actions, government's propagandists and think tank believed that such a powerful crusader must be maximally exploited in favor of government's policies agenda and ideology (Plantinga 48-49).

The early signs of militarizing and enlisting Hollywood were conspicuous during the Second World War; nonetheless, its entanglement with politics and American military adventures goes a bit earlier to the isolationism era of Woodrow Wilson. Correspondingly, filmmakers, studio owner, exhibitors, and celebrities consolidated their efforts on homefront to assist the US government in its war campaign and thereby show great patriotism towards the United States to the government and the American people alike, not to mention the ability to expand their business in the process. The film society's war effort was assisted by the creation of the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry (NAMPI), which collaborated directly with the government to bring the might of the movie industry into war not only via the big screen but also by creating a network of cooperation with other industries using concepts of stardom and the growing popular culture of film in America that hooked everybody and generated a national consensus via movie propaganda (DeBauche 104).

A great deal of films about World War One sell slogans like 'war to end all wars', 'war to make the world safe for democracy.' Of course in the absence of public relation science and all the literature about the power of movies and its novelty among the people it, was not the subject of great focus of propaganda though it was the subject of entertainment for the working class of which large majority was not voting, or not naturalized at all. Nonetheless, the growing potential of the industry made it the field of great focus and a battery of propaganda mission to which Edward Bernays referred as 'the Invisible Government' in his book *Propaganda*.

Bernays refined his propaganda and public relation skills when he was a vital member of the first propaganda ministry in America and the world: the Committee of Public Information, which was created in April 1917, or the Creel Committee eponymous with its first director George Creel. More importantly, the committee main task was to control the flow of information to citizens through media channels, including movies, and the main goal was to show that war was not desirable but inevitable, as Woodrow Wilson put it (Axelrod x-xii). Astonishingly, many Americans believe that their country never resorted to this ugly word that connotes dirty tactics of brainwashing the masses and manipulating public opinion, in other words, Americans do not think that they are subjects of propaganda and disinformation by their country much less other countries, while they thought of Nazi-Germany, Communist-Russia and other US-unfriendly countries as evil propagandists (Donald 5).

Indeed, it is safe to say and not just assume that American films are the largest exports of American exceptionalism and propaganda. Films communicate American propaganda home and abroad; they communicate it to all races regardless of the age or language, even children were not spared from the Hollywood propaganda machine that attempts to infest their brains and subconscious with untruthful and illogical ideas. For instance *MGM's Tom*

and Jerry that depicts a rat who is portrayed as sympathetic and appealing versus the cat Jerry who is evil and stupid at the same time and always loses to the rat Tom. Of course, everybody would watch and laugh, but a message is spotted and planted in our subconscious, or the child's subconscious, that it is ok to tolerate aggression and colonization as long as the one you aggress is portrayed negatively.

Simultaneously, with the growing industry evolving, new content is introduced to kids, from simple cartoons to cartoon action movies, to hook them up even better and prepare them to receive more explicit propaganda content, like the Tobacco company advertisement attitude aforementioned. More importantly, Hollywood war films served war efforts tremendously, not only by generating consent and support among the people but also by aiding draft and selling values of patriotism and furthering the rally round the flag effect (6-15) and providing movies with themes that exalt and promote American unity in face of evil aggressors. It also depicted American from different racial and ethnical backgrounds overcoming their racial and ethnical difference and work in harmony in the bring down a common enemy of the United States while concurrently depicting the enemy in the most grotesque stereotypical image possible (Benshoff and Griffin 59). The only rival that understood the power of persuasion and brainwashing of film were the Nazis. They didn't endeavor to explore the entertainment side of cinema stand-alone; rather, they attempted to deploy it for military purposes keeping pace with the American attitude of militarizing cinema (Willmetts 34-35).

As it is already mentioned, the military insignia of Hollywood was apparent during the Second World War. The industry was so determined to rouse the American people to state of war hysteria for several reasons. Notably, and as aforementioned, the majority of people running the cinema business in America were of Jewish descendant and were very keen to stop the alleged holocaust committed against the Jews by Nazis, even if it meant pushing

the United States to the brinks of war. Moreover, despite the large campaign of Jewish Hollywood on the silver screen, little objection was voiced by Senator of North Dakota Gerald Nye, who not only voiced his objection to Hollywood mass war propaganda and entanglement with politics but also accused the "foreign born men from Russia, Hungary, Germany and Balkan countries," of pushing the country to the battleground with Nazis for financial or otherwise purposes (Brownell 42).

More importantly, Hollywood's inspiring crusade of WWII and the joint effort of Hollywood's Republican-Democrat filmmakers, producers, exhibitors and celebrities were boosted by the creation of the Office of War Information (OWI), which operated from 1942 to 1945 and was charged with managing the flow of war information and propaganda home and abroad. The OWI, through its branch *The Bureau of Motion Picture* directed by Lowell Mellett, granted Hollywood access to resources and information to make its entertainment business and propaganda mission more essential and effective to war efforts as a result of the huge leap of faith that the people and the government had invested in Hollywood to bring the image close to their homes. Consequently, the end of WWII as much as it was devastating to Europe, was beneficial to America and to Hollywood in particular (44).

Furthermore, to confirm that Hollywood's reel properly embodies the effort, goals and ideologies of WWII, the OWI drafted and distributed a detailed and continuously evolving manual called '*Government Informational Manual for the Motion Picture Industry*' as an advisory and guiding points to inform and educate the people to achieve desired goals of the government during war time. The introduction of the manual reads as follows:

> There have been many requests from the motion picture industry for basic
> information on government aims and polices in the war effort. To meet that
> demand, the Office of War Information has established an office in

Hollywood. The purpose of this office is to assist the motion picture

industry in its endeavor to inform the American people, via the screen, of

the problems attendant on the war program. Its set-up is purely advisory.

(United States. Office of War Information. Domestic Branch. Bureau of

Motion Pictures.)

The manual also specifies the basic themes, as stated by Franklin D. Roosevelt who

believed that if the masses are informed more support will be generated, that the industry

must tackle to provide a better picture of the war, and they are as follows:

- The issues: why we fight. What kind of peace follows victory?

- The enemy: whom we fight. The nature of our adversary.

- The United Nations and peoples: with whom we are allied in fighting. Our

    brothers-in-arms.

- Work and production: how each of us can fight. The war at home.

- The home front: what we must do. What we must give up to win the fight.

- The fighting forces: the job of the fighting man at the front.

Subsequently, Hollywood during the war period engaged in producing three specific

types of movies: feature-length films, patriotic shorts, and nontheatrical pedagogical films.

The first type was the main source of income for Hollywood studios to keep bread on the

table and keep the industry running, despite the fact that the Jewish community injected a

lot of capital in the industry for the sake of war propaganda and countering Nazi-war

propaganda (Koppes 22). The second and third types were dedicated to demo starting war

efforts and informing the masses (Brownell 58).

Indeed, the motion picture industry emerged of WWII, not only as an entertainment

podium that brings laughter to American homes, but also as a powerful military weapon

that enlisted and mobilized its adherents, spectators and pioneers, supported the war effort

and the troops, enlarged the draft vacuum as more Americans were willing to stand up for American democracy, instilled a trend of proper behavior during war time, and consolidated patriotism among all classes and races of society.

Furthermore, Hollywood was granted a perpetual laissez-passer to the world of politics to load the cargos of propaganda and ideologies that Washington D.C. produces and exhibits on the silver screen. Before the war came to an end, President Roosevelt rewarded one especially avid crusader and Hollywood studio executive Douglas Fairbanks by appointing him cultural ambassador to Latin America for his marvelous work in influencing the public opinion through Hollywood production (52). More importantly, Roosevelt was invited to the Motion Picture Award Ceremony and was the first president to speak in such a ceremony where he enunciated that:

> The American motion picture as a national and international force, is a phenomenon of our own generation. Within living memory we've seen it born and grow up, grow up into full maturity. We've seen the American motion picture become foremost in all the world. We've seen it reflect our civilization throughout the rest of the world. The aims and the aspirations and the ideals of a free people, and of freedom itself.
>
> That is the real reason that some governments do not want our American films exhibited in their countries. Dictators, those who enforce the totalitarian form of government, think it a dangerous thing for their unfortunate peoples to know that in our democracy, officers of the government are the servants—and never the masters—of the people.
>
> I do not minimize the importance of the motion picture industry as the most popular medium of mass entertainment. But tonight, I want to place the chief emphasis on the service that you can render in promoting solidarity

among all the peoples of the Americas. For all of this, and for your splendid

cooperation with all who are directing the expansion of our defense forces, I

am glad to thank you.

In the weeks and the months that lie ahead, we in Washington know that we

will have your continued aid and support. (Freed)

Though, Roosevelt did not live to see the end of the war, his trend of involving the silver

screen survived and thrived. The WWII saw yet another fear-arousing factor, which is the

A-bomb, or the Mushroom cloud bomb, referring to the nuclear bomb cast on Hiroshima

and Nagasaki to prompt the Surrender of Imperial Japan and mark the end of WWII.

Nonetheless, the A-bomb that ended the war was present in the consecutive Cold War with

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Hollywood during the entire period of the

Cold War, from 1947 to 1991, exploited the image of that devastating mushroom cloud to

infest American homes with fear from communist Russia and its allies, much more the

same for Iraq and recently North Korea and Iran (Evans 3-7).

The same rhetoric of fear and intimidation, even using the mushroom cloud sign, was

used in war on terror. It is safer to say that war has become a business to Hollywood,

investing and profiteering from ridiculing and demonizing people on screen and

intimidating the Americans on the other hand to complete the mission (Keeton and

Scheckner 6-7). The mission of Hollywood terrorist began ahead of the 21st century with

different profiles, but in the early 21st century, Hollywood settled on the image of the

bearded Muslim terrorist wrapped with fingers of dynamites or C-4 and ready to blow up

American people or torture them out of pleasure only to be slaughtered by a dull bayonet.

The mission of creating the Hollywood terrorist was not hard, especially with years of

libeling the entire Muslim world as a result of the ongoing conflict in Arab and Muslim

territories. Therefore, most Hollywood war and terrorism films of the 21st century feature

the image of the Muslim as the main terrorist, and on the other hand, they portray the American as the humanitarian, philanthropist, democracy promoter and protector. Nonetheless, the same films feature torture of terrorists and even killing them in custody for the sake of saving American lives, like the series *24* and *Mission Impossible* (Kellner 119). Subsequently, images of torture do not shock American national conscience any longer even if they turned out to be real as in the case of the Guantanamo detention prison in Pigs Bay, and Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

2.3. Hollywood's Ties to the White House: President's Mission and Representation between Reel and Real

The first episode of the Leading man activism in Hollywood had already began in the 1930s, with Abraham Lincoln delivering his inspirational Gettysburg Address on silver screens resonating words of unity, hope and redemption to the masses in times of the Great Depression. Not long after, Franklin Roosevelt and the WWII disinformation crusade followed suit, echoing torture screams and bombs' blast from Europe. Thenceforward, the US president's sojourn in Hollywood was prolonged to serve different purposes, of which entertainment is the least. Furthermore, over the past century, the US president has been a reoccurring visitor on the silver screen— sometimes as a factual character and sometimes fictional, albeit it is hard to make the difference between the two as the man always wields a great power, enjoys sound judgement and makes hard choices, engages in political and sometimes physical struggle for the sake of Americans, and even beats the bad guys single handedly.

Film critics insist labeled movies featuring president as purely 'political films' as they stand for a completely different of entertainment which is very analogical to reality. In addition, these movies represent a distinct genre of film that features entirely different themes and characteristics notwithstanding that all films are somewhat political or

designed as a vessel for propaganda, ideology or political message. Furthermore, such films deal with issues near and dear to politics, political campaigns, political rivalries and foreign policy issues whereby the United States is an adherent or its politician are the main actors or advocates (Keyishian xiii).

Such movies also portray the difficulties and dilemmas related to politics faced by both politician and the people alike and the hard choices that must be carried out by politicians to save the day, sometimes with heavy heart. Consequently, a quick analysis and examination of cinematic canvas of political films of any era would certainly give the spectator a good glance and a comprehensible view of the people's salient issues, relevant policies, eminent threats, political activism and the role of political institutions (Rollins, OConnor and Shenkman 143). Accordingly, movies of the same era also demonstrate the people's desired image of their favorite candidate and savior whom they believe carries the hopes of the crowds and ready to embrace the poor, tired, and huddled masses yearning to breathe free (Coyne 41).

Bouncing between the president juxtaposing factual and fictional, Hollywood has been producing more and more movies with diverse themes, settings, and characters that features the US president, sometimes with admirable words, sometimes with masculine terms that reflect the core values of American popular culture, and sometimes vilifying their attitudes. In addition, tens of biographical films were produced featuring presidents' legacy, notably those of Abraham Lincoln, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Bill Clinton, George Washington, Barack Obama ...etc., though many presidents with a shining biography and a rich legacy were unexplainably ignored. More importantly, 1930s and afterwards witnessed the crossing of the president from the White House corridors to Hollywood hollow galleries in numerous movies which features factual and fictional character with great focus on Abraham Lincoln, who was often portrayed as a modest family man, wise,

honest, and who has no ambition for political career or fame, witty and humorous and represents the image of 'man of the people' (Rollins, OConnor and Shenkman 144-148, Coyne 41-53, Rollins, OConnor and Shenkman 6-7).

Concurrently, movies were a reflection of the American political atmosphere and the political culture of the masses through the lens of the camera that revealed that people of the era were interested in the good looking leader with a smile in his face but not interested in the ideas or reforms he will be advancing. In parallel, some government-sponsored political movies endeavored to depict reel activists tilting at windmill and sometimes waging a media war against a weak or corrupt political leadership as a psychological maneuver to assuage the Depression side effects on people who would feel at ease if being exposed to such footage. Furthermore, movies depicting the president were very informative showing the people the prerogatives and powers of the president on a national and international level and even depicting the entire presidential election process with its ins and outs, from nomination, to inauguration, to waging wars.

More importantly, while movies reflect government policies and endeavor to sell the image of the leading man as the most appropriate, they also reflect people's desire for a strong masculine leadership that outweighs that of Lincoln or Washington. The recurrent image of President Theodore Roosevelt as leader on a horseback speaks the mind of the people and the need for someone who can take charge and respond positively to the nation's problems (Rollins, OConnor and Shenkman 9-10).

Other political films, like *Gabriel Over the White House* (1933) depicts the image of a head of state who is very energetic, determined and minded and who refuses to deploy the troops against the unemployed. Instead, he creates jobs and proposes a series of aid programs that, after getting a very favorable response from the audience, shifted from fiction to be reality thanks to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had near and dear

relations to the movies and the motion picture industry in general. The same president echoes the American mind that European politicians will not outmaneuver the US again to their economical fiasco (143-153). Indeed, movies can not only shape policies and a government's course of action, but they also project strength and empower the leading man to take serious measures while smiling in front of the camera in times of the greatest triumphs as well as fighting with his fists in times of the greatest trials (11-12).

Consequently, a quick transcript analysis was conducted. The analysis comprised 16 political movies featuring US presidents that received great reviews on IMDb (Internet Movie Database) and RottenTomatoes.com, both respectable and credible film criticism networks. The analysis was carried out using Qualitative Data Analysis Software Nvivo 11 to inquire about frequency of words used in the movies with the aim of uncovering the usage of words' type and nature, notably those that reflect and connote action and masculinity or prompt more presidential activism. The query was set for 20 most frequent word.

The films are:

- *Thirteen Days* (2000), featuring president John F. Kennedy

- *Abraham Lincoln*: *Vampire Hunter* (2012), featuring president Abraham Lincoln

- *Amistad* (1997), featuring president Martin Van Buren (nominated for 35 awards, won 5)

- *Dick* (1999), featuring president Richard Nixon (nominated for 5 awards)

- *Elvis & Nixon* (2016), featuring president Richard Nixon

- *Frost/Nixon* (2008), featuring president Richard Nixon (nominated for 23, won 5)

- *Hyde Park on Hudson* (2012), featuring president Franklin Delano Roosevelt

- *LBJ* (2016), featuring president London B. Johnson (nominated for one award)

- *Lincoln* (2012), featuring president Abraham Lincoln (nominated for 131 awards, won 41)

- *Nixon* (1995), featuring president Richard Nixon (nominated for 7 awards)

- *Primary Colors* (1998), featuring president Bill Clinton (nominated for 8 awards, won 2)

- *Secret Honor* (1984), featuring president Richard Nixon

- *Southside With You* (2016), featuring president Barack Obama (nominated for 14 awards, won 3)

- *The Better Angels* (2014), featuring president Abraham Lincoln

- *The Butler* (2013), featuring president Ronal Reagan (nominated for 25 awards, won 5)

- *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), featuring Abraham Lincoln

The table below illustrate the 20 common used words in the films analyzed:

Table 7

 Word Frequency Query of 16 Hollywood Movies Featuring US president

Word	Length	Count	Similar Words
Nixon	6	1140	Nixon, Nixon's
president	9	1094	presidency, president, president', presidents, presiding
knows	5	1075	know, knowing, knows
looks	5	854	look, looked, looking, looks
liking	6	762	like, 'like, liked, likely, likeness, likes, liking
just	4	751	just

getting	7	736	get, gets, getting
Kenny (kennedy)	5	706	kenny
one	3	688	one, ones
now	3	653	now
rights	6	620	right, rightful, rightfully, rightly, rights
well	4	614	well
wants	5	570	want, wanted, wanting, wants
Lincoln	7	564	Lincoln, Lincoln's
thinks	6	529	think, thinking, thinks
housing	7	525	house, houses, housing
coming	6	522	come, comes, coming
day	3	492	day, days
got	3	462	got
seeing	6	457	see, seeing, sees
backs	5	446	back, backed, backs
sir	3	444	sir
whites	6	444	white, whites, whiting
man	3	405	man, manning
goods	5	402	good, goodness, goods
taking	6	400	take, takes, taking
going	5	389	going, goings
yes	3	389	yes

making	6	365	make, makes, making
lets	4	362	let, lets, letting
people	6	342	people, 'people', peoples
tells	5	335	tell, telling, tells
office	6	325	office, officer, officers, officers', offices
talks	5	317	talk, talked, talking, talks
things	6	313	thing, things
ways	4	310	way, ways
needs	5	305	need, needed, needing, needs
calls	5	276	call, called, calling, calls
yeah	4	265	yeah
hands	5	264	hand, handed, handful, handing, hands

Source: Generated by QSR Nvivo 11, movies transcripts obtained from
<https://www.scripts.com/script-pdf>

  Beyond any doubt, the data shows a large and extensive use of masculinity terms that connote strong action or connotes people's salient issues, rights, wants and needs like housing rights, wellbeing and justice. Moreover, the data also shows the frequent use of adverbs like 'now' that connote the need for speedy, immediate actions that must be carried out by the president. In addition, words that suggest property and acquiring assets such as 'get, got, things, take, make, goods' are extravagantly put into action throughout the movies' discourse, asserting the right of property and welfare of the crowds. Nonetheless, terms that elicit conformity and submission to the head in chief are excessive, urging the audience to be more willing to accept the president's policies and actions, thus

embracing the president's ideology with open arms. Furthermore, the term 'white man' is recurring throughout the 16 movies asserting the classical profile of a US president, a longstanding tradition that was breached by Barack Obama in 2009.

The post-WWII era witnessed a massive development in communication technologies and media proliferation as a part of the Cold War arm race. Accordingly, the motion picture industry enlisted to fight the Cold War side by side with the White House, the Pentagon, and other government security institutions. Hollywood's foremost mission was to embellish the image of the president and related to the contemporary American culture, which at the time had very different standards of beauty and a more physically exaggerated characteristics' profile for the US president. As such, Hollywood endeavored to portray the leading man as divinity-like of beauty, attraction, and masculinity American style. Kennedy followed suit the motion picture manual for US president profile and assumed office short after, only to be the leading figure and preferable celluloid presidential image, and consequently, films depicting Kennedy were received with very favorable reactions, positive reviews, and academy awards mainly for cinematography (Peretti 2-10).

Concurrently, presidential candidates, politician, incumbent presidents and officials resorted to the motion picture industry's celluloid characters and stars to learn tactics of capturing the public's attention and to glamorize their picture in the eyes of their spectators by embracing Hollywood's reel discourse and celluloid beauty exigencies on screen. This includes gestures, way of dressing, manners, voice tone and even haircuts. Moreover, the white house embarked on adapting publicity techniques used in Hollywood's advertisement business to successfully sell the president, government's ideology, and the White House's policies to the masses. Consequently, the legacy of the long interaction between the show business represented in Hollywood and the White House generated not only a consensus that Hollywood and Washington are the entertainment capitals of the

America, but also that Hollywood is necessary for the president's own ends and his government's as a reel picture, not the real picture. Hollywood decides the US president and decides his racial, facial and aesthetic profile. In mentioning this, the reason that so far the United States has never had a female president is that there is no female president blockbuster, and it is best put by Jack Valenti, who served as Lyndon Johnson's top aid and a president of the *Motion Picture Association of America*, that "movie people and politicians spring from the same DNA" (5-8).

