

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION
AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

MOHAMED KHIDER UNIVERSITY OF BISKRA
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



MEMOIRE SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OPTION: LITERATURE AND CIVILIZATION

**The Impact of Tom Clancy's Techno-Thriller Novels on U.S. Public
Opinion and Political Mainstream
Case Study *The Sum of All Fears***

Supervised by

Taalah Asma

Submitted by

Benedjai Sidi Mohamed

Board of Examiners

Mr. Yasser Sedrati

Chairman

University of Biskra

Dr. Sekhri Hadjira

Examiner

University of Biskra

Taalah Asma

Supervisor

University of Biskra

Academic Year: 2023/2024

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation titled “The Impact of Tom Clancy's Techno-Thriller Novels on U.S. Public Opinion and Political Mainstream Case Study *The Sum of All Fears*” is my own work. I have used information and insights from various theses and articles, all of which have been properly cited within the text and are listed in the works cited page. This paper has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

DEDICATION

To my family,

To my friends,

To my professors and teachers, especially the one who taught me English for the first time in my life, and to the memory of Mrs. Rabehi.

To all those who have been supportive, caring and patient,

To the ones who are reading this, I dedicate this simple work.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To reach the end of this particular journey would not have been possible without a divine intervention, I praise ALLAH as many as He has created, as large as the expansion of His Realm, and as heavy as the weight of His Throne, and as varied His blessings have been. This research could never have been realized without the support of my supervisor Taalah Asma who continuously encouraged me, providing me with his valuable guidance and pieces of advice. So, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to her. I am also thankful to the committee members of this dissertation, Mr. Sedrati Yasser and Ms. Selma Herzallah who, despite their hectic schedules, generously agreed to be part of the Committee. I cannot thank enough Dr. Bendabdzak Abdenacer, Ms. Hamed Halima, Dr. El Hamel Lamjed, Mrs. Bougofa Zeyneb, Mr. Chenini Abdelhak, Dr. Boumaraf Hanane, and all my teachers at Mohamed Khidher University.

ABSTARCT

The research examines the influence of the American fiction author Tom Clancy's novels on public perception and U.S. policy decision-making. It delves into how Clancy's detailed narratives create a sense of realism that resonates with both the general public and policymakers. By investigating the gap between the dichotomy of fiction and reality that can influence readers behaviors and perceptions, the study demonstrates how information and misinformation could be accumulated to be both stored in the reader's knowledge, through which people interpret the world and have a perception of it, even if the information or the scenario would less likely to happen. This research considers two key assumptions: If Clancy's techno-thriller novels are not intended to distort the image of people from other cultures, this would make his legacy in literature world preserved, and, if his novels aim to influence U.S. foreign policy decisions, this genre could be more persuasive than lobbying groups. Furthermore, analyzing how Clancy depicted his enemies, particularly from the Middle East in his fiction novel titled *The Sum of All Fears*, by using a descriptive and a historical context to provide an understanding of the cultural and political issues that influenced Clancy's story to exist. The findings suggest that Clancy's portrayal of the Muslim and Arab character's images is often distorted and potentially reinforces existing stereotypes and biases, which could impact foreign policy given that his novels are read by policymakers and military officials. Highlighting that Clancy's fiction not only entertain but also plays a role in shaping political and social perceptions.

Key Words:

Techno-thriller, Tom Clancy, political mainstream, stereotype.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. ADC - American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.
2. CBS-tv - Columbia Broadcasting System Television.
3. CIA - Central Intelligence Agency.
4. CNN - Cable News Network.
5. C-SPAN - Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network.
6. FBI - Federal Bureau of Investigation.
7. KGB - Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security).
8. M.E.N.A - Middle East and North Africa.
9. NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
10. NFL - National Football League.
11. OPAEC - Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries.
12. PBS - Public Broadcasting Service.
13. P.L.O - Palestine Liberation Organization.
14. ROTC - Reserve Officers' Training Corps.
15. SDI - Strategic Defense Initiative.
16. U.S. - United States.
17. UNRWA - United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.
18. USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

CONTENT

DECLARATION	I
DEDICATION	II
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	III
ABSTARCT	IV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	V
CONTENT	VI
General Introduction	1
Chapter One: The U.S. Perception of Arabs and the Influence of their Perception on Foreign Policy-Making.....	6
1.1 American Perception of Arabs and Muslims.....	6
1.2 Manifest Destiny and the Influence of Western Perception on Foreign Policy-Making.....	12
Conclusion.....	19
Chapter Two: Orientalism in Tom Clancy’s Techno-Thriller Novel <i>The Sum of All Fears</i>	20
2.1 Introducing Tom Clancy.....	20
2.2 Arabs and Muslims in Clancy's Novel	24
2.3 The Middle East with Palestinian Terrorism in <i>The Sum of All Fears</i>	27
2.3.1 The Plot	27
2.3.2 Historical Context	28
2.3.3 Humanized Heroes and Faceless Enemies: Clancy's October War.....	30

2.3.4	The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and The Ideological Tension:.....	31
2.3.5	Portrayal of Palestinians and International Terrorists:	33
2.3.6	Orientalism in Tom Clancy's <i>The Sum of All Fears</i>	39
2.4	Discussion.....	40
	Conclusion.....	42
	Chapter Three: The Impact of Fictional Narrative on People's Perception	43
3.1	The Impact of Popular Culture on Politicians Worldwide	43
3.2	Understanding the Influence of Fiction on Perception and Learning.....	46
3.3	The Impact of Tom Clancy's Novels on His Audience and Policy Makers.....	50
	Conclusion.....	54
	General Conclusion	55
	Works Cited.....	58
	الملخص	69

General Introduction

literature is not any written work that gains fame for a while and then fades away but there is so much more, works that are regarded as masterpieces maybe with simple language yet comprise utmost meaning. As Alfred North Whitehead, the English mathematician and philosopher, put it “It is in literature that the concrete outlook of humanity receives its expression” (Whitehead 75).

In the realm of contemporary literature, best-selling authors often face criticism for their works being considered not serious enough for academic consideration. Yet, the line between fiction and reality is frequently blurred, underscoring the challenge of defining clear boundaries. One of the prominent genres of literature in modern times is the techno-thriller whose plot relies on modern technology. Jeff. W. Horton has described techno-thrillers as “the storm that would forever change the human destiny” (Horton 5) The father of this hybrid genre is the American novelist, Tom Clancy. The themes recurring in his books are espionage, world politics, military strategy, and advanced technology.

In Robert Lekachman’s review of Tom Clancy’s *Red Storm Rising*, he defines the technological thriller genre as one that gives equal importance to both human characters and advanced technology such as computers, missiles, detection and deception devices, spy satellites, nuclear submarines, and high-speed fighter planes (Lemaire 50). His novels are seen as more than mere entertainment; they offer gripping narratives that delve into complex political scenarios, military technology, and human emotion.

Through his unique storytelling, Clancy attracted readers with interesting plots and detailed descriptions, bringing to life the complex world of espionage and military operations. Clancy is known for having ties with U.S. governmental officials and his non-fiction works are used as textbooks in the military graduate school. However, critics seem unconvinced with the way Clancy justifies U.S. interventionism, the portrayal of American enemies, and the imposition of behavior

change on people of different cultures. Manifest destiny, for instance, served as a justification for U.S. expansion across the globe; paradoxically, conversing with the founding fathers' beliefs of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Meanwhile, the enemy image is often described negatively, and the Americans appear to be very innocent and always portrayed as heroes. While Americans are the first people to test an atomic bomb on civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they project their violence on "others" and deny this quality on them. Eventually, the most prevalent enemy in Western contemporary culture works originates from the Middle East.

This study is considered among the very few academic works that analyze Tom Clancy's technothriller novels from two aspects; his representation of Arabs and Muslims, and the impact he had on U.S. political mainstream. There are reviews about Clancy on identity and policy but the elements analyzed here can only be found between the lines deep down Clancy's novel.

The main research questions are; how did Clancy portray American enemies in his fiction? And what impact did his novels have on his audience, especially U.S. decision-makers? To answer these questions, several sub-questions need to be addressed. Since Clancy's novels were produced in America, it is clear that the author views the Middle East from an American perspective. This raises important questions about the perceptions held by Americans regarding the Middle East and how these perceptions influence the world's viewpoints. What are the common perceptions in the American mindset about the Middle East? Additionally, how do these perceptions impact U.S. foreign policy decisions?