As Washington's visitations to Hollywood increased, politicians, and particularly presidential candidates realized the importance of the motion picture industry to a successful tenure and re-election prospects. Bill Clinton, for instance, cultivated a very interlocking bond with Hollywood and the entourage of producers and directors. Consequently, Clinton received great, numerous and positive, if not inspiring, cinematic depiction during and post his tenure in the White House, notably in *Primary Colors* (1998), which received very positive reviews and nominated for eight awards winning two (11).

Moreover, President Barack Obama, who is allegedly the first media-created American president in history, could not miss the cues of Hollywood in his re-election in 2012. He resorted to the motion picture industry to finance his campaign and glamorize his image using Cosmic dust of stars, who attended his Hollywood sponsored party (Shapiro 304, Stanley 11-12). In regard to Obama's fundraising tactics, Michael Scherer from the *Time Magazine* wrote:

> In late spring, the backroom number crunchers who powered Barack
> Obama's campaign to victory noticed that George Clooney had an almost
> gravitational tug on West Coast females ages 40 to 49. The women were far
> and away the single demographic group most likely to hand over cash, for a
> chance to dine in Hollywood with Clooney — and Obama.

> So as they did with all the other data collected, stored and analyzed in the
> two-year drive for re-election, Obama's top campaign aides decided to put
> this insight to use. They sought out an East Coast celebrity who had similar
> appeal among the same demographic, aiming to replicate the millions of
> dollars produced by the Clooney contest. (Scherer)

Obama's tactic was very fruitful to his re-election prospect, which completed successfully. Consequently, the trend of using movie stars to advance political agenda or involving them in political affairs has been settled to be of great benefit. Just recently, Donald Trump, the incumbent US president resorted to the same tactic, not for re-election prospect, but to increase his falling popularity by engaging the glamor of celebrities like Kanye West. The latter has been a longtime supporter of Trump and decided to wear Trump's Make America Great Again cap during all his concerts (Telegraph Reporters).

Admittedly, the collaboration between Hollywood and the White House goes deeper beyond the celluloid image of the president to assert the spirit of patriotism and national defense. Consequently, Hollywood has been in collaboration with the White House, producing movies like *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington, Olympus Has Fallen, Angel Has Fallen, London Has Fallen,* all tending to strengthen the American unity and elevate senses of patriotism and pride through the character of the US president who spares no effort for the sake of America, even if it meant surrendering himself to death (Stanley 24-25)

2.4. Hollywood's Collaboration with CIA and Pentagon, and the Pro-Government Political Discourse

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Pentagon, and Hollywood have always been there working in concert and doing remarkably fine vis-à-vis American national security. Nonetheless, the 9/11 events have brought them under the Fresnel spotlight of the

public and the Congress though admittedly sharing the same interest and signaling out the same enemies to the masses as a threat for America and its wellbeing. Thanks to Hollywood, the entire American public appreciates the campaigns and sacrifices of the US army abroad. They feel the need that such protectors of lives, liberties and democracy must be strengthened— assuming a great connotation of sanctification and veneration in American popular culture— and that they must carry on its sacred mission of fighting terror and preaching democracy.

However, the same canonization does not apply to the CIA— at least before 9/11— as it was depicted as merely a secretive organization with secretive missions dwelling in the shadow, and when it visits the silver screen it is to assassinate a rogue Vietnamese general, to steal top secret USSR files of Nuke codes, or simply to counter soviet intelligence in Eastern Germany. Its adherents were Americans who chose to give up their normal life to protect America, and if they lost their lives in battle, they receive a star in CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia with no name on it as a symbol of sacrifice with no commemoration or gratitude because it is the duty of every American, making it an icon of American culture.

Nonetheless, by the end of the Cold War and the demise of the most prominent enemies of the United States, the Soviet Union, which collapsed, and Communism. The need for a shadow organization, about which the people have no information nor any clues how much money of taxpayers' dollars it takes to operate or what its mission are in the absence of real threat, questioned the very existence of the CIA. Milt Brenden, a retired Central Intelligence Agency officer and film consultant, explained that when the CIA was created in 1947 by President Harry S. Truman, it was to confront the Mighty Soviet Leviathan (Theoharis, Immerman and Johnson 2), and that "it was easy, once upon a time, for the CIA to be unique and mystical. It was not an institution. It was a mission. And the

mission was a crusade. Then you took the Soviet Union away from us and there was nothing else" (Jenkins, The CIA in Hollywood: How the Agency Shapes Film and Television 34). Consequently, Washington thought thoroughly in dismantling the CIA since it was deemed useless and probably out of control as most of its activities could not be monitored and no real threat was on the horizon, but eventually the organization proved efficient— mainly with appearance of a new alleged enemy, 'Islamic terrorism', and was allowed to sustain its mission to be one of the popular icons of American culture.

The CIA's image on screen was improving mainly after the 90s and the early 20th century, receiving inspiring depiction through 3 main shows on 3 major networks; *Alias* on ABC (broadcasted from 2001 to 2006, nominated for 75 awards, won 5 awards), *The Agency* on CBS (broadcasted from 2001 to 2003, featuring unprecedented filming of the actual CIA headquarters), and *24* on Fox (broadcasted from 2001 to 2014, winning 36 awards). It is worth noting that all three shows started airing after September 2001, and all of them feature CIA protagonists played by prominent stars with attractive personalities and diverse racial and gender profiles who are skilled, brave, committed, work in harmony, and who have engaged in a life-and-death battle against the force of evil in this world identified as terrorism (Theoharis, Immerman and Johnson 1-2). More importantly, throughout the all seasons of these shows, the CIA is depicted as a transparent, honest and ethical organization, and even when its agents engage in unethical acts of torture, albeit for the sake of America or for a greater cause, the agency is either unaware or disapprove of these actions.

Simultaneously, movies and blockbusters joined the campaign of laundering the CIA via the silver screen. Several movies and blockbusters topped the US Box Office at the time of their release, like *Spy Game* (2001), *The Recruit* (2003), *The Equalizer* (2014-2018), *Mission Impossible* (1996-2018), Safe House (2012), *Salt* (2010), *Spy* (2015), *Argo*

(2012), *The Sum of All Fears* (2002), *Ronin* (1998) ...etc. All these blockbusters, which

were met with very positive reviews, great success and huge revenues, featured the same

dynamics as in the aforementioned TV shows depicting the Agency as a win-win deal: you

get a James-Bond dream job and you get to be a patriot. Nonetheless, the depiction of the

CIA saw some dissent in Hollywood mainly after the Agency failed to predict or intercept

the 9/11 events, which cost the Americans almost 3000 lives, and failed to apprehend the

main responsible for it 'Osama Bin Laden.'

Additionally, the Agency wanted an image that stimulates integrity, clarity and

patriotism very similar to that of the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation). The latter is a

law enforcement agency that has always been depicted in a very positively since its

inception in 1908 (M. Alford 11). The FBI agents, or G-men, are always portrayed as

patriotic, committed, disciplined, very ethical, and never engage in shady business or moral

ambiguities and never cover the wrong doings of their colleagues or of their own, giving

the FBI a very iconic display in the American culture and society (Sbardellati 5).

The CIA is an independent agency that reports directly to the President and the

Cabinet of the Executive Branch, particularly the Department of Deference (DOD),

referred to as the Pentagon, Department of State (DOS) and Department of Homeland

Security (DHS). This means that aside from working for its own aesthetic features through

Hollywood, it also endeavors to support the policies and ques of the White House and

regulates the entertainment industry to propagate and sell pro-government ideology and

politics (Shapiro 304). Accordingly, the Agency attempts to shape public opinion and sway

it to pro-government stance via guiding news coverage, movie themes and depiction of

salient issues and thereby creating a desirable reality to mold the public opinion in favor of

a specific government stance and for these ends the CIA created the Office of Public

Affairs (OPA) to work as a liaison loop with the media sphere which is actually the tip of

the iceberg compared to the influence that the CIA exert on the Media and in particular Hollywood (Schou 11).

Nonetheless, the exploits of the CIA, the Pentagon and the White House in Hollywood did not spring from their fair dealing and bright political human record but from exerting pressure and control over the industry using insidious tactics that range from denying shooting scenes and plot to denying access to equipment and finally blacklisting. Accordingly, the CIA cultivated an increasingly interlocking and indispensable relationship with Hollywood's prominent screenwriters, producers, directors and movie stars. In turn, this enabled the CIA to glamorize the spy image and the Agency in general in exchange privileges like shooting films in the CIA headquarters, documents that serve the film plot, and highly dignified treatment for stars and producers who engage in CIA-friendly projects like the series *24* and *homeland*. Nonetheless, the CIA's bargains with Hollywood include much more (13).

Fighting dissent in CIA representation on silver screen was a great concern to the Agency after the First Gulf War and USSR dissolution. The spy organization was the subject of repeated despicable and disgraceful depiction as it was always portrayed as rogue, unethical, immoral and favors assassinations over negotiations causing the American public to regard the CIA as a band of secretive assassins representing the worst and darkest side of America. Thus, in many movies, viewers see such scenes as a CIA agent dressed casually and arriving at a scene where an asset is tied to a chair; the agent pulls out his pack of weird dreadful tool in such a calm manner and starts cutting the asset's fingers and nails as if he is having breakfast with no compunction or remorse. Moreover, the infamous case of Aldrich Ames, a CIA agent who turned out to be working for the USSR selling top secret US information and amassing a pile of money from it for almost 8 years without getting caught, was very damaging to the bouncing reputation of

the CIA. It prompted a chain of events that tantamount to a 20% staff reduction,

intelligence budget reduction by 80%, a subsequent conference to debate the idea to sustain

or dismantle the CIA by the Gerald R. Ford Library (Jenkins, The CIA in Hollywood: How

the Agency Shapes Film and Television 34).

Consequently, the CIA was compelled to deploy its influence on Hollywood for the

purpose of laundering the Agency's blemished as Hollywood constituted the only window

that would reach large audience and can be manipulated to shape the public's judgement

on the CIA. Thus, the first attempt was to educate and inform the public about the CIA and

its ins and outs, especially when CIA officers realized the fact that any movie or series

featuring the CIA would receive a great attention from the masses. Chase Brandon, the

CIA's first entertainment liaison officer, argued in regard of collaborating with Hollywood

that, "if we didn't work with them, we were leaving ourselves open for misrepresentation.

We have systematically been typecast as the bad guys in one movie after another, so we

decided to help the industry portray the agency more accurately and fairly portray the CIA

in scripts" (32).

More importantly, the former CIA director Robert Gates created a Task Force for

Greater CIA Openness, which was deployed to inform the public about the CIA and

generate more support for the Agency. Additionally, the task force praised its work with

Hollywood as most influential in regard to the Agency's public image. Consequently, the

Agency's job in Hollywood ranged from assisting filmmakers in film scripts' accuracy and

credibility to providing shooting locations including CIA premises in Langley, Virginia.

The outcome constituted a positive image of the CIA on screen. Yet, despite the fact that

the Agency undertook a passive approach to Hollywood at first and offering only

assistance when requested, the approach evolved to be more active, leading the Agency to

engage its full weight and resources to mitigate the bad influence of scandals like the

Aldrich Ames betrayal and to restore its long cherished Cold-War mystical presence in the American popular culture.

Accordingly, the influence and presence of the CIA in Hollywood grew bigger and strongly manipulative, and its assets of directors, filmmakers, screenwriters and movie stars grew larger. As a part of CIA activism in Hollywood, there was a planned-to-be-aired show called *The Classified Files of the CIA* by the Television Production Partner (TTP), which is prone to be supportive of CIA projects that would be supportive of America and American way of life. Moreover, TTP exhibited an undeniable plea to demonstrate the Agency in a very positive and inspiring image throughout the show. Additionally, when the show was being written, the CIA insisted on not only modifying or removing certain excerpts of the script, but also entirely changing it to what it wanted, exerting excessive control over the show and the producer in general. Though the show was at the production stage it was cancelled at the last minute due to financial reasons as the Network could not disregard the profit side as the show would have generated sufficient revenues (How the Central Intelligence Agency works with Hollywood: An interview with Paul Barry, the CIA's new Entertainment Industry Liaison 491).

Consequently, in 1996 the Agency engaged the services of Chase Brandon, the CIA's first Entertainment Industry Liaison Officer. The Agency's entertainment program was created in the light of the Pentagon structured program to provide the industry with advice, shooting locations, and equipment for better depiction of the Agency. Nonetheless, any help was conditional as the Liaison Officer must examine the project, read the script and calculate the outcome— whether it was in favor or against the Agency and what it stands for. If it did not conform to the Agency's criteria it was either denied assistance or modification was requested by the Agency to ensure a better portrayal and positive

exhibition. Paul Barry, who succeeded Chase Brandon as the Liaison Officer, explained the guidelines of the CIA's cooperation with Hollywood, enunciating:

> My guiding principles for cooperation generally require that the project represents an authentic portrayal of the organization, seeks to provide a favorable impression of the organization, and suggests that there is a reasonable expectation that the project will stimulate positive interest in the organization. (The CIA in Hollywood: How the Agency Shapes Film and Television 48)

In other words, movies that do not conform to the CIA's ideology or guidelines do not receive any support or assistance. However, it does not mean that the CIA is able to stop the production of the show; it simply means that there will not be any collaboration between the producers and the Agency, and that is the end of the CIA's influence over projects or allegedly so.

On the other hand, the Pentagon waves a great influence that supersedes that of the Agency by light miles. Unlike the Agency, the Pentagon, with its complex organizational structure (see fig.5), offers a variety of sourcing mechanisms for filmmakers. They include military personal— be it navy, infantry or seals, shooting locations; equipment like jetfighters, hawks, submarines, aircraft carriers, and original documents or footage in regard to film plot or designated event location, thereby sparing the producers and filmmakers millions of dollars. Additionally, for decades, filmmakers received unwavering support from the Pentagon and the US military, not only for the sake of a positive depiction of the US armed forces and the negative portrayal of their enemies, but also to propagate wars and military intervention as the only reasonable and logical responses to eminent threats to America, and the deal between the DOD and the filmmakers is sealed

with a production assistance agreement that stipulate all the DOD's conditional support

(Alford and Secke 3-5).

Fig. 5: The Department of Defense Organizational structure
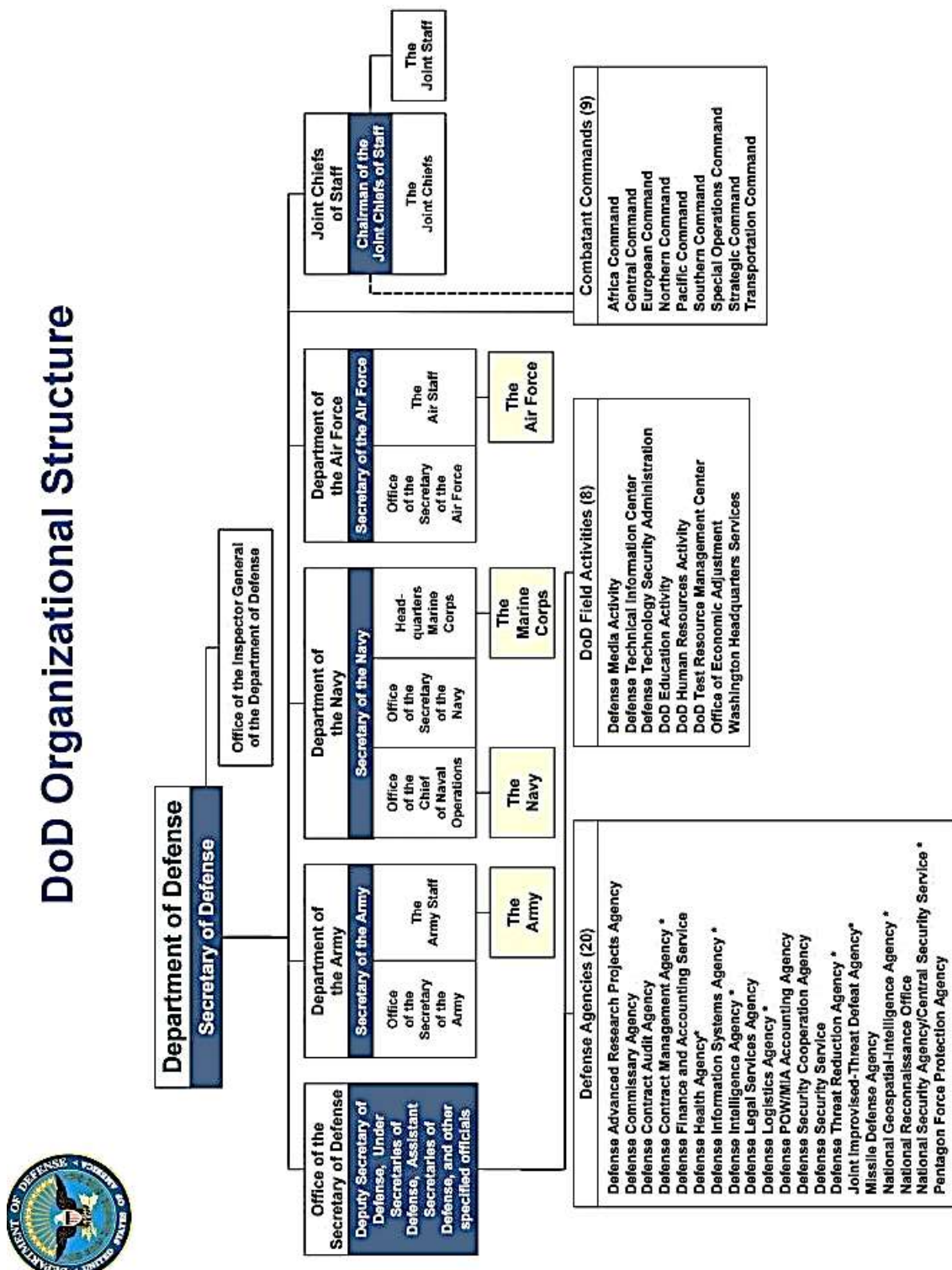
Source: obtained from <http://www.defenselink.mil/odam/omp/pubs/guideBook/ToC.htm>

However, unlike the CIA, who bargains to change some portion of the film script, the Pentagon requires changing facts, dialogues and scenes at the DOD's whim to positively portray the military and the government. As Brandon Chase asserts in regards to Phil Strub, the Pentagon's Special Assistant to the Media who is charged with working with Hollywood, "Phil Strub can actually say, 'I want pages six and seven completely thrown out or you don't get to use the aircraft carrier' (Robb 150). In other words, the Pentagon does not actually bargain with producers and filmmakers, but rather coerces them to doing exactly what the Pentagon wishes.

Moreover, the difference between the CIA's approach and the Pentagon's one, is that while the Agency can influence the storyline at the early stages of filmmaking by suggesting ideas, edits, removals and exert some undeclared control, the Pentagon can influence or perhaps control the storyline and the ideas propagated at any stage and can even hamper production by denying access to equipment or pulling strings to complicate the film production. (Robb 92, Jenkins, The CIA in Hollywood: How the Agency Shapes Film and Television 42-44)

However, it is safe to say that the CIA's interference to exert influence and control over Hollywood productions occurs in less formal and sometimes discrete ways than that of the Pentagon. An example of the Agency's concealed influence and control is the case of screenwriter Gary Devore who was writing a film script called '*The Big Steal*', which featured Panama as a ravaged country by the US military and the Pentagon and where the CIA are ceasing the day to steal General Manuel Noriega's laundered drug money. Surprisingly, as soon as Devore completed his script, he disappeared, along with his script on his way home. One year later he was found drowned with his car in a shallow channel. He was found in the front seat without his hands, as an ultimatum to those who dare tarnish the reputation of the Agency or the Pentagon, and a symbolic message in thriller-movie

way to screenwriters that if you challenge the Agency or the Pentagon, you might get your hands cut off and drown (M. Alford 12-14) . Accordingly, a British writer and documentary producer, who wrote extensively about the collaboration between Hollywood and the US government, wrote an investigative book called '*The Writer with No Hands*' featuring the last days of Gary Devore and attempting to give perspective into his assassination by the US Government. While writing the book, Alford received a stern warning from the CIA to leave it be and mind his own business.

Additionally, in 2000 it was revealed that a CIA drug Officer injected tens of millions of dollars in major Hollywood Networks to ensure the propagation of plots and scripts in popular shows like *ER*, *The Practice*, *CSI*, and the White House Drama *The West Wing*. These plots and scripts should feature the theme of war on drugs and the US Agencies' battle against drug cartels. Subsequently, the same tactic was made by the Bush administration in 2001, which requested Hollywood's propagation of themes like 'war in Afghanistan,' 'war on terrorism,' 'democracy promotion,' 'citizens war efforts and contributions,' 'supporting the troops and their families,' through film to support both the Bush government and the war efforts (14-15).