Exploring these sub-questions will provide deeper insight into the cultural and political influences in Clancy's work. It will also shed light on how literature, particularly technothrillers, can reflect and potentially influence national attitudes and policies. Furthermore, understanding the relation between the two, fiction and reality in Clancy's works can reveal the broader implications

of his novels on both public opinion and governmental actions, highlighting its role in the discourse surrounding U.S. foreign policy and international relations.

The aim of this study is to analyze the influence of Tom Clancy's novels on the perceptions of his audience and U.S. policy decision-makers. It demonstrates how Clancy's storytelling is valuable to his readers, and the impacts of foreign policy. The study investigates Clancy's technothriller novels as a form of soft power and their potential influence in shaping public and policy-maker perceptions.

To provide effective answers to these questions, an attempt has been made to rely on a historical and descriptive approach. This methodology involves a thorough examination of Clancy's novels within their historical context, so we can better understand the influences that shaped his portrayal of American enemies and allies. The descriptive aspect of the approach involves a detailed analysis of the content of Clancy's novel, and allows to provide a detailed and clear description of the subject, making it easier for readers to understand.

The theories used in this research are several, starting with the critical theory of "Orientalism", which talks about the representation of Arabs and Muslims as exotic and savages. At the same time, the Westerner is represented as a leader, educator, and rational. The second is the "Transportation" theory which Richard Gerrig represented, which suggests that the reader when consuming or absorbing a fictional narrative, feels transported in a made-up world leaving the real world behind. The last theory called the "Dual-process theory," says that humans have two systems of thinking: unconscious and fast in making shortcuts and conclusions, and the other is conscious, well-calculated, and analyzes the information that receives the brain in a slow matter.

The Primary sources include the book of Tom Clancy *The Sum of All Fears*. Which from it we provide a thorough description of characters and the portrayal of the enemy in his novel. Additionally, it includes Clancy's speeches where he discusses his writing process, the American

government, and historical events. Additionally, first-person accounts from the author, such as interviews and conference speeches, which provides a deeper insight into his perspectives and experiences.

The secondary sources will consist of scholarly books; reviews; dissertations; magazines and journal articles. Some of the books that were used to conduct this research, especially in analyzing titled *The Tom Clancy Companion* (2005) by Martin H. Greenberg, covers the six Clancy books that had been published at the time which are *The Hunt for Red October*, *Red Storm Rising*, *Patriot Games*, *The Cardinal of the Kremlin*, *Clear and Present Danger*, and *The Sum of All Fears*, also in it there is explanation of some of his military acronyms and weaponry. As well as Clancy's interviews which give a broad view of the author.

This work is divided into three chapters. Chapter One focuses on understanding why Americans often have these attitudes toward the Middle East. To understand this, it is important to look at the stereotypes many Americans have held for a long time. In popular culture, Muslims and Arabs are often shown as backward, and immoral, as well as dangerous people who hate the West and seen as a threat to its safety. These negative images have not only appeared in Hollywood movies, TV shows, and books but have also influenced American foreign policy. Thus, politics has also been shaped by these cultural stereotypes. Chapter Two revolves around the writer Tom Clancy, starting by introducing him, engaging in a thorough analysis of the representation of Middle Eastern terrorists, limiting the research only to the book titled *The Sum of All Fears*, setting it as an example to show how Arab and Muslim characters are being portrayed and how they treat others around the world from different cultures, provided by a historical context to understand the full picture.

The third chapter explores how fictional stories, especially Tom Clancy's novels influence on public opinion and policy-making. It shows that fiction can shape people's beliefs and affect

decisions by political leaders. Setting examples of fictional influence on policy. Also, Clancy's detailed military and political stories have been used by leaders like Reagan to understand clearly the political issues. Additionally, chapter three explains how people mix fiction with real-life knowledge, creating "synthetic experiences" that affect their real-world actions, and discusses how engaging narratives can deeply be to "transport" readers.

Combining these three chapters will help to answer the research questions, justify the chosen methodology, and draw conclusions based on the collected information that was used in this work, and may also highlight new directions and opportunities for future research.

Chapter One: The U.S. Perception of Arabs and the Influence of their Perception on Foreign Policy-Making

There is a connection between the perception of Arab and Muslim cultures as backward and poor, and the rise of terrorism. This narrative reflects a confidence among many Americans that violence starts from cultures they view as lagging behind. Rooted in the sense of cultural superiority, this belief encourages the notion of a divine authorization to civilize and reshape the world in its way. Consequently, such stereotypes serve as a convenient justification for colonial aims embraced by leaders and policymakers.

Within this framework, negotiations, compromise, and diplomatic efforts are usually dismissed and pointless. Instead, there is a general sentiment that only military intervention can effectively confront what is known or supposed to be a threat, particularly to the United States. The U.S. relates to this perspective, principles such as freedom and religious toleration are absolute to the Western worldview, necessitating sharing it with other regions of the world.

1.1 American Perception of Arabs and Muslims

Many Individuals in the Western world were raised on Christian principles and biblical narratives that portrayed Muslims as lost and godless, while other stories often depicted the Muslim realm dominated by the world authority of “Sultans” and “Sheikhs”. Countless descriptions of the Islamic Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him; described him as cruel and ruthless, who spread Islam through military conquests, giving people a final offer for conversion, payment of ransom, or death. This portrait stood in contrast to the image of Jesus, known for his compassion, teaching, and spreading Christianity peacefully (Little 9-12).

During the Barbary Coast War, also known as the Tripolitan War which took place between 1801 and 1805, the United States clashed with pirate ships from North African Ottoman

provinces, Algiers Regency, and Morocco and Tripoli kingdoms. These pirates attacked and captured foreign sailing ships including the Americans, giving crew members a choice between paying a bribe or facing enslavement. These actions further solidified the perception of middle eastern as barbaric in the public consciousness, continued through narratives like Caleb Bingham's "Slaves in Barbary" (1797), Susanna Rowson's play "Slaves in Algiers" (1794), and James Ellison's "The American Captive" (1812). Additionally, the portrayal of the Middle Eastern as primitive was further shown through artworks by artists like Minor Kellogg and Edward Troye, who often depicted biblical ruins and Bedouins (Little 13).

In Mark Twain's work, "The Innocents Abroad" (1869) portrayed Arabs with offensive terms, labeling them as "backward", "decadent" and "untrustworthy". He went on to describe Muslims as "filthy", "brutish", "ignorant", "unprogressive", and "superstitious" (126). Twain represented Muslims as pagan infidels and uncivilized barbarians (475-563, 486), characterizing them as ruled by dictatorship and motivated by greed and violence (126). These descriptions often originated from racist and prejudiced perspectives of Western Orientalism, which commonly omitted or underestimated Arab values such as knighthood, and generosity, Twain even went as far as to mock Islamic values and sacred tradition. Unmistakably, Twain named his Arabian horse "Mohammed" and referred to Muslim women as "Mummies" (433-477).

Widespread Western perceptions characterized Arabs and Muslims as Prejudiced, aggressive, and close-minded, attributing every negative aspect of the Arab and Islamic world to Islam itself. These attitudes were not limited only to common people but also to presidents and other leaders who displayed similar hate towards Arabs and Muslims, according to their viewpoint, the presence of Islam was seen as a barrier to any respectable behavior, ideological advancement, or economic progress in regions where Islam had its influence (Little 26).

In his address to a joint session of Congress and the American people September 20th, 2001, at United States Capitol Washington, D.C., President George W. Bush declared, nine days following the unexpected 9/11 attacks, coordinated the killers of the attacks with the murderous ideology of the 20th century including Fascism, Nazism, and Totalitarianism. By linking these ideologies with Muslim identity, Bush's statement implied that they all shared common traits of ignorance, evil, hostility, and hatred (*“Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People”*).

The Western perception of Arabs and Muslims has been significantly influenced by repeated attacks, bombings in public places, and horrible acts such as beheadings and executions carried out to be fundamentals of Muslims. The crimes and groups of violence have reinforced the concept that Arabs and Muslims do not value the human life the same way Westerners do. Moreover, Arabs are often seen as dishonest and untrustworthy, lacking productivity and eagerness to do something. There is also a general belief that Arabs are short-tempered and close-minded. They are skilled at dishonesty, manipulation, and betrayal. They picture Muslims that they also hold certain dislike and contempt toward other beliefs.

The certainty of that the Arabs are inferior and the Americans are superior was deeply rooted in the American psyche, spreading through best-selling literature, magazines, and shaping the narrative of influential films. While some movies like *The 13th Warrior* (1999), *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991), and *“Three Kings”* (1999) offered a positive portrayal of Arabs and Muslims. Popular movies that were highly successfully produced by the Hollywood film industry such as *The Sheik* (1921), *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924), *Beau Geste* (1926), *Song of Love* (1923), and *A Cafe in Cairo* (1924) reinforced the idea that Arabs are primitive, ignorant and inherently violent (Shaheen, “Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People” 176).

Furthermore, alongside to these stereotypes, Hollywood production has linked Arabs and Muslims with acts of terrorism (179). For instance, in *Raiders of The Lost Ark* (1981), an Arab collaborates with the Nazis. Similarly, *Black Sunday* (1977) portrays Arabs as violent extremists plotting to bomb a stadium during the Super Bowl, aiming to kill the U.S. President and all the participants. *True Lies* (1994) features Salim Abu Aziz depicted as a ruthless leader of an Arab terrorist group, suspected of transporting highly destructive weapons. Additionally, in *G.I. Jane* (1997) the protagonist played by Demi Moore, travels to Libya, where she engages in combat with Arabs and successfully retrieves a U.S. satellite powered by weapons-grade plutonium from the coast of Libya. These examples represent just a few of the numerous films perpetuating biased ideas about Arabs and Muslims.

Negative stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims are prominent in even children's films and cartoons forming stereotypes of Middle Easterners as wicked and sophisticated in the minds of children. For example, Disney's 1992 animated picture "Aladdin" was based on the Arabian medieval stories from the book "One Thousand and One Nights." The lyrics of the first song, "Arabian Nights," portrayed Arabs as savage people who would slash someone's ear if they did not like their appearance (Shaheen, "Hollywood's Muslim Arab" 29).

In addition, the portrayal of characters in the film "Aladdin" worsens these stereotypes. The three main characters. Aladdin, Princess Jasmine, and the Sultan are depicted with Western features and behaviors that are non-violent and kind. In contrast, characters such as the wicked antagonist Jafar, the cruel palace guards, and the greedy merchants, are given stereotypical Middle Eastern features, portraying them as violent and barbaric. This representation misguides and leaves a bad impression on millions of American children, who are in the learning stages of developing their perceptions of Arabs and Muslims (El-Farra, "Arabs and the media").

Aside from “Aladdin”, other television cartoon shows have also participated in encouraging misconceptions about Arabs and Muslims. In 1989, Spencer Gifts Stores notably sold two Arab Halloween masks labeled “Sheik” and “Arafat”, portraying them with exaggerated features alongside frightening characters such as “Werewolf” and “the Witch”. The sale of these masks was offensive and held strong opposition and protests led by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) (“Arab-American Group to Protest Offensive Masks”, *Los Angeles Times latimes.com*).

Stereotypes are also found in music. Ray Stevens recorded “Ahab the Arab” in 1962, accompanied by a video clip depicting Fatema, The Sultan’s dancer, engaging in exaggerated lyrics and stereotypical behaviors (Stevens, Youtube, Youtube.com). The song uses elements such as a mocking accents and references to turbans and camels. It reinforced the notion of racial and cultural stereotypes by depicting Arabs through exaggerated and humorous portrayals. Similarly, The Bangles’ pop hit “Walk Like an Egyptian “, released in 1986, was heavily full of stereotypes (Franken 14).

Stereotypes carry through across various media platforms. Numerous TV series picture Arabs and Muslims as terrorists involved in activities like trafficking nuclear weapons, and orchestrating bombings in public places and on planes, while also killing thousands of people without mercy. Journalist Steven Emerson on CBS-TV’s “Eye on America” in 1994, made an offensive remark, accusing Arabs of raising funds for a Holy war in America and the Middle East. Also, documentaries like “The Islamic Bomb” and “The Sword of Islam” aired on PBS, along with “Terrorist on Trial” on CBS-TV, further reinforce the portrayal of Muslims as a threat to America (Shaheen, “Arab and Muslim Stereotyping in America Popular Culture” 17).

The distorted images projected by the media present Arabs as different as real life and threatening (Shaheen, “Reel Bad Arabs” 8). They are often depicted as followers of divine words

that are described as aggressive, intolerant, and far from making peace, and the Muslims are dedicated to destroying the West by any means possible. Arab women are represented as submissive, “exotic harem maidens”, “mute”, and often have the same appearance as “black crows” (“Culture: Interview With Jack Shaheen”). Arabs are frequently described in the American popular imaginary as violent and menacing individuals who mostly hijack airplanes and assault public buildings. They are frequently shown wearing robes and turbans (Shaheen, “Hollywood’s Muslim Arabs” 25). As a result, wicked characters in films and scripts who have dark complexion and beards and reside in places like Iraq, Iran, or Palestine are readily embraced by the West.

The way that the media portrays Arabs and Muslims in the United States is characterized by persistent prejudice and persistent reporting. If these people are continuously portrayed as the ultimate adversary who is ready to destroy, it would inevitably lead to biased judgment against them. In an illustrative incident that happened on April 19, 1995, the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Middle Easterners were seen as suspects, and many news releases reported that the FBI was seeking for two men with dark hair and beards. For that reason, Arabs and Muslims became victims of physical and verbal assaults; however, it was later found out that the criminals were two non-Muslim Americans of European descent, Timothy J. McVeigh, and Terry L. Nichols driven by their political beliefs (Shaheen, “Arab and Muslim Stereotyping in America Popular Culture” 18).

During the early stages of the conflict in Bosnia, the media exposed significant biased news, particularly in its portrayal of Muslims (Shaheen Arab And Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture 29). American media referred to the Bosnian government as a “Muslim-led government” and used terms such as “terrorists”, “Islamic fighters”, and “Islamic extremists” when describing Bosnia’s fighters. However, other religious or ethnic labels like “Catholics” or “Orthodox” were not used for Croats or Serbians (Roane *New York Times nytimes.com*). This

biased portrayal of Muslims and Arabs in the news reinforced negative stereotypes, contributing to the reinforcement of misconceptions surrounding Muslim and Arab communities.

The American media's reports on the Middle East are largely shaped by Western-centric perspectives. Writers, Journalists, and historians typically approach U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East with a perspective that prioritizes American interests. In this context, cultural consideration usually takes a secondary role. Misrepresentation serves as a powerful tool for advancing political motives and implementing imperial strategies. These distortions not only maintain a careful mindset among the Americans but also boost imperialist ambitions, providing force for further actions.

1.2 Manifest Destiny and the Influence of Western Perception on Foreign Policy-Making

The influence of cultures is widespread significantly impacting the way we think and view the world. Cultures are loaded with customs, beliefs, values, and principles, shaping our identity within the broader societal fabric. This cultural atmosphere not only informs our outward appearances and habitual behaviors but also guides our social interaction. Cultures bring people together, but they also act as a layer obscuring understanding and causing disagreements. This duality is evident in the realm of foreign policy where entrenched biases and preconceptions ideas shape diplomatic strategies, and decision-making processes with other countries.

Westerners often believe that the Middle Easterners are reliant on the West. They expect the Middle Easterners to wait for salvation and liberation from their long-lasting problems when Western countries get involved (Al-Mwajeh 88). Similarly, Americans are convinced of their capacity to bring global change, attributing their exceptionalism to a belief that God chooses them and a predetermined mission for greatness (Young 131). Consequently, America's belief in a divine direction focuses on the moral improvement of humanity (O'Sullivan). This is shown through

frequent mentions of “Manifest Destiny” by American presidents, either directly or indirectly in their speeches.

Woodrow Wilson, for instance, emphasized the United States’ responsibility to take on a leadership role worldwide in promoting democracy, asserting that it was the nation’s destiny to lead the world toward a better way of life. He said that since he believed democracy to be just, moral, and strong, God would lead the country in easing suffering across the world and advancing it (*American Presidency Project presidency.ucsb.edu*). In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt articulated the notion that the nation was divinely guided and in the service of God (*Almanac of Theodore Roosevelt Theodore-roosevelt.com*).