Matthew Alford applied Chomsky's propaganda model to contemporary Hollywood's depiction of the US military and its anti-terrorism campaign and yielded shocking results. In both his books, '*Reel Power: Hollywood Cinema and American Supremacy*' and '*National Security Cinema: The Shocking New Evidence of Government Control in Hollywood*', he argued that the Pentagon through Hollywood tried to represent the US military interventions, not only as a pre-emptive act against eminent threat to the US, but the only reasonable and acceptable response to anyone who dares threaten American security or American lives. He further argued that Hollywood has long undertaken the mission of selling the idea of US supremacy by depicting it as an open-handed country

whose military power's deployment throughout the world has a very positive effect on all nations, especially in regards to fighting terrorists, ousting dictators and promoting democracy (3-4).

Consequently, films that received the Pentagon's support were met with great and positive reactions, like *Top Gun* (1986),which grossed 24 times its budget and received 10 awards, *Behind Enemy Lines* (2001), inspired from the true story of US Air Force Captain Scott O'Grady, who was shot down over Bosnia, and which grossed twice its budget and received numerous awards, and *Black Hawk Down* (2002) directed by Ridley Scott who commented on Pentagon's support for the move enunciating that he could have done the movie without the Pentagon, but he had to call it '*Huey Down*' referring to the Helicopters that were provided by the Pentagon and which the producers could not afford. The film was nominated for 42 awards and won 8 of them (Robb 91, M. Alford 11).

Furthermore, the Pentagon collaboration with Hollywood is not meant only to change the image of the US military and to sell pro-government politics but also to change American history by revising historical accounts and broadcasting them to the American public via the most popular entertainment source in America to shape public opinion and propagate ideologies and newly created historical accounts that tend to structure a pseudo-environment. Thus, the Pentagon wages the most sophisticated, meticulous and successful propaganda or disinformation crusades not only by rewriting scripts or denying physical assistance to filmmakers, but also by coercing Hollywood to adopt only one trend vis-à-vis military depiction on screen, which is positive, inspirational, humane and liberal, and which represents the principle that the Pentagon wants to market with its image, and to this it has been committed since after the Vietnam War (M. Alford 14).

During the Iraq war, US soldiers were depicted as angels of mercy, risking their lives to save wounded civilians and dying holding the pictures of their loved ones as a symbol of

sacrifice and a reminiscent gesture of Lincoln Gettysburg Address's famous line, "we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." Moreover, one film that received great support from the Pentagon and was based on a true story, or at least what the Pentagon liaison official had stated at the time, was produced to rally more support for the war, entitled *Saving Jessica Lynch* rhyming with famous movie *Saving Private Ryan* and connoting the save bravery and heroism of US army.

The film tells the story of US Army private Jessica Lynch who was abducted by Iraqis only to be saved heroically after a great dare-devil mission from an Iraqi Hospital where she was held captive. Nonetheless, Jessica Lynch herself objected to such depiction in the movie stating that it is all a plot of imagination and she had not fired a single shot and never engaged the enemy. More importantly, Lynch stated, against the Pentagon's story, that she was neither shot nor stabbed and there were no hostile forces in the premises of the hospital where she was being treated kindly by Iraqis; she further stated that:

> It hurt in a way that people would make up stories that they had no truth about. They did not know whether I did that or not. Only I would have been able to know that, because the other four people on my vehicle aren't here to tell that story. So I would have been the only one able to say, 'Yeah, I went down shooting.' But I didn't. I did not… No one beat me, no one slapped me, no one, nothing … I mean, I actually had one nurse, that she would sing to me. (Lynch)

Moreover, Jessica Lynch's true story was published in a book entitled *I am a Soldier, Too: The Jessica Lynch Story* by the journalist Rick Bragg who interviewed Lynch and wrote her true account of the story refuting all what the Pentagon publicists had sold to the media and to Hollywood in particular.

Additionally, creating a parallel version of events to ensure a positive representation or the passage of government's messages is not the only tactic deployed by the Pentagon. Other tactics include censorship by making the depiction of filming of movies or images that goes against the Pentagon's guidelines more expensive and impossible to afford for producers and thereby hampering the production of the film. Moreover, producers and filmmakers who are not compliant with the Pentagon's requests and demands are grounded by creating more red tape into their production, shooting and equipment and location access processes. The Pentagon has also compiled an unofficial list of Un-American producers, filmmakers and screenwriters, similar to Hollywood's Blacklist during the Cold War, who must be denied assistance and support, denied access to military declassified records and equipment and deemed anti-American for their attempt to negatively portray America or the American Government and its National Security Agencies in any manner (M. Alford 18-20).

The average Americans have no clue what so ever that the most loveable entertainment resort, Hollywood, is in fact an unwavering propaganda machine operated by two major forces; big interests and US government's political and military decision makers, though it is hard to distinguish the two (Shapiro 304). Every year, almost 700 movies are produced covering all salient and contemporary conflicting issues in America as well as the rest of the world. However, out of these 700 films, one cannot name an ideology-free or a politically innocent film with no hidden political agenda. Indeed, all Hollywood productions attempt to reshape audience views in regard to a specific issue or attempts to launder and market some kind of politics either advanced by the government or major big interests in the United States.

Movies featuring elections, political campaigns, US presidents and Pentagon's GIs are not the only political films that Hollywood had given the audience. Other movies have

dealt with different topics, like gay rights in *Milk* (2008), which presents the autobiography of the first American gay politician Harvey Milk; civil rights movement in Selma (2014), which features Martin Luther King Jr's struggle; *Malcolm X* (1992), which depicts the eponymous figure Malcom X known as El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, and revolution and protests in *V for Vendetta* (2005), which features the overthrow of totalitarian regimes. The Fawkes mask that the protagonist of the film V was filmed wearing became a symbol for protestors in Syria in 2011 as a sign of ousting the Assad's totalitarian regime. Other issues include health care in *John Q.* (2002), starring Denzel Washington and featuring the unscrupulous health insurance industry; and *Way The Dog* (1997), which surprisingly depict a President with a sex scandal ahead of reelection hiring a Hollywood producers to fabricate a war against Albania to distract the public opinion from the scandal until the CIA interfered to reveal the hoax.

Moreover, while the people believe that the actual message of the movie is to spotlight the 'politics of diversion', the actual message was that the Agency is honest and ethical and will not tolerate the deception of people. In other words, people were diverted again. All in all, most political movies, in a way or another, launder a person, an institution, a policy or fabricate a fictional enemy to launder the previously mentioned trident (O'Shaughnessy 210).

More important, however, is the repeated readdressing of American history, politics, and mainly war in cinematic discourse to create a new convenient collective memory. Such revisionism will connect the past to the present and arouse specific sentiments of fear, pride or anger and thereby boost a current specific agenda and policy. Instead of receiving a vilification line in memory, it will be receiving a glorification badge (Grainge 99). Furthermore, such movies that alter the reality and replace it with virtual imaginary facts undermine not only reality of the people but also their history, resulting in an entirely

different components of the national identity and the political mind and subsequently the political response towards issues like war, and it is all the deeds of the propaganda machine (Rushton 4-6). While the government and filmmakers believe it is the right thing to do to consolidate the modern American national identity, such blockbuster do in fact tear apart the American society and plant false and prejudicial concepts into US popular culture (Coyne 10).

Hundreds of revisionism's movies have been produced in the previous decades, mainly readdressing US involvements in military conflicts advanced by the Pentagon such as the Vietnam War. *Rambo: First Blood Part II* is blockbuster that readdresses the Vietnam War on which The New York Times's chief fil critic Vincent Canby said that the film was "not about the war as it was fought and as it came to an end 10 years ago, but as it has come to look to the macho mind of today." In addition, Jay Kesler, President of Taylor University in Upland, Indiana, articulated in his article entitled *Jesus*, *Rambo and the Gates of Hell*: "...I fear the United States is on the verge of saying 'Give us Rambo!' We would rather have him than Jesus Christ. He is offering so much more of what our national psyche craves" (Abrams). Indeed, it is a matter of fact that sometimes one good blockbuster can arouse the fears of the nation, polish its glories, or awaken its consciousness, but that is not all. Films are also a catalyst of violence, negative emotions, stereotypes that can lead to social dilemmas like xenophobia, islamophobia or social unrests (S. J. Ross 49).

Moreover, among the fallacies that Hollywood has implanted is to make the two words of Arabs and Muslims used interchangeably, and after 9/11 the word terrorist was added along with more severe stereotypes that reflect the political and military conflicts between Muslim, Arabs, Terrorists on one hand and the United States on the other hand, albeit the roots of this struggle are primarily economic and religious (Shaheen 10). Additionally,

another film that attests to the power of cinema in arousing sentiments, be it positive or negative, is *Gladiator* (2000), based on the novel *Those About to Die Salute You* and starring two Oscar winning stars Russell Crowe and Joaquin Phoenix. The film, which tells the story of General Maximus Decimus Meridius who was the victim of a plot and a subsequent slave trade, received huge praise and was met with very positive reviews. More importantly, the film prompted an extravaganza of continued interest in the history and politics of the Roman Empire in the United States, and it was called the *'Gladiator' effect* (Arnold).

2.5. Hollywood's Celebrities: From Reel Political Activism to Real Political Activism

American popular culture is so entrenched in the aura of Hollywood's celebrities to the extent that the masses rely on celebrities to guide them through the democratic process of election and political activism and even shape their opinion in such matters. In the last two decades, celebrities' visibility in the American political dimension became more conspicuous, especially with the increasing collaboration between Washington and Hollywood. Now it is hard to tell who is a celebrity and who is a politician as both manifest the same attributes of effective communication skills, the ability to influence large groups and the opportunity to climb that privilege-trident ladder of money, power and fame. Thus, critics are beginning to use the term '*politicized celebrity*' to label a renowned figure from art world that assumes some political agenda (Brubaker 5-6).

The politicized celebrities can have a deep and profound impact on the world of politics due to their vast network of information-followers tantamount to millions, like Dwayne Johnson who has over 192 million followers, Vin Diesel who has more than 65 million followers and Emma Watson who has over 57 million followers. Such idolized celebrities will be able to make his political messages and ideology resonate and thereby shape or redefine public opinion vis-à-vis his own views or as requested by big interests

and the government. Marlon Brando, the celebrated Hollywood actor and one of the few who rejected the Oscar Awards, said, "If an actor can be influential in selling deodorants, he can be just as useful selling ideas". He, therefore, used the Oscar Award Ceremony in which he was awarded for his role in the evergreen trilogy 'The Godfather' as best actor, to promote the cause of Native Americans' under/negative representation in Hollywood movies. Moreover, another testament of Hollywood's powerfully resonating rhetoric was made by Senator for Pennsylvania Arlen Specter, who articulated, "Quite candidly, when Hollywood speaks the world listens. Sometimes, when Washington speaks, the world snoozes" (Trackalytics.com, S. J. Ross 5).

Furthermore, due to their status, celebrities can increase the visibility of issues to the public as such policy makers in the United States started entwining celebrities with issues that the government need to put on the salient list of public opinion like using George Clooney, who eagerly calls for US military intervention in South Sudan to stop violence and systematic genocides notwithstanding the fact that South Sudan is an Oil-rich country (John and Polglase, Harvey 54). However, the tradition of involving movie stars in politics is not new for Washington. During the tenure of Franklyn Roosevelt, his administration encouraged movie stars with strong opinion in regard to international events to generate support and rally the masses in favor of the British cause in World War II before the US itself became involved in the war (Brownell 43).

Although, celebrities were always eager to have a saying in politics, which is their constitutional right as any other US citizen, they wanted for their effect to be much more heard and even calls for immediate or remote action, which in some way defines a celebrity as a figure with a huge capacity to use their glamour, fame and reputation to put an issue, a policy, a person, an institution or even a product under intense attention and to advance the consumption of particular products or ideas through direct advocacy or by

association (Majic, O'Neill and Bernhard 2). However, it should be noted that the influence of celebrities is a double-edged-sword, for they can either propagate pro-government politics or their activism can discredit the government, its ideology and politics and thereby endanger the interests of the government or the elected official which calls for action. A testimony of negative star influence occurred during the Cold War when a bunch of leftists Hollywood actors were propagating communist thought, leading up to their subsequent blacklisting (Krutnik, Neal and Neve 184-185).

In the past decade that witnessed an unprecedented spread and popularity of social media among citizens of the world regardless of their age, language and gender, Hollywood Celebrities have managed to acquire a massive fan base, paralleling the wide spread of Hollywood movies in the world, which has reached over 150 countries. These celebrities' massive base of fans has begun to command the attention of big interests who want to advertise their commodities, lobbies who want to rally the masses behind a particular cause, a government that needs to launder its image or elicit support for its policies, and politicians who are seeking endorsement to run for elections. In addition, celebrities' ability to mobilize support or call for action comes no political accountability as they are not subject to the mechanisms of the democratic process which compels politicians to eagerly seek Hollywood celebrities' endorsements (Majic, O'Neill and Bernhard 2-6).

Furthermore, between 2004 and 2008, through fund-raising, concerts, dinners, speeches, and appearances, celebrities have embarked on an endorsement of presidential political candidates that suits their own ideologies. In the 2008 election, Opera Winfrey's endorsement of Obama's candidacy increased the latter's chances of success and the generated almost 1,015,559, votes for him and increased the overall turnout by 2,196,476 voters. Moreover, Obama's belief in the necessity of celebrities' endorsement had

prompted him to seek the endorsement of actor George Clooney in his 2012, realizing that the American culture and public are more reliant on celebrities to make them well-informed and thereby increase his re-election prospects, and so it was (Stanley 11-12, Brubaker 6-12). More importantly, the incumbent US president Donald Trump, whose popularity is decreasing due to his cow-boy politics, is constantly seeking celebrities' endorsement from singer, movies stars and so on. Kanye West was a major supporter of Trump and his policies; nonetheless, he recanted recently as he, himself, wants to run for the Oval Office (Taggart).

2.6. Hollywood's Deterrence Arsenal: A Celluloid Psychological War

Across the previous chapter, it is safe to attest to the psychological power of film in shaping and distorting the public opinion by arousing sentiments of fear and excitement to rally the public behind a specific cause or in favor of a government policy. Nonetheless, the same film that can inflict fear on Americans can do the same with terrorists who undoubtedly do watch film. This concept can be referred to as psychological warfare. According to the Cambridge Dictionary of Psychology, psychological warfare is:

> Any attempt to gain advantage in a war by manipulating the minds of either side in the conflict or uninvolved parties to the benefit of one's own side. This includes morale boosting, propaganda, control of information, and attempts to change the attitudes of both sides in the war, or general application of techniques derived from the use of psychological methods in war to business or other relationships. (Matsumoto 411)

Thus, if the same concept is applied film, one can simply deduce that most Hollywood movies are some kind of psychological warfare that is meant to manipulate the mind for the purpose of changing people's thoughts and attitudes in regard to government's conduct. Nonetheless, the psychological effect is not reserved only to produce support for the

government within the United States, but also for intimidating US enemies beyond the borders, mainly intimidating terrorists via propagating images that depict how powerful and tough the US is when it comes to terrorism.

Furthermore, the assumption that terrorists or the would-be terrorists also consume American products, mainly media products, has prompted CIA's entertainment liaison officer Brandon Chase to instruct screenwriters and producers to exaggerate the macho depiction of CIA and US military in order to intimidate terrorists and thereby preventing them from attacking the US in fear of retribution and subsequent capture, torture and atrocious death. In addition, in an interview about his two films and TV show that depict the CIA: *Spy Game* (2001) and *The Agency* (2001-2003) respectively, the American screenwriter Michael Frost Beckner revealed that he was instructed by Brandon Chase to write a plotline that will intimidate terrorists saying, "terrorists watch TV too…scare them' (M. Alford 14, Jenkins, The CIA in Hollywood: How the Agency Shapes Film and Television 94).

Accordingly, films play a huge role in deterrence by using psychological warfare, and also by depicting the 'No negotiation with terrorist' doctrine adopted by most Western countries as depicted in Hollywood films; terrorists' demands are always met with special forces bullets and grenades (Vanhala 87-88). In addition, cinema has played a huge role in rallying the entire world against the phenomenon of terrorism and has helped generate legitimacy and support for the use of force, military intervention and even torture against terrorists who threaten innocent lives (McLaughlin and Parry 100-102). More importantly, the cinematic depiction of terrorists as savages, inhumane and bloodthirsty megalomaniacs waving with an outdated AK47 who always fails at their quests when met with heroic and exceptional military intelligence using sophisticated weaponry and satellite imagery placed

a huge burden of fear, anxiety and stigma on terrorists and played a great role deterring their planned attack plots.

Conclusion

This chapter is a testament to the increasing collaboration between Hollywood with its products, producers, screenwriters and celebrities on one hand and the White House, Pentagon and the CIA on the other hand. Such collaborations have been the source of distorting and shaping the American public opinion in regard to salient issues mainly terrorism and democracy promotion through military intervention.

It is a fact that the White House has engaged the services of Hollywood to launder its politics and positively depict the US presidents on film in order to rally support for him and his policies—both foreign and domestic. Moreover, presidents themselves and elected official regarded Hollywood's celebrities' endorsement as a necessity in the Age of mass media. Such endorsement generate votes and voters' turnouts, not to mention the positive effect of propagating policies through association with celebrities.

Moreover, the Pentagon, and the CIA played a great role in shaping movie scripts through negotiation and coercion to better depict the Agency and the US military and negatively portray their enemies to legitimize their use of force and military adventures abroad. In addition, Hollywood movies were also deployed to positively portray the US army and generate support for the troops and for their families at home and exalt the sacrifices of the GIs and sanctify the profession of spy.

Finally, the chapter discusses the use of Hollywood as a deterrence weapon through psychological warfare. Hollywood has been successful in arousing sentiments of fear in the US public to rally support against terrorism and sustain it for military campaign to promote democracy. Hollywood has also been successful in intimidating those would-be terrorist by depicting the US and its military and intelligence institution as invincible with so much

sophisticated weaponry, tracking devices and satellite imagery that diminish the capacity

of terrorism in inflicting damage on US without violent retribution that tantamount to

capture, torture and assassination.

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Chapter Three: Hollywood's Celluloid Terrorists and Dictators Meet the Empire

Introduction

Every day around the world, millions of people watch Hollywood movies merely for entertainment and seldom demanding the message behind the negative and offensive portrayal of some racial, ethnical, religious or societal categories on screen. But, in the eye of the American public whom Hollywood is a prominent source of socio-cultural notions and a window on the outside world, such unpleasant and offensive depiction's results would attach a stigma to the concept of the target-category and increase its adherents' discomfort in America prompting phenomena like Xenophobia, Hispanophobia and Islamophobia.

The negative portrayal of minorities such as Hispanics, Chinese, Russians and Muslims and Arabs have played a huge role in devastating the lives of the people living under the '*Star-Spangled Banner*' by associating them with very prejudicial stereotypes and distorting and reshaping the US public opinion vis-à-vis matters that involves these categories especially the war on terrorism and democracy promotion on one hand. On the other hand, the negative depiction of the '*Other*' in Hollywood goes beyond stereotypes to categorize the other as a threat to American way of life, American democracy and most of all they jeopardize the safety of Americans.

During his election campaign, the incumbent US president Donald Trump accused the Mexicans to be rapists who brings lots of problem across the borders, regardless of the fact that Mexicans make up almost 37 million documented citizens in America and double that undocumented, and they make up most successful Immigrants in America who contribute massively to the American economy (Lee, Moxley). Nonetheless, the most aggressive and detrimental battering of the prejudicial stereotypes is reserved for Arabs and Muslims

whom seem to be the most and foremost enemy of both Hollywood and America giving them the epithet terrorists.

Furthermore, the plethora of negative portrayal of Arabs, Muslims and their nations, and propagating such racist prejudicial paradigm through the oodles of Hollywood films that travel not only American to homes but to the whole world, eventually created some kind of guidelines in regard to Muslim, Arabs and their attitudes. Consequently, the image of Muslims and Arabs constitute always a misogynist fanatic with huge and lacerate beard, an AK47 with a round in the chamber and a hammer cocked, and to conclude the image of this Hollywood terrorist is the vest of dynamites' fingers or C-4 attached to his chest and he is ready to shout 'Allah Akbar' and blow himself in an American shopping mall.

Nonetheless, this would-be suicide bomber will always be so stupid in planning his attack and eventually gets caught by the Agency, the FBI or the whereabouts of his hideouts is blown away by the all-seeing Pentagon fly-boys thanks to intel, which is sometimes obtained by a dissenting terrorists who thinks American democracy is the ultimate salvation, or by a captured terrorist who has been treated nicely but then tortured to save American lives.