Likewise, Abraham Lincoln during the Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863, referred to Americans as a “Nation Under God” (“Abraham Lincoln”). Consequently, it is unsurprising that George W. Bush mentioned how Americans believed that their country perceived divine destiny in his State of the Union address to congress and the nation stating: “America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere” (Shweder). In his January 2005 Inaugural Address, President Bush spoke again about this issue:

From the day of our founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this Earth has rights, and dignity and matchless value, ... across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these ideals is the mission that created our nation.
(TeachingAmericanHistory.org).

The relationship between the East and the West is characterized by inequality rather than equality. Each positive trait or characteristic attributed to the West corresponds to a negative trait associated with the East. One such dichotomy is the West's dominance, having significant influence, and power. While Easterners are viewed as being subjected to or controlled by external forces, America has achieved significant expertise in politics, science, and economics along with valuable experience that equips it to make informed decisions. This places America in the position of an educator tasked with instructing and guiding the Middle East, which lacks knowledge and experience. As a result, the Middle East is required to fulfill American educational standards. Failure to do so may result in the Middle East becoming a trouble-making learner and upset the balance of the classroom (Sandikcioglu).

America assumes the role of the instructor/educator, giving order to every aspect of the classroom dynamics, including teaching methods, assessments, and disciplinary actions; it exercises control over the learning process, utilizing both praise and criticism and using harsh punishment when deemed necessary (Sandikcioglu). As highlighted in President Bush's address to a joint session of Congress in September 2001. In this speech, President Bush lays out demands for the Taliban stating: "Tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban... These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately or they will share in their fate." Unquestionably, leaving no room for negotiation or discussion (*“Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People”*).

Whereas the Middle East finds itself in the classroom it did not choose, obliged to adopt a lifestyle it may not desire. However, it is predetermined by the 'New World Order', that nations under guidance are denied the right to participate in the design of the structure, and plans or even question it. Their role is simply to accept the assigned positions, follow the carrot-and-stick approach, and try to meet expectations (Sandikcioglu).

The U.S. perceives its relationship with the less developed and violent Middle East through the lens of benevolent supremacy, where it asserts control over Middle Eastern nations, restricting their role within a U.S.-dominated order. Americans have long regarded themselves as generous individuals striving to propagate peace and ensure the well-being of all people worldwide. Consequently, America feels driven to address any perceived threat, not only for its own interests but also for global stability. Any objection to American actions in the Middle East is seen as denying its inhabitants the benefits that the U.S. supposedly brings (Hazbun). President George W. Bush articulated this perspective when he declared that America fights not only for the defense of its own but for a broader cause:

We fight, as we always fight, for a just peace a peace that favors human liberty. We will defend the peace against threats from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent. Building this just peace is America's opportunity and America's duty (*The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*).

The drive towards war gained support under the guise of being a savior for all. This support was significant enough that a strategy known as the “Bush Doctrine” became popular among Americans. The idea was reinforced by a lot of media coverage showing the U.S. as a protector of freedom in a dangerous world (Hazbun).

Furthermore, the American intervention in Iraq had led people to believe that any attack on American interests anywhere in the world should be seen as if it were an attack on America within its own borders. Within this framework, the American homeland extends to contain the entire

globe, and individuals from the United States stationed in Iraq are clearly not viewed as foreigners but rather as universal soldiers fighting for absolute good (Hazbun). The barbaric nature of the 9/11 attacks has provided American leaders with the justification to frame their struggle as one for civilization itself. Americans advocate for spreading freedom and democracy globally, defending principles and values. However, those in the East are seen as completely different making it impossible for them to agree or sympathize with each other.

Moreover, the United States believes that democratically governed states collaborate with one another, joining their forces together to combat common threats, improve the economic well-being of their people, encourage free markets, and enforce the rule of law to protect the rights of citizens. For that reason, spreading democracy and free trade globally is seen as beneficial for promoting and protecting American interests (*A National Security Strategy For a New Century* 4).

President Bush stated in the Union address in 2002:

America is working.... to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom (*President Delivers State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002*).

From the Western perspective, the Middle East is described as a chaotic area, always experiencing political turmoil, wars, and different types of conflicts, including those based on ethnicity, ideology, and religion. The images captured daily from the region paint a dark gloomy picture, one that does not meet the basic standards of civilization and humanity. The lack of

personal freedoms, the mistreatment of women, and the denial of fundamental human rights, that give America a reason to get involved and help those who are suffering.

The argument is that the Middle Eastern countries are presented as unable to govern themselves effectively, they need a colonial direction to help them join a world aligned with the American way of life. This supervision and protection of these countries is seen as necessary because Americans believe they are the best fit to assist some territories, due to their messianic role and strong commitment to liberal democracy. Therefore, American intervention aims to address the problems in unstable countries to rebuild them like America; free, peaceful, democratic countries with economic success and intellectual growth. These efforts are in line with the historical notion of America's manifest destiny (Assayag).

Westerners often marginalize individuals from non-Western cultures not only due to their differences on various levels but also out of fear that their dominance could lead to the decline of Western power. This fear of changing the balance of power globally in favor of religion, culture, and ideology that differ from their own justifies the elimination of the “Other” based on their logic of “my” versus “your” existence. The United States has supported isolating these perceived threats and emphasized that states should not provide financial and other forms of support and refuge for them (*United Nations Resolution 1377 un.org*).

The United States initiated a controversial war against Afghanistan and Iraq, believing these nations were responsible for the 9/11 attacks. There was a widespread discussion among officials and the public about the emergence of terror from darkness, threatening to bring destruction into a peaceful world, leaving behind fear and sorrow. Consequently, it was believed that it was necessary to wage more than just a defensive war. The dominant narrative depicted that the region of the world is filled with darkness and ignorance, likely to produce heartless aggressors unless Americans took on the responsibility of bringing enlightenment and guiding its people towards a

new path of coexistence, tolerance, and understanding. This criticism of the culture and religion of the “Other” as a source of evil, while portraying themselves as the savior, is an articulation of biased perspectives (Nassar).

As a result, a discourse of detachment, separation, and disassociation of the natives from their lands emerged and flourished. This discourse serves to disconnect individuals from their territories, maintaining a Western perception of Muslims inhabiting regions such as Afghanistan, as well as other Muslims and Arabs in the Gulf region and beyond, as having limited intellectual capacity, motivation, or a desire to make progress and improve their circumstances. In the Western mindset, these individuals are portrayed as ruthless and chaotic, seeming helpless and unable to take advantage of their land or utilize its resources for their own advancement (Naim).

Americans see this big and rich land and hope for will grow and prosper. But they find it filled with obscurity, ignorance, wickedness, and immorality. This makes Americans feel sad and frustrated, as they see the land’s potential wasted by people seen as incapable and bad. As a result, the traditional idea of manifest destiny returns, giving Americans a feeling that they have the right to control the land and its people (Naim).

The widespread perception of backward and uncivilized societies capable of producing only dangerous extremists, was confirmed by the 9/11 attacks conducted by terrorists emerging from the Middle East. Following that, the imperialist mindset demanded revenge and emphasized the need to control and govern those dangerous anarchists. This control could be possible only by military intervention (Naim).

The September 2001 attacks led to the rise of islamophobia, which influenced the U.S. war in the Middle East. People with certain appearances, like dark skin, beards, and women wearing headscarves, were seen as different and strange. People from diverse countries and cultures were grouped under the label of “Islam”, leading to discrimination. The concept of Western hegemony

establishes a power hierarchy between the West and the East, portraying the West as civilized, strong, rational, and moral, while depicting the East as barbarian, weak, irrational, and immoral. This relationship allowed the West to shape and define the East according to its own terms, with the flexibility to change this portrayal as needed.

Afterward, these same groups suddenly became seen as the ultimate bad guys. When they helped the United States, they were considered as good Muslims, but once they became an obstacle to U.S. goals, they were depicted as evil monsters. Therefore, Afghanistan appears as wealthy, resourceful, and promising when under American control, but when it became hard to manage, it was painted as backward and extreme (Naim). This cycle also affects policymaking, where policies reinforce false ideas about Arabs and Muslims, shaping how decisions are made.

Conclusion

The relationship between the West and the East reveals a complex interplay of power dynamics, stereotypes, and political interests. The way Arabs and Muslims are portrayed in Western media and culture is deeply influenced by historical biases and stereotypes, whether in movies, news, or political discussions. This biased view is rooted in the Western mind and ideas, leading to a misunderstanding and unfair treatment. From the lens of Western hegemony, the East is often depicted as inferior, and barbaric. In contrast, the West positions itself as superior, civilized, and rational.