All in all, the plethora of stereotypes that is reshaping public opinion and sentiments towards specific categories of people constituting a powerful weapon will also be efficient beyond the border in creating some kind of a sympathetic layer of people who are not Americans but day-dream to be so, triggering sentiments of xenocentrism and resulting in the creation of a fifth column that exalt the American socio-cultural and democratic model. The following chapter will attest to all the previously mentioned through analyzing several movies and blockbusters and their signification, connotation and call for action or support to US government policies in regard to terrorism and democracy promotion.

3.1. The Demagogue, The Despot and Dictator: Hollywood's Crusade for Democracy

It is not surprising how Hollywood depicts all US-unfriendly leaders as dictators, despots and demagogues who rule over people without consent and it is the mission of the United States through its military and intelligence branch to oust such dictators, and promote a US model of democracy that the people who lived under such oppressive regimes deserve. The list of these dictators is long and infinite, starting from democratically elected leaders of Latin America such as the late Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and the former Bolivian President Evo Morales, to Iran's President and the Chinese one also. But Hollywood's favorite dictators have been and will always be blood-thirsty-megalomaniacs in concert of Islam fundamentalism and Oil rich countries, who are dipped in hatred to America and prone to sponsor shadow organizations that threaten America.

Furthermore, for decades Hollywood relentlessly tried to portray the US image in film as the peacekeeper of the world who has a sense of moral obligation to promote democracy beyond its borders regardless of the means used for the purpose of liberating the oppressed people all around the world. The conflict between good and evil was always at the center of Hollywood's political film and the protagonist is always the United States and the antagonists is always the 'other' with his primitive culture and corrupt moral compass, and preferably Muslim or Arab exercising too much brutality against his ostracized people (Bloodsworth-Lugo and Lugo-Lugo 69-70). Moreover, the discourse marketed by Hollywood and the press simultaneously with the motto of "stand up for America," also was boosting to more scenarios of ousting dictators, promoting democracy, alienating the 'other ,' and finally eliminating all possible threats (Hess and Kalb 252-253).

Moreover, such media rhetoric with all of its types with an emphasis on films played a huge role in distorting, and reshaping public opinion in regard to wars abroad to oust so-labeled dictators and promote democracy mainly in the Middle East. In addition, a Gallup

Poll conducted from 14 to November 2003, asked the Americans a question in regard to

America's responsibility in promoting democracy around the world (see fig. 6), and over

56% of the respondents believed that is the duty of America to establish democracies in

other countries and help their people get rid of dictators. also, another Gallup Poll

conducted simultaneously and asked a specific question as to whether Middle Eastern

countries could become democracies or not and the respondents with almost the same

result of 55% believed that countries such as Iraq, and Yemen could be democracies with

American assistance but 43% disapproved (see fig. 7), arguing that such quest is beyond

reach due to pre-disposition to ideas that Muslims and Arabs are blood-thirsty savages who

can never be civilized, very much the same as the ideas and depiction featured in

Hollywood movies.

Fig. 6: The Role of the United States in Establishing Democracy

Do you think the United States does -- or does not -- have a responsibility to help other countries rid themselves of dictators and become democracies?
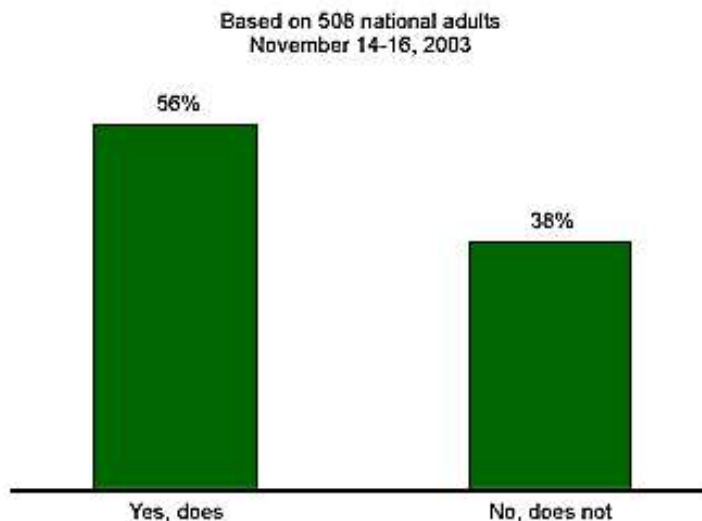
Based on 508 national adults
November 14-16, 2003
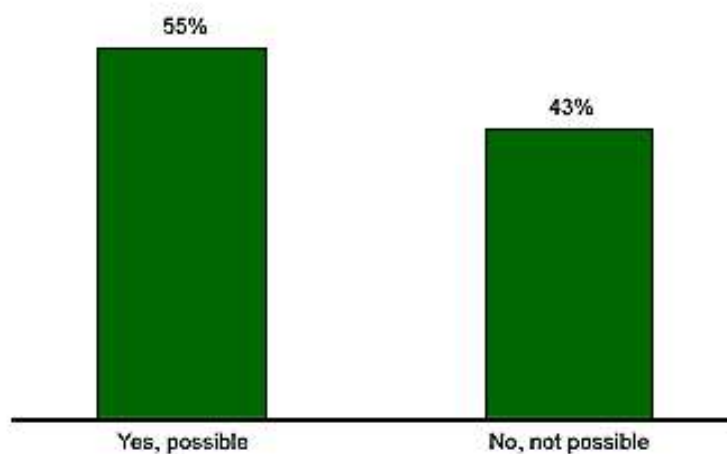
56% 38%

Yes, does   No, does not

Source: Is Ousting Dictators an American Responsibility? Washington D.C.: The Gallup

Organization, 2003 < https://news.gallup.com/poll/10429/ousting-dictators-american-

responsibility.aspx>.

Fig. 7: The Prospects of Middle Eastern Countries Becoming Democracies

Source: Is Ousting Dictators an American Responsibility? Washington D.C.: The Gallup

Organization, 2003 < https://news.gallup.com/poll/10429/ousting-dictators-american-

responsibility.aspx>.

Indeed, the issue of how the West perceives the East and vice versa is very

controversial and booby-trapped with violence, prejudice, racism, imperialism, and most of

all orientalism. Edward Said, the American Palestinian intellectual and founder of the

academic field of postcolonial studies, coined the term orientalism and wrote extensively

about it. Said argues that: "the East underwent orientalization, a transformative process of

stereotyping that occurred over centuries brought about by religious wars, literary

depiction and scholarly discourse" , which explains, on one hand the West's

ethnocentricity and attitude of superiority and generating more stereotypes against the

'other' mainly Arabs and Muslims, and on the other hand the East's xenocentrism

generating East's feelings of inferiority and the incompatibility of the indigenous culture

with the modern world which requires a modern culture like the model of the United

States. (Mohamed 11-12)

Said further argues and emphasize the success of the orientalist constructivists

approach on the East in prompting and promoting Western ideology and propaganda of

superiority and establish the socio-cultural and political model of the West in general and

of America in particular the most suitable and compatible with the contemporary cultural

and political platform of the world. Furthermore, Said contends that orientalist

constructivism have been deployed several times before and after 9/11 using what he

referred to as 'Objective Correlative' a term coined by T.S. Eliot which, according to

Oxford Dictionary, refers to "the artistic and literary technique of representing or evoking a

particular emotion by means of symbols which become indicative of that emotion and are

associated with it" in other words establishing a direct link between Arabs and Muslims on

one side and terrorism, dictatorship, permittivity and savagery on the other side. (Chandler

and Munday 420, Mohamed 12)

Accordingly, with heinously enthusiastic work of the media, the press and Hollywood,

in the United States and the Western world, the words Arabs, Muslims and Terrorist

become synonymous and the crusade to eliminate so called dictators become much easier

through associating them with 'threat to America' and 'sponsoring terrorism.' Also, the

factor of xenocentrism which colonized not only private sponsored media in target country

but also brainwashed the people into thinking that American democracy model is the most

suitable and satisfactory to their life style, played huge role in sustaining policies of

democracy promotion, ousting dictatorships and fighting terrorism. In addition, Benjamin Jeremy Stein, the American writer, lawyer, actor, comedian, and commentator on political and economic issues, described the case enunciating that: "while war is the continuation of politics by other means, politics is the continuation of show business by other means" referring to Hollywood's ability to build the pavement to war. (Derian 151)

3.1.1. The Dictator (2012): Even Dictators love American Democracy

The movie '*The Dictator*' produced in the year 2012 in The United States and the United Kingdom and distributed by Paramount Pictures. The film is a political satire comedy starring the British Actor Sacha Cohen Barron as the dictator Admiral General Aladeen who rules of the fictional Nation of Wadiya, a rich oil-country located in North Africa with nuclear proliferation program. The 83 minutes blockbuster tells the story of Admiral General Haffaz Aladeen, a corrupt dictator from his childhood days with attributes of; tyranny, misogyny, anti-Americanism, anti-Semitism, and with strong ties to terrorist organization 'Al-Qaeda' whose leader Osama Bin Laden lives at the guest house of the Admiral for a long time.

The Admiral is urged to address the United Nation in New York to avoid military strike. Thus, he travels to America roaming New York streets with his camels, Lamborghinis and female bodyguards. He is then abducted and presumed dead at the whim of his uncle Tamir, and his double takes his place and vowing to write a new constitution in 5 days and declaring the Republic of Wadiya as a democracy. The Admiral engages the services of his former head of nuclear program Nadal who is surprisingly alive after the Admiral ordered him executed before in exchange of reinstating him as head of Wadiya's nuclear program. The final scene shows the Wadiyan dictator growing fund of a girl called Zoey and decides himself to embark upon the journey of transforming Wadiya into a democracy.

Film Selection

The film was selected for the following reasons:

- Rating: the film received 6.4/10 positive rating on IMBd, 58 positive critic reviews on Metacritic, and 57% positive reviews on Rotten Tomatoes.

- Box Office revenues: 179 million dollars, almost 3 times the film's budget.

- Relevance of themes: dictatorship, terrorism and oil in the Muslim world.

- Language: English.

- Publicity: the film received huge publicity mainly by the lead actor Sacha Baron Cohen who appeared on several talk shows with same profile as Admiral General Aladeen.

- Distributer: Paramount Picture, one of the largest distribution countries in America.

- Lead actor: Sacha Baron Cohen made several appearances that encourages stereotyping like Borat (generated 262 million dollars) and Ali G.

Methodology

We opted for using content analysis methodology in analyzing the movie which is a research method used to identify patterns in recorded videos and communications in general. In addition, Klaus Kripperndroff, the renowned professor of language and culture at Pennsylvania University, defined content analysis in a more detailed way, he articulated in his book *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* that:

> Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use. As a technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures. It is learnable and divorceable from the personal authority of the researcher. As a research technique, content analysis provides new insights, increases a

researcher's understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical

actions. Content analysis is a scientific tool. (Kripperndroff 18)

The aim was to spot scenes that depict certain ideas and themes and propagate them. We also deployed a mise-en-scène analysis as a part of the Film Analysis methodology by counting scenes and categorizing them into pre-decided coded themes, and choosing most relevant scenes to be shown and analyzed to spot out the construct of implements that is motivated by ideology or propaganda, or meant to incent another issue in the audience psyche.

Coding Scheme

Prior to coding, we watched the film *The Dictator* (2012) to help define our categories (themes) and increase the reliability of the coding. In addition, we coded for 4 different implements; first, implements of dictatorship (categories: despotism, demagogy, oppression, authority, executions); second, implements of stereotyping (categories: stereotyping of Arabs, Muslims, minorities, terrorism, savagery, misogyny, repressive/ridiculous behavior); third, implements of democracy (categories: freedom, protests, Western leaders' statements/actions). finally, a forth implement of fillers (category: issues irrelevant to the main themes dictatorship, stereotypes and democracy). Moreover, after applying manual content analysis on the movie, we measured the scene ratio of each implements vis-à-vis the total scenes of the movie to decide whether the movie was deliberately constructed for specific agenda, or to propagate certain ideas or messages, or to change particular concepts.

Units of Analysis

The films were examined at the level (units of analysis) of the scene. The scene analysis described:

a) How Hollywood constructs Arab and Muslim leaders in movies

b) How Hollywood constructs the psychology of the Arab/Muslim Dictator

c) How Hollywood constructs the image of the Arab/Muslim in movies and what stereotypes are associated with them.

d) How Hollywood constructs Western civilization and America in particular and how it depicts the American life style and democracy as the most suitable for everybody.

Content Analysis of implements of Dictatorship, Stereotypes and Democracy

Table 8

Implements of Dictatorship, Stereotypes and Democracy in the movie '*The Dictator*' of 2012

Scene Number	Implements of Dictatorship	Implements of Stereotypes	Implements of Democracy	Implements of Fillers	Elaboration
1	1		1		mounting tension between democracies represented by American officials (Barrack Obama, Hillary Clinton and the British Prime Minister David Cameron) and the republic of Wadiya represented by Admiral General Aladeen. The same scene depicts the Admiral and his deceased father surrounded by women and killing clowns. the scene also shows the female guards of the Admiral as 'Objective Correlative' to General Maamar Gaddafi who had female guards. in addition, the scene depicts the child Aladeen holding an AK47, favorite weapon of terrorists, and a Cigar as a reference to dictators like Saddam Hussein and Fidel Castro
2	1	1			The dictator holds Olympic games and won all gold medals by shooting his opponents
3	1				Showing the Saharan Landscape of Wadiya and the convoy of Aladeen going to his palace where he will be delivering a speech. As

					he walks towards the porch to address his nation, a close shot concentrates on his military uniform showing his military medals and ribbon bars of service. in his speech, he uses English which is not the language of Wadiya, he also makes fun when talking about using nuclear weapons for medical purposes but not to attack Israel
4	1	1			the convoy heads to Wadiya Nuclear facility, with lot of protective armored vehicle and macho cars . In the facility, the dictator makes fun of the Iranian president Ahmadinedjad and recalls that he executed his head of Nuclear project after a silly conversation and decides to execute the incumbent head as well who questioned his memory. he is then shown talking to his Uncle saying he will never sell Wadiya's oil.
5	1				Aladeen is arriving to his residency in golden cars. The scene show and extravaganza of cars like Porch , Bentley , Royce Rolls and monumental architecture . The dictator is assassinated by a resistance member shouting 'death to the tyrant'.
6	1				the scene shows that it was the double who was killed and Admiral Aladeen requires a new double. The scene shows how insensitive and indecent was the dictator to the atrocities of his servants and people as he makes fun of the dead and asks the already killed double to be executed again.
7				1	finding the double
8	1	1			meeting the double. The scene shows Aladeen on his big chair so comfortable and his picture above

					his head , and on his left and right side his pictures with wild animals. The pictures covers Wadiyan's flag, a sign that his importance and ego supersede his country's. the double is depicted as if having diminished capacity.
9	1	1			the scene opens with the portrait of Aladeen riding a tiger and an RPG on his shoulder and he is holding the decapitated head of Albert Einstein. He is in his room having an intimate time with a prostitute who he paid with blood diamonds and a golden Rolex. he then asks the woman to stay and cuddle him but she refuses, he takes a picture with her and hangs it with his other pictures of sexual adventures where lots of celebrities appear.
10			1		the scene shows world democracies ready to free Wadiyan people unless Aladeen agrees to face the world and change.
11	1				Aladeen is shown playing a terrorist game shooting Jews, he then receives the news but he decides to continue playing as it is more important.
12	1				the General meets his generals in a new blue uniform and waving a golden Gun and accidentally shoots one of his security details.
13	1	1			The scene opens with large New York buildings, skyscrapers and vast panoramic landscape. Aladeen is in New York to address the United Nations, his convoy is in New York streets, he is wearing his usual white uniform with medals and ribbons but he is riding a camel and around him are assistants in traditional Arab garments and his women bodyguards, and behind him a convoy of Lamborghinis. the scene, also, depicts New York as

					vast and busy city with joyful landscape unlike Wadiya.
14	1	1			The Admiral goes to the Lancaster Hotel where he meets an Americans security details who made a disturbing remark about Arabs, Muslims and bombing monuments. He then enters his room which was renovated to his specification , filled with his portrait holding weapons.
15				1	The dictator is kidnapped
16	1	1			The dictator is tortured by Clayton (the US security detail), the dictator shows great knowledge of torture tools which originated from Arab and Muslim countries which upsets Clayton. At the end Clayton shaves the dictator's beard and burnt. Eventually Clayton's is burnt and the dictator escapes in his underwear. he then meets a homeless persons which he strips off clothes with promise of making a sizeable donation in the homeless man's name to Al-Qaeda
17		1	1		the Wadiyan convoy arrives at the UN building with the double who is couched by Tamir, Aladeen's uncle, to address the UN and promise to make a democracy. His outfit resembles that of Gaddafi when he addressed the UN. The real Aladeen escapes with and American Woman called Zoey
18		1			Making fun of china's regime
19		1			Aladeen is shown with Zoey in the busy streets of Brooklyn and goes to Zoey's fruitarian store where he antagonizes the worker with stereotypes

20				**1**	the double milking the women bodyguards while wearing diapers
21	**1**				the dictator is lost in New York without his beard and blaming his fate. Suddenly he perceives Nadal, his former head of nuclear program, whom he allegedly executed in Wadiya. He follows him to restaurant of 'Death to Aladeen'. And he sees all the people he thought he executed. then he leaves the premises with Nadal who recognized him after the two agreed to maintain the dictatorship and reinstate Nadal as head of nuclear program
22			**1**		Tamir announces that the Supreme leader is drafting the constitution and behind him is the American flag and the UN flag as well as a sign of American democracy
23				**1**	Aladeen decides to work for Zoey to gain access to the UN building
24				**1**	Aladeen goes to work beating clients and has no concept of American culture and making fun of Osama Bin Laden
25		**1**			Aladeen and Nadal are arrested for suspicion of terrorism after using their indigenous language on a Helicopter
26			**1**		Zoey bails out Aladeen and he is fascinated by her speech to the police and start developing attachment to her and to American democracy. Zoey is feeling sorry that Arabs and Muslims are always the victim of police abuse but Aladeen says we are not always the victim
27				**1**	Tamir orders the hit on Aladeen after he found he is still alive
28			**1**		Aladeen discovers his sexuality with the help of Zoey, he

					attachment to Zoey and America grew even stronger
29				1	Aladeen undergoes an assassination attempt and causing a huge damage to the store
30	1				Zoey loses her contract and Aladeen takes responsibility using his dictator experience to reorganize things including kidnapping
31		1			Nadal and Aladeen goes to a Black activist to get his beard, Aladeen is wearing an offensive red suit depicting Italian Mafia and discussing his exploits of child rape with Nadal in the funeral. Nadal beheads the dead body and takes the whole head which was used later to make fun
32		1			Aladeen is called 'a nice guy' and he begins to undergo psychological change
33			1		Aladeen reveals himself to Zoey and she asks him to go away. He is roaming the life-busy streets of New York and discovering that there is a better life than the life of dictator. His people are shown celebrating his departure.
34				1	the double arrives at the UN building to sign the new Wadiyan constitution. Aladeen manages to take the place of the double
35			1		Aladeen shreds the new constitution but he discovers that he is in love with Zoey which represents the soul of American democracy. He also manifests a great change of heart caring for his double who took a bullet for him. Aladeen announces election and a new solid constitution for Wadiya
36	1		1		the early signs of democracy appear despite attachment to using force to coerce people to vote for Aladeen. He changes his name to President prime minister which

					says that dictators in Arab and Muslim countries will never change. He then shown in his wedding to Zoey which he finds out to be Jewish referring to a potential partnership between countries that underwent regime change and Israel.
37			1		Aladeen visits his nuclear facility to meet Nadal. He gave up all his outfit wearing just casual and arriving in very small electric cars with no armored vehicle
38			1		Aladeen and his wife on a talk show, announcing some reforms. Aladeen wearing a simple white suit with no medals or ribbons and his wife wearing a neckless of David star. The wife announces her pregnancy
Sum	**15**	**13**	**11**	**8**	/

Table 9

Ratio of Scene Implements to the Totality of Scenes

Implements	Dictatorship	Stereotypes	Democracy
Number of Scenes	15/38	13/38	11/38
Ratio to the Sum of Scenes	40%	34%	28%

The results clearly show that the movie is constructed in way to direct the audience towards the savagery and despotism exercised by Arab/Muslim dictators and the ultimate need for the West to carry out the holy mission of spreading democracy via political channels like the UN or military intervention if necessary. Moreover, 40% of the movie scenes concentrate on the image, attitude and action of the dictator which symbolizes to a

great extent Maamar Gaddafi and make reference to other so-labeled dictators while 34% of the scenes concentrate on the negative image of Arabs, Muslims and some other minorities depicting them as primitive, savages and dictatorship apologetics.

Mise-en-scène Analysis

a) Scene Number 3: Implements of Dictatorship

The scene as mentioned above (see table 8) is constructed in the implement of dictatorship. It shows Admiral General Aladeen marching in a corridor with guards on both sides towards the porch to address his people. The scene opens with an 'Extreme Long Shot' to show the full panoramic landscape and surrounding of the nation of Wadiya which is mainly empty desert, except the palace of Aladeen, symbolizing no achievement of the dictator on one hand and emphasizing 'Level of Realism' by liking the nation of Wadiya to Arab and Muslim Nation which is mainly dunes of sand with large oil reserves underneath and poverty above. While in other scenes, that depict the United States (see table 8 for scene number 13) with large buildings, skyscrapers and panoramic beautiful landscape where life is so busy (see fig. 8).

Fig. 8: The Panoramic Landscape's Difference Between Wadiya and the United States
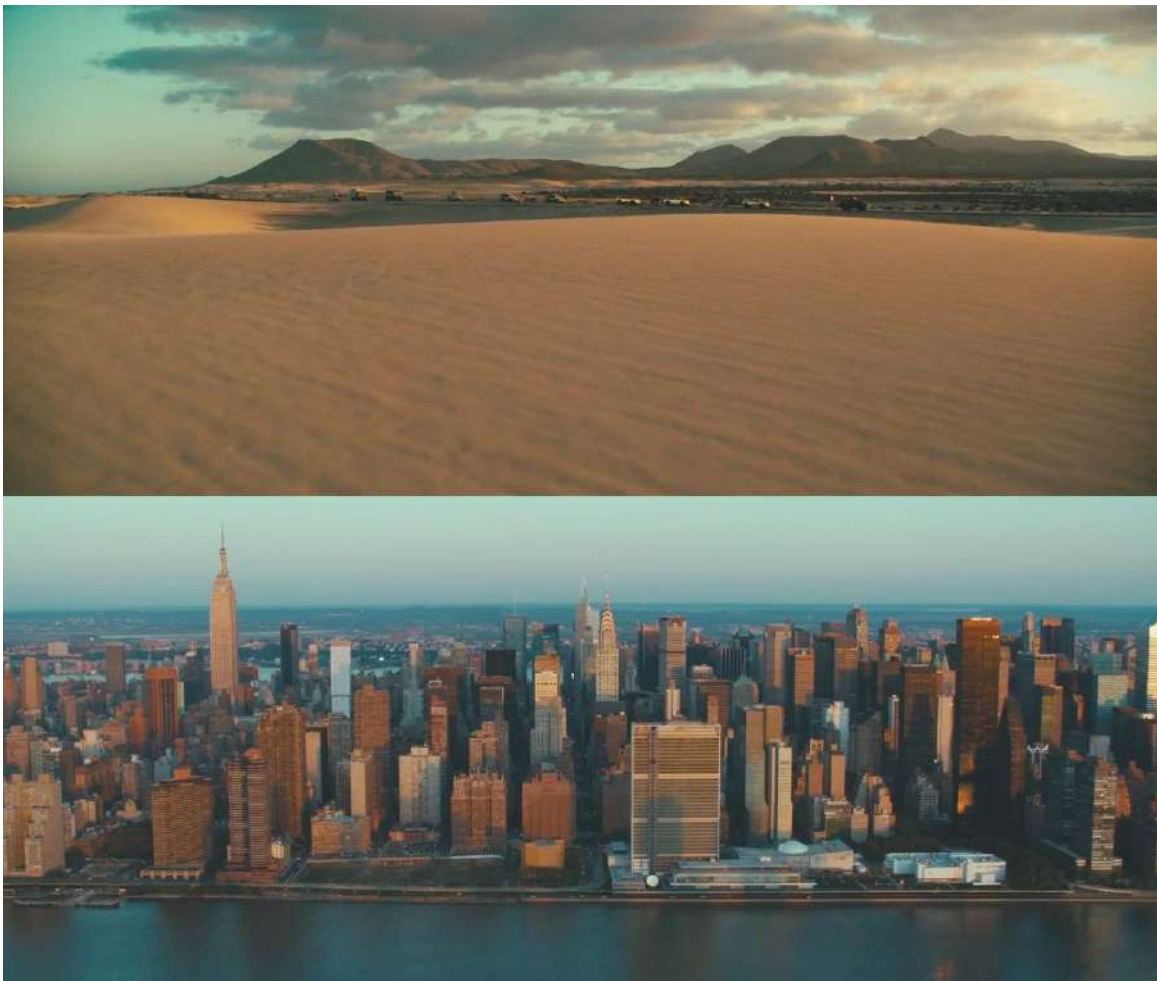
Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

The director then uses a 'Close-up' on Aladeen chest showing his service ribbons,

military medals, and golden gun and immediately using another close-up on the soldier's

boot, and both close-up depicts the authority of the dictator and the military over the

people. It also demonstrates the idea that the dictator has vested all the powers, and claims

to have been through a lot of blood and gore to worth wearing these ribbons and medals

(see fig. 9). Furthermore, the boots represent oppression, repression, despotism and

excessive use of force (see fig.10).

Fig. 9: Close-up Shot of the Dictator's Military Medals and Service Ribbons

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

Fig. 10: Close-up Shot of the Dictator's Guard Military Boots

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

The director then deploys the use of 'High Angel camera' showing crowd of people

screaming the name of the Wadiyan Dictator Aladeen enthusiastically and the large crowd

is constructed of men only, no woman at all as a sign of gender discrimination against women. Moreover, in the entire film we see no Wadiyan woman at all except for the female bodyguards emphasizing a total absence of women's role in Arab/Muslim countries. Moreover, when Aladeen deliver his ironic speech, there are no Wadiyan flag behind him, only him at the center of the picture and his men away behind him as sign that the dictator is the symbol of the nation, in many other seen we see him in his palace and his portrait behind him instead of the flag. In addition, throughout most of the scene, the General wears his usual military uniform with medals and ribbons as a sign of power and authority but he speaks inarticulate English with Arabic accent throughout the movie as a symbol of the inferiority of other languages compared to English. In addition, Aladeen always rises his index finger as reminiscent of Muslim's prayer tashahhud to create an 'Objective Correlative' to invoke a tie between Islam and dictatorship (see fig. 9).

b) Scene Number 14: Implements of Stereotypes

The scene opens with General Aladeen surrounded by extensive security and meets up with an American security detail Mr. Clayton, hired to enhance his protection. Clayton immediately declares his hatred towards Arabs to Aladeen who looked shocked and tries to dismiss the stigma of being called Arab by declaring he is not. Clayton immediately replies offensively: "you are all Arabs to me…anyone outside of America is technically an Arab." Then, Clayton makes even a more offensive comment suggesting that the Admiral should visit the Empire State Building, a tourist attraction site, before the general or one of his sand monkey cousins blows it up. The scene is very prejudicial and racist as it associate Arabs and Muslims with terrorism, libeling them as sand monkeys who blow up everything. Aladeen, then, goes to his room which was renovated to his specification by hanging his pictures everywhere and focusing on the one where he holds an AK47 as a symbol of terror and death (see fig. 11).

Fig. 11: Admiral General Aladeen in His Renovated Room Facing his Picture with AK47

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

c) Scene Number 38: Implements of Democracy

The scene opens up with a close-up shot of President Prime Minister Aladeen, a

democratically elected president of Wadiya, and his wife, American Jewish, Zoey in a

Wadiyan morning Talk Show with a female and male hosts. The president after falling in

love with Zoey which represented the soul of the American democracy underwent a huge

change from the blood-thirsty, angry dictator to a loving and smiling husband. His

marriage with the American Jewish hippy depicts the prospect of partnership and

shortening the distance between Muslims and Jews. Moreover, while the wife was wearing

a David Star neckless, Aladeen surprisingly gave up his military suit with its ribbon and

medals and wore a simple white suit with no ribbons or medals or even a gun attached to

his waste as a symbol of the peace that may be achieved through American democracy (see

fig.12). furthermore, the scene also features a female presenter as a sign of a more active role for women in the new democracy (see fig. 13). The scene also shows Africa's map painted in red and only Wadiya painted in green as a sign that the entire continent requires regime change and transition to democracy American style (se fig. 13).

Fig. 12: President Prime Minister Aladeen and His Jewish wife on Wadiyan Morning Talk Show

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

Fig. 13: Female Presenter Hosting Aladeen and His Wife

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

d) Scenes Number 4 and 37: Aspects of Transition from Democracy to Dictatorship

There are tremendously conspicuous differences between the two scenes. While, scene

number 4 (see table 8) features implements of dictatorship during Admiral General

Aladeen visit to his nuclear facility, scene number 37 manifests strong implements of

democracy during the newly elected President Prime Minister Aladeen after his embrace to

American model of democracy and wedding a Jewish American. Moreover, while scene

number 4 features a strong dictator arriving at a nuclear facility surrounded by bodyguards

and security, in a convoy of huge cars and armored vehicles for protection (see fig. 14 and

fig. 15), he is dressed in his usual military outfit with military ribbon asserting his power

and readiness for war tendencies.

Fig. 14: Admiral General Aladeen's Convoy

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

Fig. 15: Admiral General Aladeen Arrives at the Nuclear Facility Surrounded by

Bodyguards

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron

Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

However, after the democratic transition, the same character visits the same facility

but with totally different settings, his macho cars convoy replaced by small electric cars

(see fig. 16), the bodyguards and the armored vehicle are no longer needed thus removed from the scene, and his clothes are more than casual as a sign that democratically elected leader do not need protection, nor armored vehicles or bodyguards (see fig. 16).

Fig. 16: President Prime Minister Aladeen's Convoy Arrives at the Nuclear Facility

Source: The Dictator. By Sacha Baron Cohen. Dir. Larry Charles. Perf. Sacha Baron Cohen. Four By Two Films. Paramount Pictures, 2012. Film.

Discussion

The analysis of the findings shows that the movie is deliberately constructed to show two entirely different worlds; on one hand, a world of contradiction, beautiful desert but resonating emptiness, with riches underneath but poverty crawling on the surface, and this world is wrapped in folds of Admiral General Aladeen's dictatorship, a blood-thirsty megalomaniac who deploys a comic approach to all political and social matters of his people. On the other hand, the movie offers a view of a metropolitan American city, that represents a world full of life, justice and equality with democratic principles coloring its horizon.

Furthermore, the two worlds collide in the representations of Aladeen, the emotionally-dependent savage dictator, and Zoey, the bohemian Jewish American, who represents a combination of American values and cultures under the umbrella of democracy. The collision between the two prompt a transition in the dictator's world who develops an attachment and grows fund of American democratic ideals and values. Finally, the collision sustains a permanent change on the weaker world, of dictatorship, and push it towards full transition that is apparent in every aspect of this world from a new profile of for the dictator who assumed a new quality and even changed his dressings to more blatant gender equality and conspicuous role for women in society. All in all, the movie tells us that American democracy is the most compatible and suitable with modern life style and modern world.

3.2. The Hollywood Terrorist: Cinematic Stereotypes of the Reel Terrorist that Americans Dread

It is a fact that prior to 9/11 events and seldom after, the reel terrorist assumed different profiles in several blockbusters. Some directors and screenwriters endeavored to break the pattern of constructing the reel Muslim terrorist profile and tried to construct a different profile of the Western terrorist constituting a great dissent in the stereotypical depiction of Muslims and Arabs as the only source of terrorism, and thereby raising legitimate and reasonable suggestion that the West can also be terrorist. Blockbusters like *Die Hard* (1988)*, Die Hard with a Vengeance* (1995) and *Live Free or Die Hard* (2007) constructed an entirely unconventional terrorist's image to Hollywood's standards whereby terrorists were white males and females, with no Islamic ties, nor Arabic or Eastern ethnicity descendancy, and grew up surrounded by American values and ideals.

However, such dissent is a blow in the wind compared to more than 1000 films produced by Hollywood since its inception, that vilifies Arabs and Muslims and perpetuate

a negative stereotype in their regard (Shaheen, Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People 11). Accordingly, Edward Said in regard of media depiction of Arabs and Muslims in general and Hollywood's in particular articulated that: "Muslims and Arabs are essentially covered, discussed, apprehended either as suppliers of oil or potential terrorists" (Nacos 211). Furthermore, throughout Hollywood movies, the place where the would-be terrorist grow, thrive and acquire hatred towards the US, is always constructed as empty, filthy, primitive, dangerous, war-torn and above all unworthy as a tool to refute claims that US military interventions are carried out in these regions for the sake of profit and also to convince the public of the unstable and hostile environment these terrorists are coming from (Dodds 1633).

Moreover, the same places that are constructed as empty and hostile, their inhabitants are constructed as dangerous, trustworthy and prone to commit acts of violence, and dedicated to committing evil against non-Muslims as ordered by their religion which is totally untrue. Also, some movies went even further in their construction of Arabs and Muslims in the image of terrorist to construct their children as terrorists as well who are keeping pace with parents' terrorism brand and this idea of the Muslim-child terrorist will be featured below in a detailed analysis of the movies *American Sniper* (2014). In addition, movies tend to portray Muslims and Arabs as people who are only capable of wrongful deeds and not capable of any good unless guided by an American or coerced to as such under torture or intimidation. (1633-1634)

Muslim women are also a target of the terrorist stereotype, not only through attaching a stigma to their religious garments of veil and 'Jilbab,' 'Nikab,' and 'Burqa' but as sponsors of terrorism who branded their children to committing terrorist acts against 'the infidels' and offering moral support to husbands and sons in their 'Jihad' against Westerners. Moreover, while woman is always shown as a subject of abuse and

exploitation in Hollywood films, when it come to a Muslim woman, a nontraditional portrayal is present to show her as abusive, conservative and terrorist promoter character. (Seib and Janbek 75-76)

All in all, Hollywood movies spared no expense to show us the how a terrorist looks like based on his ethnicity, skin color and religion, combined gives us the reel Muslim terrorist who has darker skin or tan because of the place he is coming from Saharan desert, and can never be a white man. He is a Muslim with fundamental conservative Islamic values who practices polygamy and suffers from sexual inhibition. Also, the Hollywood terrorist is a misogynist who curtails women role in society to being an obedient wife whom he often beats and abuses, while the female terrorist is shown encouraging terrorist males (son or husband usually).

In addition, the Hollywood terrorist is always seeking to commit violence and inflict maximum harm to innocent civilians or armed personal, thus in films, he is always planning to plant a bomb or blow himself up in a crowded place while shouting 'Allahu Akbar' in case his scarf prevented the audience from detecting he is Muslim. Furthermore, the plane hijacker is also another trait of Muslim terrorist prior and after 9/11 which boosted the Hijacker stereotype in film and in reality (Riegler 35). Jack Shaheen, the American Lebanese lecturer and writer specializing in addressing racial and ethnic stereotypes, elaborated the description of the 'other' would-be terrorist in his book *Guilty: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs after 9/11*, he wrote:

> The demonic other is especially dangerous and seductive during conflicts.
> But he Arab, Asian, Black, Hispanic…he has harmed us in the past and
> intends to harm us even more in the future. The "other" is always outside
> the circle of civilization, usually threateningly exotic or dark-looking. He
> speaks a different language, wears different clothing, and dwells in a

primitive place such as Africa's jungles and Arabia's deserts - reel hostile

environments with signposts. The "other" poses a threat - economic,

religious, and sexual - to our way of life. He lusts after the fair

complexioned Western woman. Fortunately, he is inept in the bedroom and

on the battlefield. Unlike our noble selves, the unkempt 'other' is unethical

and inferior, someone who plays dirty; he worships a strange, different deity

and does not value human life as much as we do. Incapable of democracy,

the "other" is projected as a violent primitive mass opposing world peace

and religious tolerance. Only a brave white man and a light saber can save

the 'other' from himself. (Shaheen, Guilty: Hollywood's Verdict on Arabs

after 9/11 9-10)

Practically speaking, the end of the Cold War and the loss the communist insurgent

which became blurry, pushed the Middle Eastern terrorist to the top of the list of threats to

America in films as the inheritor of hostility of America and the most commercially viable

option for the motion picture industry (Vanhala 233-234).

3.2.1. American Sniper (2014): The Celluloid's Savage Terrorist

The movie *American Sniper* (2014) is an American biographical drama directed by

the actor and producer Clint Eastwood. It is based on the memoires of the American sniper

Chris Kyle published in his book American *Sniper: The Autobiography of the Most Lethal*

Sniper in U.S. Military History. The movie tells the story of the deadliest sniper in the

history of America with over 255 kills of which 160 kills confirmed by the Department of

Defense in his four tours in Iraq. The film tells a lot about two different societies an

American society who raised a 'shepherd' and a Middle Eastern society that unleashes his

wolves on civilizations and both societies are tempered with two different perpetually

conflicting religions; Christianity and Islam. Furthermore, the film endeavors to depict Middle Eastern society as primitive and forged in violence and terror and this terror is trying to make its way to America, thus it is the sacred duty of every American to be the shepherd and protect 'Home.' The film was met with positive reviews, criticism and reception making it the highest-grossing film in 2014 and highest-grossing war film of all time with revenues exceeded 547million dollars.

Film Selection

The film was selected for the following reasons:

- Rating: the film received 7.3/10 positive rating on IMBD based on 429,217 reviews, 72 positive critic reviews on Metacritic, and 72% positive reviews on Rotten Tomatoes.

- Box Office revenues: 547 million dollars, almost 10 times the film's budget.

- Relevance of themes: Terrorism, Arabs and Muslims Stereotypes, Religious conflict between Islam and Christianity

- Language: English.

- Publicity: the film has made it to the top lists of several film criticism

- Distributer: Warner Bros. Pictures, one of the largest distribution countries in America.

- Lead actor: Bradley Charles Cooper, an American actor, director, producer and screenwriter. He has been nominated for several awards and has won two Grammy Awards and a BAFTA award. He also appeared in *Forbes Celebrity* 100 on three times and *Time's* list of 100 most influential people in the world in 2015

- Director: Clint Eastwood

- Awards: the movie was nominated for 39 awards of which it won 10 awards including an Oscar.

Methodology

We opted for using content analysis methodology in analyzing the movie which is a research method used to identify patterns in recorded videos and communications in general. The aim was to spot scenes that depict certain ideas and themes and propagate them. We also deployed a mise-en-scène analysis as a part of the Film Analysis methodology by counting scenes and categorizing them into pre-decided coded themes.

Coding Scheme

Before to coding, we watched the film *American Sniper* (2014) to help define our categories (themes) and increase the reliability of the coding. In addition, we coded for 5 different implements; first, implements of Terrorism (categories: jihad, mujahedeen, suicide attack, turban, keffiyeh, woman terrorist, child terrorist, terrorist, bombs, suicide vest, AK47, suicide vest, bearded terrorist, insurgents, AL-Qaeda, El-Zarkawi, Bin Laden); second, implements of Islam (categories: Veil, Niqab, Hijab, Adan, prayer, Allahu Akbar, Mosque); third, implements of negative place (categories: Iraq, Fallujah, Ramadi, War-torn places, Arabic Language, desert).A forth implement of positive place(category: America, home, green landscape, attraction resorts/places, forests, family). Finally, a fifth implement of fillers for scenes with themes irrelevant to our previously mentioned coding implements. Moreover, after applying manual content analysis on the movie, we measured the scene ratio of each implements vis-à-vis the total scenes of the movie to decide whether the movie was deliberately constructed for specific agenda, or to propagate certain ideas or messages, or to change particular concepts.

Units of Analysis

The films were examined at the level (units of analysis) of the scene. The scene analysis described:

e) How Hollywood constructs Terrorism and Terrorists in General?

f) How Hollywood constructs the image of terrorist as equivalent to the image of
Muslim/Arab

g) How Hollywood constructs the place where terrorism originated from versus the
place where counter-terrorists (Americans) come from

h) How Hollywood constructs Islam as an incentive of terrorism versus Christianity as
an incentive of peace and moral support for democracy.