Chapter Two: Orientalism in Tom Clancy's Techno-Thriller Novel *The Sum of All Fears*

In this chapter, will be introducing the life of the American author Tom Clancy, and take his novel *The Sum of All Fears* as a case study. This study involves a detailed analysis of Clancy's novel within its historical context to understand and to see how Clancy's depiction of American enemies and allies. By examining Clancy's personal background and the influences that are shared in his writing, through it we aim to get an understanding into the motives of how he writes the way he does. Additionally, we will identify the reasons of Clancy's enemies and their action, and examine how certain events or figures are depicted in his literature.

2.1 Introducing Tom Clancy

Thomas L. Clancy was born in Baltimore, Maryland on April 12, 1947. He was raised with his father, a former U.S. Navy serviceman who turned into a mailman, and his mother who worked hard to support his education. He was educated by Jesuits, and Clancy's family environment emphasized ethical and moral principles. During his teenage years, Clancy was obsessed with technology and military history, spending much of his time in books about weaponry and fascinated by the concept of manned spaceflight. Despite facing academic challenges, he showed a strong curiosity and demonstrated a strong ability for self-learning. (Baiocco 12).

Inspired by his father's military background, Clancy attempted to join the armed forces after high school, but he was rejected due to his poor eyesight. He then pursued the ROTC program at Loyal University, but he encountered the same obstacle again. As a replacement he graduated in 1969 with an English degree, Clancy married and began a career in insurance sales to support his family. Despite finding success in insurance, Clancy felt unfulfilled intellectually and wished for an intellectually rewarding profession. He held his childhood ambition to see his name on a book cover in the Library of Congress and began imagining plots for political and military thrillers.

Motivated by a real-life event involving a soviet missile frigate that attempted to defect but was unsuccessful. Clancy eventually was confident to pursue his writing aspirations. (Baiocco 12-13).

At the age of 36, Tom Clancy submitted his book *The Hunt for Red October* for publication in 1983 with few hopes. He imagined that it might only sell a few thousand copies. However, what he received surpassed his expectations. President Reagan unexpectedly praised the novel as “the perfect yarn” during an interview, leading to many people's demand for the book and placing it on the bestseller lists. This unexpected success led Clancy to leave his job as an insurance broker and devote himself to writing. This decision signed the beginning of a remarkable journey, he has maintained his position as one of the most successful and widely read authors internationally for more than two decades. This novel’s success marked a significant moment in Clancy’s career, setting the stage for his upcoming books and establishing a new genre known as the “techno-thriller” (Baiocco 25-26).

While some Critics, particularly those in mass media were skeptical, they acknowledged Clancy’s contribution to literature, recognizing his role in shaping a new form of fiction. The emergence of other writers like Stephen Coonts and Harold Coyle who followed Clancy, led them to a similar style, further proving the presence of this genre in the literary world. Despite ongoing debates about the literary value of Clancy’s novels, his impact on the literary field of the 1980s and beyond remains undeniable. (Baiocco 26).

William F. Ryan declared that regardless of Tom Clancy’s denial of writing technothriller, he pioneered this genre of fictional writing. Ryan argues that technothrillers similar to science fiction, consistently involve plots driven by advanced technology for warfare (Baiocco 25). The techno-thriller genre dominates bookstores with its shiny, and soft cover editions featuring vivid illustrations, inviting readers who enjoy patriotic narratives with clear distinctions between good and evil (Baiocco 26-27).

Clancy's novels are political thrillers, characterized by detailed narratives. His skills lie in intertwining the stories of diverse characters and antagonists. Drawing from established genres like espionage, science fiction, and realistic fiction focused on global politics, international relations, and military strategy. However, they also delve into themes such as family, relationships, and individuality through character development. Clancy's extensive knowledge and through his research are evident in his elaborate portrayals of weaponry, government structures, and various countries and cultures. Furthermore, his narrative often associates historical events and global issues, giving a sense of realism and relevance to the contemporary world (Greenberg xii-xiii).

Clancy's readers are often male audiences, as remarked by Michael Moore, known for his critical documentaries on American social issues, who observed that "airports full of white, middle-aged businessmen in suits reading Tom Clancy's new book", (Greenberg 28). However, Clancy himself acknowledges surprisingly a significant number of female fans who provide feedback to his novels (Greenberg 56). According to Malineni in his thesis says that his popularity seems to go beyond gender and age, attracting a diverse range of American readers. Clancy's international fame also draws audiences from Western countries, with his books translated into many languages. His skill of storytelling and the variety of narratives, different from traditional spy novels like James Bond, likely these factors are believed to play a role in attracting a broad audience to Clancy's work (8).

Fans and commentators perceive Clancy novels as more than just a source of entertainment; they also view them as offering "a painless education" on a wide range of topics due to the rich detailed information presented in the narratives (Greenberg xiv). This clarifies that Clancy is an expert in his objects and he is knowledgeable about what he writes, which leads us to his most intellectually engaged audience.

Tom Clancy's strong connection with the military has earned him respect and access to exclusive experiences, such as visits to military bases and involvement in military activities. He deeply admires military personnel including the FBI and CIA, and often critiques politicians for what he sees as insufficient support for them. While he denies access to classified information, Clancy has been perceived as a channel for leaking military-related information to the public. He maintains a relationship with high-ranking officials, known as the "Great Chain", who provide him with insight. His positive portrayal of the country and the military aligns with the views of military leaders and personnel, who also believe in a strong defense policy and the significance of understanding modern warfare for national security (Garson 5).

Clancy's other known readers are not just President Reagan, but also Senator Dan Quayle who liked the missile technology in *Red Storm Rising* and said Clancy's books felt real. President George H.W. Bush made sure to get a copy of *Clear and Present Danger* when it came out. Secretary of State Colin Powell, who used to lead the military declared "A lot of what I know about warfare I learned from reading Tom". (Terdoslavich, *The Jack Ryan Agenda: Policy and Politics in the Novels of Tom Clancy: An Unauthorized Analysis* 237).

Clancy's books are not just for entertainment or learning, they are also a way for him to share his views with the world. Through his stories, characters, and portrayal of societies, he talks about American political and global issues. In his fictional works, he shapes things based on what he believes about family, society, and government. Even though Clancy's works are fictional, they are still connected to real-world events and issues. Jack Ryan one of his main characters, often embodies Clancy's own beliefs and values. He himself admit that his writings reflect his personal beliefs and serve as a means of expressing his thoughts on fundamental human values (Greenberg 59).

Clancy's books feature a deep sense of patriotism, as he consistently praises individuals in uniform services such as the FBI, CIA, soldiers, Coast Guard, Fire Fighters, and policemen. In an interview he expressed his respect for these individuals, highlighting them as the backbone of society, as they willingly devote their time and energy to safeguarding, preserving, and restoring what is broken (Greenberg 58). Clancy's portrayal of ordinary heroes reinforces a sense of American identity among his readers. However, to effectively display the protection, preservation, and restoration of American national and cultural values, requires adversaries to challenge them. Clancy easily creates these challenges in his fictional world, often inspired by real-life events that frequently incorporate historical events that people remember, making it easier for readers to relate to the story. Scholars notice that in Western stories the adversaries often originate from the Middle East, which Clancy often uses in his books.

2.2 Arabs and Muslims in Clancy's Novel

In six out of thirteen of Clancy's books, terrorists are the bad guys. This includes *Patriot Games*, *Clear and Present Danger*, *Sum of All Fears*, *Executive Orders*, *Rainbow Six*, and *Teeth of the Tiger*. In each of these stories, terrorists attack the United States in different ways, changing their tactics to get what they want. However, the origins and motivations of these terrorist groups vary in each book (Terdoslavich, *The Jack Ryan Agenda: Policy and Politics in the Novels of Tom Clancy: An Unauthorized Analysis* 143). The primary focus in four of Clancy's books; *The Sum of All Fears*, *Executive*, and *Teeth*, concentrate on the Middle East or involves Arab or Muslim characters to a significant extent. While other books may have minor Muslim characters or include short chapters set in the Middle East, they do not explore these themes as deeply as the four novels previously mentioned.

For instance, in *The Sum of All Fears*, a fictional plot involving Iran allegedly funds an attack on the United States using a used nuclear bomb. The people behind the attack were from different backgrounds; Palestinian extremists, German Red terrorists, and a Native American. Even though they team up, their plan to blow up the bomb in Denver does not work. They wanted to start a war between the U.S. and the USSR, but things calmed down instead of getting worse (Terdoslavich, *The Jack Ryan Agenda: Policy and Politics in the Novels of Tom Clancy: An Unauthorized Analysis* 145).

In *Executive Orders*, this time the United Islamic Republic, formed by Iran and Iraq, invaded Saudi Arabia and planned a terrorist attack on the United States. An Iranian lab produces a substantial amount of the Ebola virus. Led by Iranian terrorist Badrayn, they hide the virus in shaving cream cans, that can be switched to a spray, to spread the virus to the crowds. Ten terrorist teams are sent to ten convention centers to propagate the virus. But President Ryan stops the outbreak by suspending all travels between states. (Terdoslavich, *The Jack Ryan Agenda: Policy and Politics in the Novels of Tom Clancy: An Unauthorized Analysis* 146).

In *Teeth of the Tiger*, narrative is about Arab terrorists who form a partnership with drug smugglers to enter the United States from Mexico, planning a mass shooting in shopping malls in Colorado Springs, Colorado, Des Moines, Iowa; Charlottesville, Virginia; and Provo, Utah. However, in each of these places, the attackers face resistance from the police, making the terrorists unable to succeed in their plans, due to the intervention of law enforcement (Terdoslavich, *The Jack Ryan Agenda: Policy and Politics in the Novels of Tom Clancy: An Unauthorized Analysis* 148).

The anthropologist Toine van Teeffelen conducts a study exploring the political discourse surrounding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its portrayal in popular fiction. He investigates how background assumptions in Western popular fiction reinforce Western anxiety, about the danger

coming from the Arab and Islamic world. He claims that many authors in the second half of the twentieth century have chosen the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as a set for their stories. About twenty-five of these novels, according to van Teeffelen have reached the top positions on U.S. bestseller lists, promoting the stereotypical narratives regarding the Palestine issue. In these novels, Palestinian Muslim characters are often linked with terrorism. They are related to terrorism in almost all of the books, and they are characterized as unprofessional and inhumane in some way. Van Teeffelen suggests that these bestselling realistic novels attract a wide audience by offering fictional commentary on contemporary issues that engage with people's concerns. (Moors et al., *Discourse and Palestine: Power, Text and Context* 93)

Since Tom Clancy is known for his detailed storylines, it was noticeable that he was influenced by major international events like the Cold War and 9/11. These events have influenced Clancy's perspective on the world and his selection of his adversaries for the U.S. There is also a shift in how he depicts Arabs and Muslims before and after each of these events. As Miika Malinen argues in his thesis, during the Cold War, Clancy described the Middle East as a battleground between the West and the Soviets. After the Cold War, his characters gained depth, but he still relied on stereotypes when depicting enemies closer to home. With the end of the bipolar world, Clancy shifted to representing other parts of the world as adversaries, often relying on old stereotypes. After 9/11, he focused more on Arab Muslim extremists, presenting the antagonist in a simple manner and a clear image of it without deep psychological complexities that could slow down the pace of the story (Malinen 14; Baiocco 25).

2.3 The Middle East with Palestinian Terrorism in *The Sum of All Fears*

2.3.1 The Plot

In 1973, during the Yom Kippur War and the Cold War, an Israeli plane carrying a nuclear bomb crashed in Syria, but the bomb disappeared. Fast forward a few years, protests in Jerusalem turn violent after a protest leader is shot by Israeli police, making the tension between Israel and Palestine worse. The U.S., ally of Israel, faces a tough choice to support Israel diplomatically, because it could make the stability in the Middle East worse. The protagonist Jack Ryan, the deputy director of central intelligence, suggests making Jerusalem a territory that does not belong to any specific group or religion. Instead, it would be managed by representatives from various religious communities, such as Muslims, Jews, Romans Catholics, and Eastern Orthodox. After serious talks with Israeli, and Saudi Arabia officials, and obtaining the President's approval of the Soviet Union, the plan works. This reduces religious tensions in Jerusalem, making it more feasible to engage in constructive dialogue and negotiations aimed at resolving conflicts and achieving peace agreements among nations in the Middle East (Maksum 35).

However, the progress toward peace comes from anti-Israeli groups, including a terrorist organization from the Arab world. Which turn to violence to prevent the peace deal. Surprisingly successful, these terrorists get hold of the remains of an atomic bomb. Teaming up with other terrorists and trained scientists, they assemble a team to construct a functional bomb. After completing it, the terrorists transported the hydrogen bomb to a stadium in Denver, where the NFL Super Bowl took place. They want the explosion to look like Russia attacked the U.S. hoping to divert the American attention away from Israel. Even though the bomb caused a lot of damage and kills, including the deaths of the Secretary of the State and Secretary of Defense, the bomb's impact

did not reach the terrorists' expectations. Still, for a brief period, tensions between the United States and Russia escalated dangerously, almost leading to war (Garson 122).

After discovering that Iran has funded the terrorists, U.S. President Jonathan Fowler considers bombing the Iranian city for revenge. However, Jack Ryan, now director of the CIA intervened to stop the attack order, preventing the risk of war. Eventually, all parts of the story come together, with Ryan becoming the hero for preventing the catastrophe, ensuring not only the day is saved but also protection of the world peace (Garson 122).

2.3.2 Historical Context

The historical context surrounding the novel *The Sum of All Fears*, gathered a lot of events and tensions that happened in the world during the late 20th century.

The October War of 1973 also known as the Yom Kippur War, with which Tom Clancy started the story—initiated by Egypt and Syria, aiming to challenge the Israel military and to involve the United States in negotiations aimed at resolving the conflict between Egypt and Israel and implement a peaceful solution. Egypt wanted to regain control of its territory lost to previous conflicts with Israel. Egyptian forces achieved a successful attack across the Suez Canal, achieving a notable breakthrough known as “The Crossing”, but did not go further, leading Israel to counterattack as a response to the breakthrough across the Suez Canal and push them further from the territory. The conflict resulted in oil ceasing, a decision made by several members of Arab Oil production Organization (OPAEC) against Israel and the United States, leading the U.S. to seek a peaceful resolution to the Arab-Israel conflict. (Cleveland 364-366).

The Palestine-Israel conflict was a major topic discussed in the novel by Tom Clancy. After the 1948-1949 civil war, and the departure of Arabs from Palestine over one million of them became refugees by 1968, living in temporary camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Gaza due to

the 1967 Six-day War Palestinians hoped to return to their homeland but Israel occupied the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Gaza Strip and Peninsula from Egypt. Now Israel was occupying the Palestinian territories, including all of Jerusalem and its holy sites. Most of them lived in a poor condition state relying on UNRWA. Some found opportunities in other countries seeking for better situation. Still, many of them faced harsh restrictions on employment and freedom in varied host countries, fearing Israel revenge, prohibiting them from the formation of political activities. The refugees were living in camps in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, the position they were in significantly contributed to shaping Palestinian identity and served as a source of recruitment for the Liberation movement (Cleveland 346-348).

Towards the end of the 1980s, Palestinian anger and despair culminated with the Intifada, an Arabic term for “the Uprising” started in December 1987. It was initially marked by nonviolent protests and economic boycotts, then soon escalated into a violent confrontation, met with significant military Israeli response. The beginning of the Intifada resulted in the deaths of several hundred thousand Palestinians (The Israel-Palestine Conflict: A Brief, Simple History, 2016). As the conflict continued, gun use and casualties rose. Judith Elizur noted a shift in how Israel was portrayed in the media, transitioning from its previous depiction as a refuge for Holocaust survivors to being viewed as a nation with questionable moral standing characterized as a garrison state. (Sheffer, *U.S.-Israeli Relations at The Crossroads* 212-222).

In 1992, after years of fighting, the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O) held secret talks in Oslo to end the ongoing conflict, first direct dialogue between Israel and P.L.O. The meetings gave birth to the Oslo Accords, aiming at progressing on peace process agreements, mutual recognition, negotiations on borders, governance (HISTORY). At first, many people around the world were hopeful but carefully optimistic. Edward Said was skeptical that the process could bring lasting peace. Said’s skepticism emerges from his deep

understanding of the Palestine-Israeli conflict's complexities and his awareness of potential obstacles to a successful resolution (Rabinowitz 505).