Content Analysis of implements of Terrorism, Islam and Place

Table 10

Implements of Terrorism, Islam and Place in '*American Sniper*' of 2014

Coding / Scene Number	Implements of Terrorism	Implements of Islam	Implements of Negative Place	Implements of Positive Place	Filler	Observation
1			1			The scene opens with US marines convoy headed by a tank is crossing a war-torn area in Iraq
2			1			Sniper Chris Kyle trying to spot terrorist threats to protect the convoy, he describes the place: 'It's a fucking hot box. Man, the fucking dirt here tastes like dog shit. '
3			1			blown-up cars , empty houses, dirt and ruins everywhere as the marines continue marching
4	1					Kyle sees a potential threat using a cell-phone apparently to give intel about the Marines, he zooms in on the target using his sniper rifle scope. The target is different in style and skin
5	1	1				Kyle spots a woman in Niqab with her small boy exiting an unknown house heading towards the convoy. He zooms in again with his sniper rifle, and enunciating that the woman might be carrying something under her Islamic niqab. The woman hands her child a bomb

						and orders him to throw it on the Marines. Kyle faces a difficult choice whether to shoot the boy or not
6					1		the child Kyle is hunting with his father in the woods. He hunted a deer. His father praises his skills.
7					1		Kyle is in the church with his parents and brother. He takes a Bible from the church.
8					1		Kyle's father teaches his sons about the importance of being a shepherd to protect the floc (the family, the nation, home) but not to be the wolf who commits unreasonable violence. Kyle's confidence as a man who protects others grows deeper
9					1		Kyle as a fully grown man rides horses (rodeo competitions) and opts for a cowboy life style
10	1						Kyle home with his brother, watching a terrorists attack on US embassy in Kenya as American lives' loss is reported
11	1						Kyle signs up to join the army to protect America and American lives in the wake of the terrorist's attack as sign of retaliation against terrorism.
12						1	Kyle is in training. The director focuses on the hard training of navy seals and the will of Americans to protect their own
13					1		the seals, with Kyle in a bar having a great time, full of love and laughter. Kyle makes a statement that he wants to protect America the greatest country on earth. He meets his future wife Taya in the process.
14						1	Kyle is in sniper training.
15						1	Kyle calling the would-be wife Taya

16					1	Kyle is in sniper training.
17					1	Kyle handouts with Taya discussing his Army career
18					1	Kyle is in sniper training.
19				1		Kyle hangs out with Taya. The Director aims at showing the kind of great life soldiers leave behind to protect America.
20					1	Kyle is in sniper training.
21	1					Kyle and Taya home watching the 9/11 attacks, Taya cries and Kyle is shocked and angry.
22				1		Kyle proposes to Taya. The two decides to start a family.
23				1		Kyle and Taya's wedding. His brothers in arms are there. Everybody is afraid and enjoying those moments as if they are their last as they're going to be deployed to Iraq
24			1			Scene opens with US military convoy in Fallujah. Kyle is shown hiding his Bible (the one from his childhood) in his pocket as a sign of another religious crusade. The place is shown torn apart by bombings and terrorism
25			1			the convoy stops and soldiers start matching in Falluja war-torn streets. Kyle climbs a high building with his comrade
26	1	1				the flashback ends. The scene resumes where the woman terrorist hands a grenade to her child and order him to throw it on the convoy. Kyle shoots the boy dead. The grenade falls on the ground but doesn't' go off. The mother takes the bomb from the ground ignoring her child's dead body as the sniper zooms in with his rifle's scope and

						shots the terrorist woman dead as she manages to throw the bomb. the bomb goes off and the marines duck to avoid the blast. the sniper zooms in again on his kills.
27	1					Kyle goes to the compound. He discusses the boy terrorist and his mother. His friend states that "the kid could have taken 10 marines"
28	1		1			the Marine troops sweeping Fallujah for terrorists amid destruction and ruin as a dead terrorist falls from the sky like a bird, hunted by Kyle. The terrorist is shown facedown wearing Iraqi Keffiyeh, usually worn by insurgents and come to symbolize terrorism. meanwhile another terrorist driving a blue car heads towards the convoy to blow it up but Kyle locks and loads and shoots the terrorist. the director puts the car registration plate written in Arabic at the center of the camera. the terrorist is dead and the car blows off.
29			1			Kyle uses binoculars to sweep the place for threats then he uses his rifle scope to locate a terrorist, who wears a Keffiyeh around his neck, planting a bomb in a streets. He shoots him dead. Seconds later, he shots another terrorist who run to attack the convoy with an AK47. as the night falls , Kyle holding the same position spots women in niqab and zooms in on them.
30	1	1				The convoy still sweeps the city as trees burning. A sniper terrorist, Mustafa, takes position to shoot the marines as the Adan calls for prayer. He kills a marine and ran away.
31	1		1			it is the morning Kyle is now being relieved to take a rest. Before he leaves he states that it is a hostile place and he killed 8.
32		1				Kyle is being spoken to by one of his superiors who said that one of his kills was carrying a Coran not

						an AK47 Kyle doesn't care and leaves. The scene cunningly tries to establish a link between Coran and bombs and weapons.
33					**1**	Marines and SEALs celebrating the kills of Kyle
34					**1**	Kyle is using his rifle to scan for terrorists while talking to his wife. She tells him that his younger is deployed to Iraq
35	**1**					The marines are being briefed about El-Zarqawi, Ben Landen's man in Iraq. The scene features the image of Zarqawi wearing Iraqi Keffiyeh and writings in Arabic.
36					**1**	Kyle wants to be part of the storming marine teams instead of being away from action. His superior tells him that he is an icon, his presence is reassurance for everybody.
37			**1**			Scene opens with high angel showing the war torn city while marines are storming in, looking for terrorists. Kyle takes a high position to provide cover. One is being injured and being dragged by his friends, Kyle decides to join the infantry to do better job.
38	**1**					Kyle with the marines storming houses looking for terrorists or accomplices related to El-Zarqawi. In the process, they storm a house and find civilians who did not evacuate the area. One bearded civilian in the Arabian style house turned out to have ties to one of El-Zarqawi accomplices called the Butcher and agrees to cooperate in exchange for 100 thousand dollars, though, he is so intimidated by this Butcher who apparently sever people's body parts while they are still alive.
39					**1**	the CIA checks the intel retrieved by Kyle and his team and finds out it is truthful.

40	**1**						They return to the civilian's house but the Syrian sniper Mustafa, is there and starts killing marines. US soldiers are pinned down by terrorists.
41	**1**						while marines are pinned down, the civilian and his family are tortured and killed by the butcher who uses an Electric drill to kill an innocent boy. The scene generated more support for counterterrorism measures and Kyle's action in particular. The director uses a close-up shot showing the face of the Butcher matches all the reel terrorists stereotypes.
42	**1**						Kyle is pinned down by the Syrian sniper Mustafa while everybody flees the scene.
43						**1**	one superior decides to stop the search for Zarqawi operations. Kyle seems upset that he has only 3 weeks left.
44						**1**	Kyle doing some bodybuilding exercises
45					**1**		Chris Kyle's tour in Iraq is over, he is home. His wife is waiting him at the airport along with other families who come to meet their loved ones.
46						**1**	Kyle is home with his pregnant wife.
47						**1**	he takes his wife to the clinic where it is revealed that he had high blood pressure.
48					**1**		Kyle driving home in the splendid American highway and his wife is going to give birth
49						**1**	Kyle's child is born.
50	**1**						Kyle is home watching recordings or marines being shot by Mustafa. Next to him is the Christmas tree. Conflicting world, a world is fueled by hatred and death because of Islam terrorism and a world of peace thanks to Christianity. His

51				1			Kyle again arrives at Iraq for another tour along with hundreds of US soldiers. He spots his younger brother, who has just finished his tour, and seems in shock of the savagery he has seen in Iraq
52	1						While leaving in Helicopter, Kyle is ordered to construct a direct action squad to hunt the Butcher. His superiors says that he "must put the fury of god on these savages"
53				1			after briefing his team, one of his comrades discusses Kyle's faith and Bible. Kyle talks about the good and evil, he refer to the evil in Iraq. He informs his friend that they are protecting America not this dirt (referring to Iraq)
54						1	Kyle's team is looking to find the Butcher. They enter a civilian's home. He is shown the picture of the Butcher but he denies any knowledge.
55	1						The team spots the Butcher in a coffee shop. Then, the civilian invited them to his table. Only for Kyle to notice that the man is a terrorist and blows his cover and finds a stash of weapons inside his house. The terrorist agrees to help the team breach the coffee shop to apprehend or kill the butcher.
56	1	1					The terrorist delivers on his promise but turn sides and start attacking marines. He gets killed inaction. As battle ensues some marines are injured and the Butcher flees in a car. The coffee shop scene feature parts of human bodies and a man being tortured by the butcher. simultaneously, a veiled woman terrorist calls Mustafa to join in.
57	1			1			an angry crowd carrying the dead body of the terrorist and approaching the convoy angrily speaking Gibberish and screaming

wife steps in he tells her " they are fucking savages"

						death to Americans. The convoy leaves the scene.
58						1	Kyle is home with his son. He meets a veteran who proudly invites him to the veteran center.
59						1	Kyle in nursery after his second child is born. Symptoms of PTSD are so conspicuous on him.
60						1	Kyle with his wife Taya who is apparently angry because of her husband's work.
61	1						Scene opens with Kyle's 3rd tour to Iraq. Spotting terrorists on the roof who call Mustafa, the Syrian sniper.
62	1						Mustafa heads to hunt the marines, the director uses a close-up shot to show a portrait where the sniper receives a medal along with him two people one covered in Iranian flag.
63	1						the Attack on Kyle's convoy begins and they return fire.
64	1						Kyle and his friend enter a building looking for terrorists. His friend is shot in the face by Mustafa.
65						1	Assistance arrive at the scene. As the injured marine is evacuated.
66						1	The injured marine is under medical attention. The team assembles and looks so upset.
67	1						Angry for what happened to their friend. They return to find the terrorist sniper and killing several of terrorists in the way.
68	1						the time arrives at a suspected building which they storm in looking for terrorists, however, they get surprised by terrorists attacking them from everywhere. A team member is killed immediately.
69						1	Kyle goes home in cargo plane carrying coffins covered in American flags of dead soldiers.

70					1	a Marine's funeral. A scene full of glory and a 21 Gun Salute
71					1	Kyle discusses the death of his friend with his wife.
72					1	Kyle goes to the hospital to visit his injured marine friend who seems to be healing nicely from the wound inflicted by Mustafa while he was with Kyle.
73					1	Kyle informs his wife that he is going back to Iraq again. his wife is all upset.
74					1	the scene opens with Kyle in Iraq again for his 4th tour. He receives that his injured friend who seemed nice is dead.
75			1			the scene features a war torn landscape while Kyle is sweeping for terrorists.
76	1					A terrorist with an RPG comes to attack the marines convoy but Kyle kills him. A boy who was playing at the scene and witnessed everything, instead of running away of shock and fear, he tries to takes the heavy RPG weapon and shoots the marines but retreats at last minutes as Kyle is gasping for breath because he would have shot him dead
77	1		1			the team is being briefed about the whereabouts of the Butcher, which is a very hostile territory as a sand storm approaches
78	1		1			the convoy leaves towards the designated. The scene features several Mosques in the war-torn city.
79	1					The marines arrive at the scene and ready for battle. Kyle enters a building with his teammates and goes to the roof to provide cover for the rest. Terrorists arrive but the marines are holding their fire.
80	1					the sniper terrorist kills a marine. Kyle takes immediate notice and starts sweeping for him.

81	1					Kyle kills Mustafa in an impossible shot as the latter plans to shoot another marine. Terrorists take notice of the whereabouts of Kyle and his team and head towards them. The team fights back in a fierce battle awaiting support.
82	1					Terrorists screaming in Arabic giving directions about the team of Kyle wearing Keffiyehs. Waving AK47s
83	1		1			Air support arrives as Kyle calls his wife and tell her he is ready to come home. The sand storm is approaching and bullets are everywhere
84	1		1			Sand storm covers everything as the battle goes on. Kyle is injured but he is saved by his comrades
85					1	Kyle returns home. He is in bar drinking. He is talking to his wife who urges him to come home.
86					1	Kyle is finally home but he suffers from PTSD
87					1	Kyle's PTSD is alienating him and making him more violent.
88					1	Kyle seeks help and the Psychiatrist advises him to work at the veteran's center.
89				1		Kyle at the center helping disabled veterans.
90				1		Kyle trying some disabled veterans using his sniper skills.
91				1		the scene opens with an amazing nature landscape featuring a white horse with Kyle talking to his small daughter as a sign of the peace he finally finds at home.
92					1	finally, Kyle returns to his nature and start enjoying his life with his family
93				1		the scene features Kyle and his son on a hunting trip. The same as he was a child with his father as a

						symbol of continuity of heroism bloodline (the good shepherd as Kyle's father puts it)
94					**1**	Kyle's final moments as he is happy and ready to leave his house to help a marine who eventually kills him.
Sum	**35**	**5**	**17**	**13**	**35**	/

Table 11

 Ratio of Scene Implements to the Totality of Scenes

Implements	Terrorism	Islam	Negative Place	Positive Place
Number of Scenes	35/94	5/94	17/94	13/94
Ratio to the Sum of Scenes	37%	5%	18%	14%

The ratio of implements of terrorism combined with Islam and the negative

connotation, whether implicit or explicit, of the place makes 60% of scenes in the movie

which by definition exceeds 1hour and 30 minutes (3 quarters of the movie duration). The

combination of terrorism, with all of its stereotypical traits, Islam and the Middle Eastern

geographical landscapes prove that the screenwriter and the director intended for the movie

to construct the audience's opinion negatively towards the Middle East region in particular

and Muslims in general. The movie begins with rallying support for Chris Kyle who was

acting out of 'justified retaliation' to terrorist attacks that targeted American civilians.

The Kyle character is constructed as a while male, who comes from the conservative

heart of America, with religious background and a classical family who is branded in the

movie as a 'shepherd who takes care of the flock,' which is a religious connotation one of

the Bible's verses, and on the other side, we find the unhuman, savage, violent and blood-

thirsty Muslim. Building characters around evil and good, and constructing scenes to make

people identify with Kyle and arouse hatred towards Muslims and Arabs served all along the movie as a justification for the all the killings and destruction caused by American in the movie itself and projecting such legitimacy to reality where people after 11 years of the Iraq war and all the devastation that occurred there, still think that military operations in Iraq are justified as much as shooting a child in *American Sniper* is also justified to save American lives.

The film besides arousing feelings of hatred towards Arabs/Muslims and their indigenous regions, and serving as a justification for pro-war policies and military interventions. It succeeded in building sympathy towards veterans and their families as shown in the movie struggling, not only from physical disabilities sustained during war, but also from war trauma and how it affected their loved ones. Furthermore, the box office blockbuster succeeded in increasing Islamophobia in America and in Western countries to spiking levels through the negative depiction of Muslims and Arabs as a society who tolerates, sponsors and supports terrorism with all its layers. In addition, the movies tried to identify with crusades by showing the protagonist Chris Kyle as a deeply Christian man who holds on to his Bible since his childhood, and portraying his enemies as savage Muslims whose scrip 'the Coran' branded the peaceful developed Western Civilization as corrupt and must be destroyed, as Kyle connoted in one scene that he has no idea what the Coran looks like but he knows that what is in the hands of 'the savages' are bombs as a symbol to likening the Coran to Bombs.

Moreover, constructing place in the movie on two prongs: the good and positive place, which symbolizes home and family, and the evil and negative place which symbolizes death, misery and violence, made the audience identify more with Chris Kyle who embody the United States efforts to protecting Americans and promoting democracy where is needed despite the fact that the movie shows that people in the negative place are neither

trustworthy, nor worthy of democracy as all they know is to nurture violence and terrorism. Furthermore, the success and fame that the movie has met, shows that after more than 14 years on the 9/11 events and 11 years on the Iraq war, and all the truths divulged and the misery inflicted upon Muslims and Arabs in the name of war on terror, most Americans still believe in the equation: Muslim= Arab = Terrorist.

Mise-en-scène Analysis

a) Scenes Number 1 and 26: Implements of Terrorism

The scene opens with Adan and then a war-torn area as a direct link between devastation and Islam, it establishes the film setting to the viewers. The director then uses a close-up shot on Chris Kyle who is located on the top of a building, it demonstrates that Chris is a highly trained soldier in the US Army (Propaganda, American power and hegemony). As Chris is aiming at a woman in Hijab, an Islamic religious clothing for women, and her child (see Table 10 for scene 1), the film suddenly cuts to a flashback to the soldier's childhood hunting with his father. Nostalgia is a powerful motif that is used by the film director to tell the audience that Chris was an innocent American child growing up in a pure American small town and going to the church on Sunday with his white family but the circumstances and global politics turned him into a skilled sniper and murderer. He is doing this for his country. Nostalgia, American small town, the Church, and rodeo are used as motifs to tell the audience that Chris's actions are morally unquestionable. He is a patriot and ultimately he died for his country. The action resumes at scene 26 with Kyle on the roof top aiming at the terrorist mother and her child.

Scene 26 features an Extreme long shot which is used to reveal a wider view of the Iraqi war-torn city (see fig.17). The Arabic/Muslim world is a desolate place as the land is damaged. The panoramic view of the surroundings of Iraq contends this idea of bleakness and desolation. This shot is used to make the viewers sympathize with the Iraqi people and

also sympathize with the heroes of the nation, the American soldiers who came to liberate the country from the tyranny of Saddam Hussein.

Fig. 17: The War-torn Iraqi City

Source: American Sniper. Dir. Clint Eastwood. Perf. Bradley Cooper and Sienna Miller. Prod. Clint Eastwood. Warner Bros. Pictures, 2014. Film.

Furthermore, the scene features the non-traditional role for the Muslim woman as the sponsor of terrorism who is ready to sacrifice her children to satisfy her hatred. The terrorist woman is shown handing a grenade to her child ordering him to throw it on the marines as seen through the Sniper scope to make both, the woman and the child seem threatening and to legitimize the killing of the child later and project the validity of Kyle actions on the actions of US army in Iraq (see fig. 18). Eventually, Kyle had to shoot him to save the marines.

Fig. 18: The Terrorist Mother Giving Her Child a Hand Grenade

Source: American Sniper. Dir. Clint Eastwood. Perf. Bradley Cooper and Sienna Miller.

Prod. Clint Eastwood. Warner Bros. Pictures, 2014. Film.

After Kyle shot the child dead, his mother came running but not to see the body of her

dead child but to carry the bomb and proceed with the original quest of killing marines as a

sign that her hatred to Americans supersedes her compassion to her child as a mother. The

scene shows the terrorist mother grabbing the grenade without even giving the body of her

son a look showing how terrorists can be detached from humanity and from the most

sacred sentiment of motherhood (see fig. 19).

Fig. 19: The Terrorist Mother Grabbing the Hand Grenade Ignoring the Body of Her Child

Source: American Sniper. Dir. Clint Eastwood. Perf. Bradley Cooper and Sienna Miller. Prod. Clint Eastwood. Warner Bros. Pictures, 2014. Film.

In addition, the director uses a dolly, which refers to the camera movement when a camera is mounted on a dolly, as the camera moves forward when the woman throws the explosive device. Chris has to shoot her as he shot her son. The dolly creates tension and the camera creates the illusion that the woman is approaching the audience. When Chris shot the woman, he saved us, we the audience from the threat of the woman terrorist (see fig.20). Such technique produces sentiments of fear and trepidation in the audience and here it is meant to arouse sentiments of fear from terrorism and Islam as the veiled woman represents the average Muslim woman.

Fig. 20: The Dolly Shot Showing the Woman Terrorist Throwing a Bomb

Source: American Sniper. Dir. Clint Eastwood. Perf. Bradley Cooper and Sienna Miller.

Prod. Clint Eastwood. Warner Bros. Pictures, 2014. Film.

b) Scene Number 57: Implements of Place

the scene depicts an angry Iraqi crowd carrying the body of a killed terrorist and screaming' death to America.' The director focuses on the place as a dark, ruined and war-torn with a hostile society who gets angry at the death of its own executioners see fig. 21). In addition, the director used a close-up shot zooming in on the angry crowd showing their faces and facial expressions which seemed filled with hatred and violence to Americans (see fig. 22). Moreover, the scene shows that all Arabs/Muslims are enemies of America and such society that does not condone violence but tolerates it and supports it is a real

threat that America and the Americans must deal with sooner or later. Furthermore, the

scene creates more animosity among its viewers towards Arabs/Muslims and propagate

stereotypes that all Arabs/Muslims are savages, violent, hostile and unworthy of

democracy.

Fig. 21: The Angry Iraqi Crowd Carrying the Body of a Dead Terrorist

Source: American Sniper. Dir. Clint Eastwood. Perf. Bradley Cooper and Sienna Miller.

Prod. Clint Eastwood. Warner Bros. Pictures, 2014. Film.

Fig. 22: Angry Hostile Faces of Arabs and Muslims

Source: American Sniper. Dir. Clint Eastwood. Perf. Bradley Cooper and Sienna Miller. Prod. Clint Eastwood. Warner Bros. Pictures, 2014. Film.

Discussion

Without any doubt, the movie *American Sniper* is constructed around themes of terrorism and Islam. It endeavors to establish a firm link between Islam and terrorism and propagate an image that all Arabs and Muslims are more prone to commit violence than to condone it and seek for peace. In addition, the movie tries to explain the phenomenon of terrorism by showing how Muslims brand their children to hostility towards Americans which subsequently turns to a large scale violence epithet terrorism, not to mention the scenes where director deliberately puts deadly weapons in the hands of children who are encouraged by their parents to commit violence and kill 'the liberators.' The movie, also, wages an implicit crusade by showing a deeply Christian man hanging on to his Bible all the time confronted by terrorists who repeatedly infer their judgments of killing others from the Holy Coran.