In addition, German Marxist extremists are also involved in this part of the story with the Berlin Wall construction. At that time, Germany was split into two by NATO and Soviet forces. The Berlin Wall (August, 13, 1961) separated Western Berlin, under the democratic Western camp influence, and Eastern Berlin, which was controlled by the Soviet Union and its communist allies. The wall stopped people from East Germany from going to the West, and the communist government in East Germany supported by the Stasi the State security services had strict control over its citizens. In the night of the November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall is destroyed, Germany is reunified inducing consequently the collapse and the breakup of the Soviet Union Empire (Zapata; Malinen 64).

2.3.3 Humanized Heroes and Faceless Enemies: Clancy's October War

In Tom Clancy's introduction, the focus was on the Israeli perspective, showing Israeli civilians, feeling threatened by the advancing Syrian armored force from the heights (Clancy 4). Clancy introduces Mordechai "Motti" Zadin, an eighteen-year-old pilot in a tense atmosphere at the military airbase. Zadin wants to enter the battle as the Syrians approach his parents' home in a northern kibbutz. Having lost his older brother in the six-day war of 1967, he is pictured as youthful, yet aggressive and skilled (Clancy 7). Despite Zadin's excitement, he is unaware of the nuclear weapon attached to his plane. His mission is sabotaged by Syrian aircraft missiles, which damage his fighter plane, but he successfully destroys the missile battery before crashing behind enemy lines (Malinen 64).

While Zadin is giving a name and story, the Syrians are depicted as anonymous adversaries. "Motti grinned savagely beneath his mask as he fired rockets and now 20-millimeter cannon fire

into the mass of men and vehicles” (Clancy 10). The battery is destroyed, and all ninety Syrians are killed. The enemy is portrayed as nameless; the only significant remains found after the attack is the Syrian commander’s headless torso. On the contrary, the Israelis are described with more details, shown as skilled professionals and individuals with strong family ties, however, Clancy’s introduction also acknowledges their losses in combat, unlike the typical portrayal where faceless enemies have many casualties (Malinen 64-65).

2.3.4 The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and The Ideological Tension:

In the third chapter of Clancy’s narrative, an Israeli police captain named Benjamin Zadin goes through a significant change after facing personal tragedies. His mother’s death, his wife’s unfaithfulness, and regret over his past choices push him toward extreme Jewish beliefs. Despite being a father of two sons and losing two brothers in wars against Arabs, including a pilot named Motti Zadin, Benny is pictured as a victim for various reasons. However, his grief leads him to racism and violence, seeing Arabs as inferior, and no better than animals, and blaming them for his family's losses (Clancy 55; Malinen 65-66).

The Israeli captain with his troops and extremist rabbis, attempted to remove Islamic influence from the Temple Mount of Jerusalem. In response, Palestinians peacefully protest by sitting down and singing "We Shall Overcome" in Arabic (Clancy 57). Their leader, Hashimi Moussa, was influenced by Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr (Clancy 58). After learning about the plan from his Jewish friend, Moussa prepared in advance. The Israeli captain orders the use of gas and rubber bullets but ends up shooting Moussa in front of the international media. Despite this, the Palestinians remain brave and defiant, causing the Israelis to withdraw. Zadin feels guilty, and admits his mistake: "He had broken faith with himself. He had killed in cold blood. He had

taken the life of someone who had threatened no man's life. He had murdered" (Clancy 61; Malinen 66).

In the story, the U.S. steps in to protect Israel from international criticism and stop violence from escalating. The administration advocates for a peace plan to solve the conflict, but Israel is seen as the main obstacle "So the only stumbling block is Israel?" resisting the proposed terms (Clancy 130). The president threatens Israelis of facing isolation in a hostile world or pressures them into accepting the terms. One Israeli minister even suggests sabotaging the President's career if needed "We'll break his career... We've jerked American politicians into line before!" (Clancy 148). Despite being hard to agree with and resistant, Israel eventually agreed to the peace plan, leading to dismantling these settlements as part of a peace agreement or political process. As the peace process moves forward and Swiss and American troops restore order, Palestinians are satisfied with the progress, while Israelis seem less pleased about it. The peace deal appears to favor Palestinians more, as American tourists notice: "Jews still looked a touch resentful. Arabs smiled" (Clancy 276). Afterward, Palestinians are shown celebrating their political victory over Israel. (Malinen 66-67).

While Ryan starts the process of implementing the peace plan, he feels uncomfortable about pressuring the Israelis. He often talks about the Holocaust, emphasizing why America should support Israel morally. Unlike others in the administration, Ryan is the only one questioning if it is right to force Israel to go against its political beliefs. But, when Ryan reunites with his Israeli counterpart, he advises Avi Ben Jacob to move past the Holocaust and stop being paranoid (Clancy 279). Similarly, Clark understands Israeli perspectives, but gets frustrated with the Israeli government's unwillingness to change. Despite their frustration, the American characters promise to support Israel no matter what. Ryan even swears to protect Israel personally, saying, "There will

be no second Holocaust. Not while I live. My countrymen will not let it happen ever again " (Clancy 280; Malinen 67).

How the U.S. contributed to the success of the peace accords is another crucial topic. The peace settlement was not directly negotiated and agreed upon by the Israelis and Palestinians, but rather by the U.S. and other Nations, Saudi Arabia, the U.S.S.R, and the Vatican. played a significant role in creating and enforcing the agreement. Saudi official Ali Bin Sheik and Ryan both agree that the United States played an important role in bringing peace to the region. Both of them believed that Israelis and Palestinians trust America more than any other country (Clancy 145). The President even says in his speech that the U.S. has been a big leader in bringing fairness and peace (Clancy 263). He also promises to send American soldiers to keep Israel safe. (Malinen 67).

2.3.5 Portrayal of Palestinians and International Terrorists:

In another storyline, a Syrian farmer accidentally finds an old Israeli nuclear bomb buried in his garden. Sadly, the farmer has suffered significant losses, the farmer's wife has died due to an Israeli artillery strike, and four of his children passed away, "only one had survived into his teens" (Clancy 155). Feeling worried and distrusting the Syrians due to their aggressiveness toward Druse, the farmer's son seeks help from Palestinian extremists to remove the bomb (Clancy 178). The farmer and his son are portrayed as hard-working, and strong but also as victims in a hostile world. However once introduced in Clancy's narrative, their role in the story ends. After it these characters did not reappear in Clancy's fiction once again (Malinen 71).

One of the key Palestinian figures in the narrative is Ismail Qati. He is the commander of a Palestinian militia group, involved in armed resistance against Israel. Qati is depicted as a respected elder, with his comrades looking up to him (Clancy 177). Despite battling cancer, he remains

resilient and says: “And what was death, after all?” (Clancy 33), and pushes himself to go through the pain. Fluent in five languages (Clancy 107) and a devout Muslim, much of his dialogue incorporates religious references into his speech. Qati is deeply disturbed by the progress towards peace between Israelis and Palestinians (Clancy 146). And he was fully prepared to embrace his destiny for jihad, sacrificing himself in the name of God, with the goal of eliminating the Israelis who had occupied Palestinian lands (Clancy 33). One big thing he thinks about is what will happen if Israel keeps existing despite all the sacrifices he and others have made. “Peace ? And yet Israel will continue to exist? What, then, of his sacrifices, what of the hundreds, thousands, of freedom fighters sacrificed under Israeli guns and bombs?” (Clancy 256).

Ibrahim Ghosen is another significant character in Clancy’s story, part of Qati’s militia group, which specializes in bomb-making. Ghosn is a talented engineer, mostly self-taught, and almost completed his engineering degree at the American University of Beirut. However, he failed to achieve it. He uses his intelligence and his arms; more specifically in constructing explosive devices, to aid the Palestinian cause (Clancy 181-182). Though Ghosn belongs to a revolutionary group, he is not on the front lines, he plays an important role, making his life too valuable to risk in direct combat. That’s why Qati, his leader, keeps him away from the battlefield. “Ghosn had never been a front-line soldier of the movement. Though he knew how to use small arms, his skills with explosives and electronic devices were too valuable to be risked” (Clancy 182).

A tense moment arises when Ghosn accidentally opens up a nuclear bomb received from the Druze, unaware of the actual significance or danger of the object he’s dealing with. As a world leader who delivers speeches celebrating the peace process and seeking divine blessings, Ghosn's realization of the bomb’s significance leads him to say: “Allahu Akhbar!¹” (Clancy 223).