Moreover, the film is constructed to bring legitimacy and validity to the actions of US army during military conflict through depicting unconceivable scenes like a mother who ignores her child to throw a bomb or a child who waves an RPG and thereby showing the audience about the challenges and threats that the US faces in its war against terrorism and its quest to promote democracy. Also, the movie elicits a great deal of sympathy towards military veterans and their families, for the sacrifices they have laid on the altar of counter-terrorism and democracy promotion, not to mention the psychological issues that these heroes experience upon their return from deployment which requires great care and compassion from the American society.

All in all, the movie is a screaming propaganda to justify military interventions, sustain support to war on terror and democracy promotion, condones dissent on fighting terror or tolerating it, and legitimizing the total destruction and probably future dissolution of Iraq. Moreover, the stereotypes that Hollywood managed to associate with Muslims and some other minorities (like associating Muslims with terrorism and extremism, Japanese with the transnational organized crime syndicate Yakuza, Chinese with the transnational organized crime syndicate Triads, Mexican with drug dealers, organized crime and human trafficking, Africans with brutality, Russians with prostitution and crimes…etc.) have been used as a framework to exclude these targets from public and social life and seek to corner them in ghettos, deprive them of basic liberties , life and liberty without any due process of law or remorse or any fear from public reaction (example of Abu Ghraib Prison and Guantanamo Prison). On the side of the coin, Hollywood have excelled in portraying the US army as a legion of exceptional elitist heroes who embarked upon the breath taking journey of laying sacrifices on the altar of freedom for the sake of liberating people who suffered the horrific ordeal of dictators or Muslim fundamentalists' tenure and protecting the American people from the so-portrayed savages in Hollywood movies.

3.2.2. Rules of Engagement (2000): Stereotypical Depiction of Muslims and Arabs

Rules of Engagement (2000) tells the story of a rescue mission that took place in Yemen's Capital Sanaa. A seemingly hostile crowd was protesting outside the premises of the US embassy, but suddenly becomes violent wielding AK47 and Molotov Cocktails towards the building endangering the lives of Americans present at the embassy. The US marines, arriving at the scene with three helicopters in a rescue peaceful mission, to evacuate the embassy personal, are met with bullets and rocks, not to mention the annoyingly incoherent screaming of the apparently uncivilized hostile crowd. After three marines are shot dead, the man in charge of the mission Colonel Terry Childers (played by

Samuel L. Jackson) gives orders to the marines to return fire and eliminate the threat,

saying "waste the motherfuckers." 83 Yemeni are killed and 100 other are critically injured

in what appears to be a justified action. Nonetheless, the plot takes an unexpected turn

when Col. Childers is accused of murder and disrupting peace for the purpose of silencing

the world's public opinion on the carnage made by the marines. Col. Childers engage the

services of his old friend and brother in arms Col. Hayes (played by Tommy Lee Jones),

the latter wages a battle to free his friend in the name of protecting American lives.

Film Selection

This film was selected because of the critical reception it received. It was described by

the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee as "probably the most racist film ever

made against Arabs by Hollywood." Moreover, the English film critic Peter Bradshaw

complained that the film was "dripping with a creepy strain of Islamophobia" (Whitaker).

Furthermore, the movie was released more than a year before the 9/11 terrorist attacks,

nonetheless, the same prejudices and stereotypes are present before and after the events in

Hollywood movies which affirms a deliberate attempt to vilify a whole race of people, an

Abrahamic religion and coach American public to vilify them and accept their exclusion

from American life and tolerate any acts of violence towards these so portrayed savages

and uncivilized.

Methodology

The present section explores the stereotypical representation of Arabs in William

Friedkin's motion picture *Rules of Engagement* (2000). The aim is to investigate if the film

director portrays Arabs in a pejorative way by using the different clichés that are linked to

Arab culture and which had been used for decades by the film industry of Hollywood. As a

matter of fact, it will be shown that *Rules of Engagement* conveys a negative image of

Arabs and in order to deconstruct its stereotypes a film analysis and a content analysis will

be carried out. Film analysis will seek to analyze the narrative structure, cultural context, characterization, mise-en-scene, cinematography, and sound of the motion picture. Likewise, content analysis will determine the presence of certain words, phrases, and grammatical structures used in the movie script.

But before examining the film and its content, we need to give an accurate definition to the concept of 'stereotype'. The *Online Etymology Dictionary* points out that a stereotype is derived from the Greek words στερεός (*stereos*), 'firm, solid' and τύπος (*typos*), 'impression', which literally means 'solid impression'. Originally, it was a printing technique that was adopted by the brothers Didot in 1798 and which made use of a printing plate that duplicated any typography. Stereotype, in its social psychological sense, was coined first in 1922 by American journalist Walter Lippman in his famous work *Public Opinion* where "he saw it as an element of the 'pseudo environment' which human beings interpose between themselves and the world in order to make sense of it" (Cantwell 63).

The *Merriam Webster dictionary* gives the following definitions of stereotype: 1- An often unfair and untrue belief that many people have about all people or things with a particular characteristic; 2- Something conforming to a fixed or general pattern; especially a standardized mental picture that is held in common by members of a group and that represents an oversimplified opinion, prejudiced attitude, or uncritical judgment.

From the above definitions, it can be argued that we assign individuals to groups on the basis of a single trait, such as skin, hair colour, religion, gender, or a country. The following statements are examples of stereotypes:

- All Americans are cowboys.

- All French drink wine and complain all the time.

- All Africans are lazy.

- All Arabs are terrorists.

The Arab stereotype is a common racist belief placed on people of Arab countries. They are usually perceived as savages and consequently it is the Whiteman's mission to civilize them. It must be recognized that Professor Jack Shaheen stressed the fact that Arabs have always been depicted negatively in the films of Hollywood. The author of *Reel Bad Arabs* contends that "almost all Hollywood depictions of Arabs are bad ones. This is a grave injustice. Repetitious and negative images of the reel Arab literally sustain adverse portraits across generations" (Shaheen, Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People 11). In fact, Arabs have been portrayed negatively as villains in Hollywood films and particularly in *Rules of Engagement* which is not unique in that respect.

Film Analysis

To start with, the film director Friedkin introduces the plot by telling the story of two Marines friends who served in Vietnam. 28 years later, one of the officers is send to Sana'a in Yemen in a rescue mission to save the US ambassador. The viewers are shown several scenes about the US Army and the tactics to carry out the mission. As soon as the film cuts to a scene in the capital of Yemen, tension starts to grow, and it becomes clear that the viewers of the movie are brought in a hostile territory that is regarded as the cradle of danger and terrorism (See fig. 23).

Fig. 23: Panoramic View of Sanaa Yemen's Capital City in the Movie Rules of

Engagement

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel

L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

The long shot of the camera reveals a very backward city that lacks essential

infrastructure. The buildings are made of poor materials and the mosque with its minarets

highlights the danger as the viewers feel that the US troops will face danger in an Islamic

country full of merciless terrorists. For sure, the Marines need to establish the rules of

engagement to make sure they accomplish their mission successfully.

The protestors gather around the US Embassy and show their discontent by

threatening the lives of the ambassador and his family. Friedkin's camera puts a stress on

the backwardness of the crowd to convey the idea that Arabs are uncivilized (see fig. 24

below).

Fig. 24: Faces of the Uncivilized Yemeni Crowd Protesting Outside the US Embassy

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

The above medium close-up shots are very important and deserve deep examination. Medium close-up allow the viewers of the movie to easily register the characters' anger as they express their dissatisfaction in front of the US Embassy.

The camera of Friedkin conveys a strong subconscious attack on the Arab culture in a very subtle and implicit way. The first shot shows an elderly man with a grey beard. He looks like a "sheikh" to borrow the word of Shaheen and seems very villain and rude. His poor dental care and his headdress reinforce the idea that he is backward and uncultured. The Moroccan-American novelist and professor Laila Lalami writes in a piece in the *Los Angeles Times* that a successful Arab-bashing movie includes "Arab characters that must all have beards, they must all wear Keffiyehs [traditional Arabian headdress], and must speak broken English and be rude in their manner", among many others. (Lalami)

Figure 24 embodies an implicit message of backwardness as women are wearing black niqab which illustrates the barbaric and misogynic culture of the Arab world. The camera suggests that the man-centered Arab society tends to hide the beauty of women and put them in a low status of submission and deprivation of equal rights. Figure 24 also depicts angry kids who wear backward clothes and seem to be deprived of innocence as they have been conditioned to hate America and its values from an early age.

The three medium close-up shots are very powerful means of Hollywood propaganda dominated by stereotypes. The shots transform a false idea about Arabs and their culture into an absolute and an unquestionable truth. As a matter of fact, the viewers of the film are terrified by the shots showing the villain characters and it is suggested in a subtle way that killing those savages in a subsequent scene will be justified. Because *Rules of Engagement*, we must not forget, is a motion picture that justifies in a way US soldiers killing Arab populations composed of beard men, veiled women, and uneducated children.

The Arab community of Sana'a in Yemen is vilified and this is highly embodied in the use of the point-of-view shot (see fig. 25 below).

Fig. 25: The Yemeni Crowd that Surrounded and Attacked Col. Hayes

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

Colonel Hayes Hodges (Tommy Lee Jones) is a military attorney and is in charge of defending his friend Colonel Terry Childers (Samuel L. Jackson) who was accused of killing 83 civilian Yemenis after rescuing the US ambassador and his family. Hodges visits

Yemen to find evidence that might clear his client; however, he is aggressed by a group of men who are angry at him and his country. The POV is used to show the audience of the movie what the main character is looking at through the camera. The POV is a relevant technique of film editing and it allows the film director to share the feelings of Colonel Hodges who is terrified because of the barbaric horde of Yemenis that chases him. The film viewers are also terrified by those brutes and terrorists who in fact deserved death.

The vilification of Arabs is also shown in the close-up shot of a veiled woman who serves tea to Colonel Hodges as he is the guest of a Yemeni resident (See fig. 26).

Fig. 26: Veiled Yemeni Woman Serving Tea to Col. Hayes

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

We can see that the frame is filled primarily by the subject's face. The woman is staring angrily at Colonel Hodges and this gives the impression to the viewers that even the good Arab characters that are willing to cooperate with the military attorney are not that good. What is more, we notice that the veiled woman is quiet beautiful. She has green eyes and a motif is tattooed on her glabella, which is the space between eyebrows and above the

nose. It must be noted that beautiful women in numerous Arab countries used to be tattooed on their faces in an attempt to demonize them and make them look ugly and prevent their kidnapping or rape. This archaic practice has almost disappeared from the Arab world.

The woman with the green eyes and the tattoo is portrayed as the exotic and desirable sexual object depicted in the artistic works of Gustave Flaubert, Joseph Conrad, and Eugène Delacroix, to name but a few. This close up shot can be categorized as belonging to the Orientalist trend that conveys a biased and a racist representation of Arab women. Let's not forget that this artistic practice has been criticized previously in 1978 when Edward W. Said wrote his famous book *Orientalism* to describe the western disdainful depiction of the orient. (Said 114-115)

The brief exchange between Colonel Hodges and the Yemeni resident is worthy to be examined. Hodges is told by the translator that:

"*Armed American Marines; they were shooting at his people. They were just trying to defend themselve* [*sic.*]".

The translation is interesting in several respects. We first notice that the screenwriter Stephen Gaghan chose to purposely insert a mistake (*themselve* instead of *themselves*) to highlight the low level of culture of the Arab translator who speaks broken English as suggested previously by Laila Lalami. Also and more importantly, the Yemeni resident does not seem to use the Yemeni Arabic; rather he uses standard Arabic.

"القوات الأمريكية البحرية أطلقت النار على الناس، بينما كان هؤلاء فقط يدافعون على أنفسهم."

It can be asserted that any Arab viewer of *Rules of Engagement* can say that the original quotation is written in standard Arabic. The screenwriter could make the effort of adapting Yemeni Arabic to be more realistic and accurate. But the Hollywood film has been made for American viewers and it does not really matter if the character uses standard

Arabic or Yemeni dialect. What does matter; however, is that Arab characters in *Rules of Engagement* look mean, vicious, and barbarous to create a feeling of fear in the American audiences that would accept the killing of those savages by the US Marines.

It is worth noting that *Rules of Engagement* centers about the ethical conduct of war. Is there a proper way of engaging in a military combat without killing innocent people? The answer to this relevant question is provided by Colonel Childers who says during his trial:

"*You think there's a script for fighting a war without pissing somebody off? Follow the rules and nobody gets hurt?*"

The comment of the Marines officer is very interesting. He uses a rhetorical question which of course does not need an answer in order to highlight the complexity of conducting wars. The viewers of the film sympathize with the colonel knowing he is perhaps guilty of murdering innocent civilians. The sympathy for the victims grows as the viewers watch the wounded and killed women and children. The picture of the girl who lost her leg during the mission is particularly moving (See fig. 27).

Fig. 27: The Disabled Girl Who Lost Her Leg After the Marines Carnage

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

The high angle is used by the film director as the camera looks down at the subject. This makes the scene more dramatic since the life of this one-legged innocent girl has been destroyed forever by the US Army. The viewers sympathize with the tragic fate of the little girl. Later, however, this sympathy is to disappear as the film reveals in a flashback to the shooting incident that the girl fires a handgun and her face is showing hatred and viciousness (See fig. 28).

Fig. 28: The Disabled Girl Wielding a Gun in a Flashback

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

The close up shot of the girl conveys a very negative image of Arabs who are depicted as beasts lacking feelings. But this fact proves that Colonel Childers is innocent since he ordered his men to shoot on a crowd who were indeed armed and firing at them. The camera of Friedkin is a means that is devoid of a consciousness. It can be considered as a reliable narrator; however, it does not speak; rather it tells the truth to the viewers objectively. As a consequence, the viewers perceive Colonel Childers as a patriot who serves his country despite the hard conditions.

And when Childes gives the order to his men to ''*waste the motherfuckers!*'', the viewers know that their national hero respected the rules of engagement and even cursing becomes trivial since the most important thing is to save American lives. This idea is embodied in the closing statement of Colonel Hodges during the trial of his friend when he asserts that:

"*Colonel Childers didn't open fire. He returned Fire. Under the rules of engagement, a civilian pointing a weapon is no longer a civilian, and the use of deadly force is authorized in order to save lives. It's not murder. It's combat*".

Colonel Childers, the viewers are reminded, is a national hero. This is a very crucial step in any Hollywood war movie. There is a need to fill films with national symbolism and chauvinism. After rescuing the American ambassador from the Arab crowd, Childers returns to rescue the American flag that stands as a symbol of US freedom and justice (See fig.29).

Fig. 29: Rescuing the American Flag

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

Indeed, as the film develops, we realize that the barbarous Arabs hate America and its values. This idea is suggested throughout the film with the cassette that Colonel Hodges found on the US Embassy. On the cassette, we can read: "Declaration of Islamic Jihad against the United States". The cassette tape stands as a motif to unveil the truth and to reveal that Arabs are terrorists.

The use of the over the shoulder shot (OTS) where the camera is placed over the back of the shoulder and head of the villain character with the AK47 is very interesting (See fig. 30).

Fig. 30: A Yemeni Attacker Shooting at US marines Helicopters

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

A similar OTS was used in another scene, however, the target was not Helicopters and marines but the American flag that was flapping over the embassy (see fig. 31). The scene shows a violent shooting on the American flag as it is being lowered by a Yemeni terrorist. The scene conveys a sense that these violent hostile and uncivilized attackers are coming after America and its people. Their spite to America and Americans is stated as unprecedented sentiment of hatred during the entire movie.

Fig.31: A Yemeni Attacker Shooting the United States Flag

Source: Rules of Engagement. Dir. William Friedkin. Perf. Tommy Lee Jones and Samuel L. Jackson. Prods. Scott Rudin and Richard D. Zanuck. Paramount Pictures, 2000. Film.

The Arab character aims at the American enemy and apparently there is a lack of proportion between the powerful US helicopters and the 7.62x39 mm Russian assault rifle that lacks accuracy beyond 300 meters. As a matter of fact, the Kalashnikov reinforces the idea that Arabs are the embodiment of evil since they use a weapon that belongs to the former Soviet Union. Let's not forget that in 1983, President Ronald Reagan delivered a speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in which he referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire". Of course, both America and Russia were in the midst of the Cold War, but since the villain Arab is using Russian weaponry, the viewers of the film consider him as belonging to the evil empire.

Discussion

The Arab fighters in the film are very novice. They lack training and are not able to hit their targets. As a result, only 3 Marines are killed in action and one is injured, whereas 83 Arabs are killed and 100 are injured. The viewers of the film are fascinated by the US supremacy when it comes to conducting wars.

The non-diegetic sound of the movie used when the Marines engage in combat is composed of a military drum sound to which mood music is played to earn the admiration of the viewers who are proud of their professional army. On the other hand, Arab men are shouting like savages and their women are ululating to support their husbands. The diegetic sound of Arabs is very pejorative and very disrespectful to their culture and it can be said that the film director focused on showing the lack of proportion between Americans and Arabs.

In short, it can be said that *Rules of Engagement* is a film that is based on conveying stereotypes which misrepresent the Arab world, whereas it establishes the USA and its army as an archetype of supremacy. The film can be regarded as a powerful means of Hollywood propaganda since it strengthens the image of America as a very typical example of military hegemony. At the same time, the film undermines the Arab world via the oversimplified images of backwardness and meanness that has cursed millions of citizens of the contemporary world. In a way, *Rules of Engagement* which was released on April 7, 2000, succeeded in foreshadowing the USS Cole bombing of October 12, 2000 that happened in Yemen's Aden harbor and in some way the entire post-9/11 war on terror that brought chaos to Afghanistan and Iraq.

3.3. The Heroism and Exceptionalism of the US Army: "This We'll Defend"

The United States' Army is arguably the most powerful military force in the world considering its war experience, budget, intelligence, equipment and training. Throughout 231 years of existence, the United States of America has been in 222 military conflict and full scale war, which makes almost 92% of its entire time. Such bellicose tendency and affection for force and war comes from the Americans' popular imagination that condensate masculinity, courage, patriotism and cowboy heritage in guns, bullets and barricades, and the proof of that when Americans discuss the independence they don't first

mention the eloquent declaration of independence but they sum up the events with one expression "a shot heard around the world." Thus, Americans outstandingly revere arms, the army and rally behind their troops and show them respect home and abroad. (Niemi ix)

The reverence of the troops repeatedly goes to Hollywood, producing box office blockbusters that inject a breath of fresh air in regard to the ethical profession of the American Armed forces which makes movie a very suitable recruitment vehicle, taking to consideration the time Americans spend watching movies and their affection for war movies as well which the Department of Defense is aware of and acting as such by offering assistance, support and equipment to producers who are willing to portray the US army in a very appealing and positive image. Moreover, the movie industry, as mentioned in chapter two, is collaborating with the DOD to ease the toll of war on the American psyche by blurring the line of romanticizing or condemning war leaving the audience with solemn admiration for US troops even if their actions where unethical like torture (Kellner 119), forge the truth to what Americans want and/or need to see and hear, or entirely re-write history in a way that excels the bravery, heroism, patriotism and courage of the American armed forces epithet 'Dough Boys.'

In addition, the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the subsequent cloud of fear and trepidation that poisoned the horizon of Americans urged them to seek comfort and psychological consolation in the heroic exploits, and lifesaving, threat-eliminating actions of the law enforcement bodies in the United States and in particular the US army with its five branches; Navy, Marines, Air Force, Army, Coast Guards. Accordingly, the post 9/11 cinema focused more on war on terror and promoting democracy through the actions of the US army with all of its branches on the grounds that the American public demands to see more war films and more US army heroism on screen flocking to see war films that glorify the troops and excel the individual actions of the army personal of overcoming obstacles

and huge odds to save one American life projecting plots similar to Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (Dodds 1625) .

Subsequently, Hollywood was and still capable of shaping public opinion, popular culture and putting its fingerprints on American lives and diverse cultures positively and negatively (Donald and MacDonald v). furthermore, cinema and war movies work as a platform for American culture to negotiate the traumatic traces of America's past and present military conflicts and losses and re-write them with a victory unfolds in details of heroism, exceptionalism and patriotism eliciting more support and sustainability from the public to contemporary conflicts and traumatic events (Bronfen 2-3).

All in all, war is the business of America, a wheel that boosts the economy as stated by the ex-US president George Walker Bush to the Late Argentinian President Nestor Kirchner, and as such war has become the business of Hollywood (Keeton and Scheckner 6). Since the 1980s, the highest grossing films are war films like *Saving Private Ryan*, *Top Gun*, *Independence Day*, *Die Hard*, *Mission Impossible*, *Avengers* …etc. Thus, Hollywood's war films are jackpot, the Eldorado for everybody; Hollywood gets the money, DOD gets new recruits and more apologetics, the people get comfort and re-assurance, and the government gets more support for waging war on the savages and terrorists.

In addition, Pentagon has been vividly supportive to a huge number of Hollywood movies with the intention of recruitment and most of all laundering the image of the US army and all of its branches and prevent any damaging or negative depiction of the US army that would allow for bad blood between the people and their heroes. Furthermore, all of the Pentagon-assisted movies try to propagate the same ideas and portray the same hero fighting different villains, so we always see the US army as humane, heroic, exceptional, invincible and saving not only the US from terrorists but also save the entire globe from

extra-terrestrials, not to mention its tendency to fight wars to promote democracy for the sake of the oppressed while being despised as a hateful imperialist. Here below is a small list of selected blockbusters from the complete list of commercial Hollywood films produced with assistance from the pentagon since World War I obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, which included 410 movies until 2016 (for full list check appendix 1):

1) Air Force One (1997)

2) Apollo 13 (1995)

3) Armageddon (1998)

4) Batman & Robin (1997)

5) Behind Enemy Lines (2001)

6) Black Hawk Down (2001)

7) The Sum of All Fears (2002)

8) Deep Impact (1998)

9) Godzilla (1998)

10) Goldfinger (1964)

11) Thunderball (1965)

12) Licence to Kill (1989)

13) I Am Legend (2007)

14) Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade (1989)

15) Iron Man (2008)

16) Iron Man 2 (2010)

17) The Jackal (1997)

18) Jurassic Park III (2001)

19) The Karate Kid Part II (1986)

20) The Next Karate Kid (1994)

21) King Kong (2005)

22) The Silence of the Lambs (1991)

23) Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home (1986)

24) Last Action Hero (1993)

25) Top Gun (1986)

26) Transformers (2007)

27) Transformers: Revenge of the Fallen (2009)

28) Transformers: Dark of the Moon (2011)

29) True Lies (1994)

30) United 93 (2006)

Indeed, it is shocking to learn that up to 2016, the Pentagon admittedly sponsored 410 movies which can be considered an overwhelming propaganda that lasted longer than any other and reached more audience than ever, considering time and audience. (Underhill)

3.4. The Sixth Estate Goes Beyond the Borders: Americanism and Anti-Americanism

Legend has it that "a picture worth a thousand words." It speaks to the power of conveying the message, so what you may say in one text of hundreds of words can simply be transmitted via one image. But what about a movie that consists of more than one hundred and twenty thousand pictures? Combined with elements of drama like human sound and mushy music, and that can arouse sentiments of joy, laughter or fear in its viewers? Throughout the previous chapters, we attested to the power of movies in arousing such sentiments and how these sentiments can be exploited to shape public opinion and sustain support for a specific issue or policy or even place an issue on the salient priorities of people.

Nonetheless, Hollywood's effects can be also traced beyond the borders in other countries with people from different cultures and races due to the distribution chain that made Hollywood products reach over 150 countries. Moreover, despite the fact that the film was not primarily directed non-American audience, it reached them on the basic that it is a product, a business and everybody is potential costumer whether he likes these Hollywood products or despise them. As such, the cultural content constructed in Hollywood movies is not compatible with this audience's indigenous culture and might collide with some pre-installed norms and values which it will overcome or arouse feelings of anti-Americanism.

Accordingly, films, which are a huge cultural vessel that works on transporting and transmitting American model of culture, politics and the conduct of norms and values, can inflict a cultural damage instead of cultural benefit to indigenous societies. Furthermore, combined with elements of supremacy and elitism, American films will crack the indigenous culture and arouse sentiments of Xenocentrism in indigenous society with under-developed culture who will see to replace their own culture to a more US-like model. In addition, the collision between the reel values and norms system and the actual one will result in a cultural clash that tantamount to a clash of civilizations where a dominant culture will outweigh and suppress a primitive culture. Thus, Hollywood movies are detrimental to the cultural identity of other non-Westernized societies who do not share the same system of values and norms. Moreover, movies will create a cultural layer in society that parallels the indigenous culture, and this new layer's adherent are prone to be apologetics for the American culture and its socio-political conduct.

Furthermore, this new layer of adherents to a parallel allegedly-superior culture with an unhealthy attachment to the American socio-economic model will attempt to replace many historically-rooted values and norms with an American one. Such, replacement will

primarily affect institutions of religion, family, clothing, talking, intimacy, gender roles …etc. More importantly, the adherents of this new cultural layer will implicitly pledge allegiance to the United States and denounce it to their own nation and thereby creating what Francisco Franco called "the Fifth Column" which refers to a group of sympathizers who would undermine their own nation in favor of an enemy they deem more superior or worthy. (Goui and Kefali 543-544)

On the other hand, Hollywood's negative depictions of races and cultures and its continuous endeavor to perpetuate stereotypes and vilification of races, religions and minorities backfire with an increase in anti-Americanism among indigenous societies (Wellemeyer).

Conclusion

The idea that Hollywood is politicized is no longer controversial, and after analyzing several movies with different themes coded for different implements it is also no longer disputed that Hollywood has been drafted by the Pentagon and Washington and goes often to wars, even to places where the real soldiers do not dare to go.

More importantly, the previous chapter, through deploying film analysis, mise-en-scene analysis combined with content analysis, proved that some of the top Box Office blockbusters were constructed deliberately to distort the public opinion or shape it vis-à-vis race, religion, ethnicity and foreign policy. Such movies, depicted the US as the policeman of the world who fights against all odds, mainly Muslim and Arab terrorism to maintain peace for Americans, save their lives and liberate the oppressed from primitive and underdeveloped areas mainly the Middle East.

Nonetheless, these movies inflicted huge harm and attached a racial and religious stigma to Muslims and Arabs and some other minorities via perpetuating a negative attitude of depiction towards them leading the American public to exclude them from the

social, political and economic process in the United States and tolerate any act of aggression committed by the United States against these so libeled "savages."

Finally, the chapter examined briefly the effect of Hollywood beyond the United States' borders which succeeded in causing a crack in some people's cultural identity and creating the first seeds of a fifth column of US apologetics. However, the unduly Cinematic ridicule of Muslim, Arabs and other minorities through Hollywood productions backfired with more intense and hateful Anti-Americanism sentiments around the globe.

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Conclusion

The core mission of this work was to uncover the might of Hollywood as a sixth estate in affecting the course of politics and public perception of government policies, domestic and foreign, and the masses' perception of events that would rattle the government's popularity, agenda achievements, or events that requires specific public support and approval for legitimization or circumvention of any public reaction or retribution. Thus, the implementation of Hollywood as weapon of mass deception was inevitable due to several reasons like its vast network of distribution, large audience and the psychological factor that rests in the power of the reel which supersedes the power of image by light miles.

The study thoroughly traced the history and early manifestations of public opinion, from the ancient societies of Mesopotamia, to the founders of modern democracy in Athens and Rome, to the Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East, all the way to post-revolution America in the Western Hemisphere. The scope spotted the different methods people adopted in early times to express their public opinion, the need for the ruling class to listen to such opinion and how to respond or act upon it. And most of the time, the presence of public opinion was always convoyed with factors that shape it, or attempt to influence it, nonetheless the power of public opinion through history, and despite the different ways of manifestations and appellation, is second to none that makes politicians and government either succeed or fail in their duties towards the masses or in their future re-election prospects in modern democracies.

Nonetheless, governments, politicians, lobbies, pressure groups and the military were soon to notice the importance of public opinion which was deemed as the game changer in state politics mainly with the rise of public relation and communication sciences that emphasized the urge to pay attention to public opinion and try to act upon it, but also the

need and the mechanism to alter such huge phenomena albeit not by today's definition of manipulation and control. Furthermore, the evolution of the concept of democracy and the notions of liberalism that swept the Western world and America in particular went further in stressing the importance of public opinion in the political, economic and social life of any state but not more so as in America, where the founding fathers like Thomas Jefferson gave an enormous importance to the people's will in government's conduct starting by the declaration of independence where he, and the other founding fathers enunciated that: " Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles." Jefferson's strong hold on public opinion and the people's right to voice their minds was later strengthened by Abraham Lincoln during his eternally resonating Gettysburg Address as he stated that: "we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Indeed, the founding fathers' testament to the power of public opinion is not providence but evidence that all the powers vested in the government, are powers of the people and as such any government that ignores or subordinate public opinion shall be removed not by bullets but by the ballots. Therefore, the urge to control and influence the phenomena of public opinion floated on the surface of politics since the beginning of the 20th century or earlier using different methods. Government resorted to people like Edward Bernays who is credited as the father of public relation, with the hope of instilling mechanism that would enable decision makers to control, influence and direct public opinion in their favor or in favor of their political ideologies.

Moreover, the need to control the masses' opinion required huge vessels of large-scale communication and dissemination of propaganda and disinformation that would reach a large portion of the voting population and thereby enable the government to pass its messages, and views safely and efficiently. Nonetheless, the emergence of Hollywood did neither attract propagandists nor politicians and decision makers and it was deemed as an entertainment resort of the working class. However, the evolution of the real imagery and the large audience that discovered in Hollywood the holy grail of entertainment began to command the attention of audience and politicians near and far. For some, it was a ritual of an empire; sitting in a cinema theater every Sunday enjoying the sophisticated culture of a nation not so long was tearing each other part in war, for other others it symbolized hope; the true version of the American dream where the huddled masses finally breathing free, but for some it was an object of manipulation ; all those emotions and sentiments triggered in the audience over a love story's protagonist can be put into good use by replacing the lover with a soldier or a politician.

Accordingly, politicians, officials, the Military and decision makers realized that the strength of the movie industry resides in its potential of diffusing messages in an entertaining way without alerting the viewer that he is being subject to some sort of coaching on how to respond and/or feel about certain issues that directly affect his ideology, politics and culture. And thus, resulting in two consequences; one is immediate and the other is remote. The immediate result is to initiate the process of brainwashing the viewer and hook him and change his perspective in regard to the issues that the public deems as salient and intense. While the long term result is re-building and reconstructing the audience's ideology and future perception of government and the 'other.'

Consequently, the crusade to control the industry by the White House, the DOD and other independent government agencies like the CIA, was set on course and though each

with different agenda and goals the gist of their actions falls in one category; controlling, influencing, directing and shaping American public opinion in regard to their images and depiction to elicit support and sustainability from the public, to justify and rally the masses behind their politics and ideologies, or to legitimize and launder actions and aggressions against the 'other' that should be deemed inhumane or tantamount to be a crime.

Furthermore, Government's institutions and the Military cultivated an interlocking relationship with Hollywood based on collaboration, support and sometimes coercion and blackmail. This relation of collaboration enabled the government and the military to enlist Hollywood and use it as the overwhelming weapon of mass propaganda to launder politics, positively depict the government and convince the masses to rally behind their government, positively portray the US army, with all of its branches, as heroic, exceptional, ethical and on a mission of fighting for the Americans against all enemies, within or out of the borders. In return, Hollywood will be compensated with more equipment for its war and action movies, more shooting locations and other undisclosed privileges, while uncooperative producers and screenwriters will be blacklisted, coerced, blackmailed or even assassinated. Furthermore, Hollywood celebrities were also deployed in the government's quest seeking support and positive public reaction, or improving re-election prospects.

More importantly, the collaboration between the most two powerful capitals of politics and of entertainment, Washington DC. And Hollywood, gave birth to some thought-changing blockbusters in regard to America's war on terrorism and promoting the American model of democracy. Such films brainwashed the public in favor of war on terrorism and manipulated their views to support unjust war against so libeled US-unfriendly states like Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya. Hollywood at the whim of the White House and the DOD carried out the most influential and sophisticated propaganda

clandestine operation of brainwashing the American public using elements of fear, threat and stereotypes to rally the American public opinion majoritarily in favor of war on terrorism and promoting democracy. Accordingly, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks Hollywood gained more momentum in its crusade and the people sought to see their defense mechanism on reel as a way of psychological comfort which allowed Hollywood, sponsored by Washington, to construct more consent through reel brainwashing.

Hollywood's tactics included several strategies starting from instilling fear of terrorism in the American public through depicting the East and the 'other' as exotic, hostile, unfriendly, violent, uncivilized, unworthy, sexually-repressed, and most of all a blood-thirsty terrorist that hallucinates with killing Americans. Such depiction was a penance for Washington to commit war crimes in Iraq and elsewhere under the cloak of fighting terrorism, and it also increased sentiments of hate, xenophobia and islamophobia in America towards Muslims and Arabs and generated more support to war in Afghanistan and Iraq and Against Islam respectively.

In addition, the other tactic deployed by the propaganda crusader Hollywood, was to depict America as the saver of the world and its model of democracy as the most compatible on for contemporary times and anyone who disapproves is deemed enemy of America and enemy of civilization. Thus, we repeatedly see two entirely different worlds on movies, a primitive with poor or war torn landscapes which represents the savage 'other' and a modern sophisticated world with sophisticated cultures and architecture that represents the United States of America.

Furthermore, the negative depiction that was perpetuated in regard to Muslims and Arabs, which in some ways is an extension of the middle ages' crusades, was offset by a very positive portrayal and representation of the United States, its system of norms and values and particularly its army. The latter is always saving American lives from terrorists,

or saving the world from aliens and predators while maintaining its ethical standpoint despite the causalities and the sacrifices made for the Americans and for the 'ungrateful other.' Such positive depiction of the US Military worked as recruitment tool drafting more GIs to joining the army and Hollywood in their war on terrorism efforts, legitimizing any acts of torture committed for the sake of extracting information to save American lives, validating any human violations and atrocities as an obligation for a greater good, eliciting more sympathy to veterans and more support to troops on tours and their families and finally establishing a reel deterrence using the psychological factor of intimidation which means those would be-terrorists would hesitate to attack the most powerful country in the world.

All in all, the exaggerated negative portrayal of the other as a savage terrorist, combined with the positive depiction of the US as an ethical protagonist defending its people and land, gave a huge boost and sustainability to American policy makes and Military in their war on terrorism action and their democracy promotion efforts as the role of Hollywood shifted from entertainment to fighting wars and informing the American public about wars and politics and rallying them behind any cause that Washington deems fit using the power of the reel.

Finally, this study is a testament that Hollywood is indeed a sixth estate that shapes, directs, controls and distorts American public opinion vis-à-vis war on terrorism and promoting democracy, and in the process it creates a fifth column in indigenous culture that will not cause a crack in the cultural identity of the other but cultivate an entirely US-culture conformists' layer and a seed of a 'fifth column' that will not only jeopardize the cultural security of nations, but on the long-term will jeopardize their national security.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Complete List of Commercial Films Produced with Assistance from The Pentagon

- ➢ ABOVE AND BEYOND
- ➢ ABOVE THE CLOUDS
- ➢ ACE OF ACES
- ➢ ACTION IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC
- ➢ AERIAL GUNNER
- ➢ AIR CADET
- ➢ AIR DEVLLS
- ➢ AIR FORCE
- ➢ AIR FORCE ONE
- ➢ AIR FORCE ONE
- ➢ AIRPORT75
- ➢ AIRPORT77
- ➢ ALL HANDS ON DECK
- ➢ ALL THE YOUNG MEN
- ➢ AMBUSH BAY AMERICA
- ➢ AMERICAN GUERRILLA IN THE PHILIPPINES
- ➢ AMERICAN PRESIDENT
- ➢ THE ANCHORS AWAY
- ➢ ANGEL'S FLIGHT
- ➢ ANNAPOLIS
- ➢ ANNAPOLIS FAREWELL
- ➢ ANNAPOLIS SALUTE
- ➢ ANNAPOLIS STORY
- ➢ ANTWONE FISHER ANZIO
- ➢ APOLLO 13
- ➢ ARMAGEDDON
- ➢ ARMORED
- ➢ COMMAND AT WAR
- ➢ WITH THE ARMY AWAY
- ➢ ALL BOATS
- ➢ BACK TO BATAAN
- ➢ BAILOUT AT 43,000 FEET
- ➢ BAMBOO PRISON
- ➢ BAMBOO SAUCER
- ➢ BAT21
- ➢ BATAAN
- ➢ BATMAN AND ROBIN
- ➢ BATTLE AT BLOODY BEACH
- ➢ BATTLE BENEATH THE EARTH

- BATTLE CIRCUS
- BATTLE CRY
- BATTLE GROUND
- BATTLE LOS ANGELES
- BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA
- BATTLE STATIONS
- BATTLE TAXI
- BATTLE ZONE
- BATTLEGROUND
- BATTLESHIP
- BEACHHEAD
- BEAR, THE
- BEAST OF BUDAPEST
- BEHIND ENEMY LINES
- BELL FOR ADANO, A
- BENEATH THE FLESH
- BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES
- BETWEEN HEAVEN AND HELL
- BIG JIM MCLEAN
- BIG LIFT, THE
- BIG PARADE, THE
- BILOXI BLUES
- BIRTH OF A NATION
- BLACK HAWK DOWN
- BOMBARDIER
- BOMBERS B-52
- BREAKTHROUGH
- BRIDGE OF SPIES
- BRIDGE TO THE SUN
- BRIDGE TOO FAR
- BRIDGES AT TOKO RI, THE
- BROTHER RAT
- BUFFALO SOLDIERS
- BYE BYE BIRDIE
- CAINE MUTINY, THE
- CALL ME MISTER
- CAMP NOWHERE
- CAPT. NEWMAN, M.D.
- CAPTAIN AMERICA THE WINTER SOLDIER
- CAPTAIN EDDIE
- CAPTAIN PHILLIPS
- CAPTAIN PHILLIPS
- CAPTURED

- CLASSMATES
- CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER
- CLIENT, THE
- CLIPPED WINGS
- COCK-EYED WORLD
- COLONEL JAMES ROWE STORY
- COMBAT SQUAD
- COMMAND DECISION
- CONTACT
- CONVOY
- CORE, THE
- COURT MARTIAL OF BILLY MITCHELL
- CRASH DIVE
- CRY FOR HAPPY
- D-DAY, THE SIXTH OF JUNE
- 0.1., THE
- DARBY'S RANGERS
- DAVE
- DAY AFTER TOMORROW
- DAY OF THE DEAD
- DAY THE EARTH STOOD STILL
- DAY THE EARTH STOOD STILL, THE
- DECISION BEFORE DAWN
- DEEP IMPACT
- DEEP SIX
- DEJA VU
- DESTINATION GOBI
- DESTINATION TOKYO
- DESTINY
- DESTROYER
- DEVIL DOGS OF THE AIR
- DEVIL'S BRIGADE
- DEVIL'S PLAYGROUND
- DINOSAUR
- DIRIGIBLE
- DIVE BOMBER
- DON'T CRY, ,RS ONLYTHUNDER
- DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP
- DON'T GO NEAR THE WATER
- DRESS PARADE

- EASY COME, EASY GO
- EMPIRE OF THE SUN

- ENEMY BELOW
- ERNEST SAVES CHRISTMAS
- ETERNAL SEA
- EVERYBODY LOVES WHALES
- EXECUTIVE DECISION
- EXTRAORDINARY SEAMAN
- FACE OF WAR
- FATHER GOOSE
- FERRIS BUELLER
- FEW GOOD MEN, A
- FIGHTER ATTACK
- FIGHTER SQUADRON
- FIGHTING SEABEES
- FINAL ANALYSIS
- FINAL COUNTDOWN, THE
- FIRE BIRDS
- FIREFOX
- FIRST TO FIGHT
- FIXED BAYONETS
- FLAGS OF OUR FATHERS
- FLATTOP
- FLEERS IN, THE
- FLIGHT
- FLIGHT COMMAND
- FLIGHT DECK
- FLIGHT FROM ASHIYA
- FLIGHT LIEUTENANT
- FLIGHT NURSE
- FLIGHT OF THE INTRUDER
- FLIGHT TO NOWHERE
- FLIRTATION WALK
- FLY AWAY HOME
- FLYING FLEET
- FLYING LEATHERNECKS
- FLYING MISSILE
- FLYING TIGERS
- FOLLOWTHE FLEET

- FORCE OF ARMYS
- FOREVER YOUNG
- FRANCIS
- FRANCIS GOES TO WEST POINT
- FRANCIS IN THE NAVY

- FRANCIS JOINS THE WACS
- FRAULEIN
- FREDDY
- FROGMEN
- FROM HERE TO ETERNITY
- GALLANT HOURS
- GATHERING OF EAGLES
- GI BLUES
- GIANT
- GIRL HE LEFT BEHIND, THE
- GIRLS OF PLEASURE ISLAND
- GLENN MILLER STORY, THE
- GLORY BRIGADE, THE
- GO FOR BROKE
- GOD IS MY CO-PILOT
- GODZILLA
- GOLDENEYE
- GOLDFINGER
- GOOD GUYS WEAR BLACK
- GRAY LADY DOWN
- GREAT ESCAPE, THE
- GREATIMPOSTOR,THE
- GREAT RAID, THE
- GREEN BERETS, THE
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