¹ Tom Clancy in his novel misspelled the word Allahu Akbar

Clancy's characters, Ghosnn and Qati, are motivated by historical events, which the author sometimes explores through their inner thoughts. For example, Ghosn comes from a Palestinian family that "evacuated Israel at the time of the country's founding, confidently expecting to return as soon as the Arab armies of the time erased the invaders quickly and easily" (Clancy 182). Instead, Ghosn grew up in crowded, dirty refugee camps, where a deep resentment of Israel grew within him. This anger, almost as strong as religious faith, drove his actions.

Qati has a profound connection to his people's history. He reflects on Islam to other religions such as Judaism and Christianity, and the broader political environment in the region. He acknowledges the similarities among the three main religions and feels respect for both Christianity and Judaism. He realizes that "His war against Israel was not about religion. It was about his people, cast out of their land, displaced by another people who also claimed to be motivated by a religious imperative when it was really something else" (Clancy 437). Showing that Qati does not see his actions are driven by the Islamic religion, but rather by historical and political issues.

Marvin Russell, a native American character in the narrative, the character's story provides insights into the different reasons why some Palestinians might oppose Israel. Russell is depicted as a tough, fearless criminal with a challenging past, marked by his struggle with alcoholism and family breakdown. As Clancy wrote in his novel:

Life had not given him or his brother much of a chance. Their father had been an alcoholic who had worked occasionally and not well as an auto mechanic to provide money that he had transferred regularly and immediately to the nearest package store. Marvin's memories of childhood were bitter ones: shame for his father's nearly perpetual state of inebriation, and shame

greater still for what his mother did while her husband was passed out drunk in the living room (Clancy 47).

Russel and his brother have committed crimes since they were little, which eventually led him and his brother to prison. His mental instability is hinted at: “He was also slightly mad, but Marvin Russell did not know that” (Clancy 47). During his time in prison, he aligns with the American Indian Movement. He reconnects with his ancestral heritage, developing a deep sense of resentment against white people, who were responsible for the decline of his community.

After a police bullet kills his brother, Russell escapes prison and joins a group of terrorists. Within this group, he experiences both disrespect due to his non-Islamic background and gains respect for his physical strength and intellect. Russell frequently draws parallels between the history of Native Americans and Palestinians, comparing the Indian wars and reservations to the Palestinian conflict and refugee camps “I never knew there were other folks who been f*****d over like my people, man – but you guys are better at fighting back. You guys got real ba**s” (Clancy 299). Through Russell’s narrative, it creates a sense of sympathy for Palestinians among American readers, even though his past contains actions and behaviors that could be considered unethical or difficult to classify it as good or bad.

Günther Bock, a Marxist terrorist from West Germany, joins the terrorist group in Clancy's story. He and his wife, Petra, were part of the Baader-Meinhof Gang and later in the Red Army Faction. “One such regular reader was Günther Bock. ... With his wife, Petra, Bock had been a unit leader in the Baader-Meinhof Gang, and after that had been crushed by the West German police, in the Red Army Faction.” (Clancy 77)

Günther Bock managed to escape from his family, while West German police arrested his wife breastfeeding her twins and immediately put her in a high-security prison. “Günther and Petra had sensed trouble. Too late. While the husband made rapid plans to leave the country, ... The twin

daughters were the adopted children of a Munich police captain and his barren wife.” (Clancy 78). Bock’s anger was fuelled by the loss of his children to adoption and the death of his wife in prison, Bock believed that the German government killed his wife “They’d murdered his wife, Bock knew” (Clancy 258), and it was not a suicide As it is said in the news: “Convicted murderess Petra Hassler-Bock was found hanged in her prison cell this afternoon, the victim of an apparent suicide” (Clancy 257).

Günther Bock’s world is changing with the reunification of Germany, the withdrawal of Soviet forces from East Germany, shown in: “In yet another remarkable turn in a remarkable time, the Central Intelligence Agency hosted the First Deputy Chairman of the KGB in a conference concerning ‘issues of mutual concern’ to the world’s two largest intelligence empires...” (Clancy 79). Bock played a crucial role in planning the nuclear attack, aiming to re-awaken the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Manfred Fromm, a German nuclear physicist, was “the deputy assistant director of the Lubmin/Nord Nuclear Power Station”, and an old friend of Bock, who recruits Manfred to the terrorist group to improve the Israeli bomb they managed to find, and Manfred Fromm accepted to join the group because of his economic condition, as Bock noticed that his house “was dust. Frau Fromm was not cleaning the house as a good German Hausfrau did. A sure sign that something was badly wrong” (Clancy 295). Fromm’s economic condition worsened after losing his job at the Nuclear Power Station because they saw it polluting the environment, it was seen in the following quote: “The nightmare of pollution in the East was now the obsession of the Greens, and number one on their hit list was the nuclear-power industry, which they called hideously unsafe” and “Less than a year until they shut us down for good. I only go in to work three days a week now. I’ve been replaced by a ‘technical expert’ from the West. He lets me ‘advise’ him, of course” (Clancy 296).

Manfred Fromm, a civilian nuclear physicist, is depicted in the story as both praising and talking down to his Palestinian colleagues. While working on a nuclear bomb, Fromm occasionally acknowledges the skill of his Arab assistants. For example, he compliments Ghosn, saying, "This young Arab is very clever" (Clancy 334). These moments give an impression of approval, but Fromm's attitude often shifts to an arrogant tone, referring to Ghosn as "my young friend" (Clancy 376).

Throughout his work, Fromm's behavior changes between recognition and disrespect towards his Arab co-workers. He complains about the harsh Middle Eastern climate and refers to the workers as "surly" (Clancy 404). When one of them makes a mistake that causes a delay, he reacts with anger, calling them "ignorant bas**rds" and exclaiming, "The ignorant ba****d couldn't read!" (Clancy 562). Fromm's hatred becomes apparent when he describes Arabs as "dirty, scruffy people.", and blames it on the challenging environment that might play a role in why the Arabs act the way they act, saying, "it was not these people's fault that they looked as they did" (Clancy 563).

The terrorist group an alliance of individuals, despite having very different, beliefs, and motives. They come together because they all share the same motive which is the fall of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Their varied backgrounds also highlight how much chaotic their group operates, but they find common ground in using violence such as terrorism that keep them united to achieve their objectives. The characters may not like each other, but they need each other's skills to accomplish their mission. Ghosn, a Palestinian fighter, acknowledges the skill and intelligence of the German physicist despite his arrogance: "But this Fromm... what I am learning from him!" (Clancy 408). This blend of contrasting beliefs and backgrounds among the terrorists illustrates the complex dynamics of international terrorism.

2.3.6 Orientalism in Tom Clancy's *The Sum of All Fears*

Orientalism, as defined by Edward Said, refers to the Western depiction and portrayal of Eastern societies as exotic, backward, uncivilized, and often dangerous. Explaining that this action has been historically used to justify imperialism (Hibri). In the novel of Tom Clancy *The Sum of All Fears*, Clancy employ the notion of orientalism to construct the image of the Middle Eastern characters which they are the enemies of the U.S. Furthermore, contributing to positioning the West as enlightened, particularly due to its advancement across various areas of life. Americans in this novel view it as their duty to help the Middle Easterners, those they consider them as in need. As in the situation that Clancy mentioned in his novel about the Palestine-Israeli issue in the Middle East, that their problem require solution and he depicted that Americans are the ones who will come to solve it. portraying themselves in a way that does not reflect their identity, especially those who live in the East.

Clancy portrayal of Middle Eastern characters that often align with stereotypical depictions that is found in Western media, which most of it is negative, evil. Leading to shaping the impression of Islam as frightening, mysterious, and above all threatening, as if the main goal of Muslims is to kill Americans as Said said (Palestine Diary).

A notable feature of Clancy's Orientalism is how he categorizes Israelis and Palestinians. In his novels, Israelis are seen and occupied the role of America's ally and America's friend, while Palestinians are usually depicted as victims or sometimes even winners, but never as friends as the Israelis. Instead, they are often labelled as terrorists. This negative portrayal is often linked to terrorism targeting the U.S., reinforcing a more negative image of Palestinians. As well as in Clancy's novel an Israeli general tells the reader that "in 1972 the Black September faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization contracted the Japanese Red Army to shoot up Ben Gurion

Airport, which they did, killing off mainly American Protestant pilgrims...” (Clancy 279). These kinds of specific passages provide certain support for stereotyping the Palestinians as terrorists.

2.4 Discussion

The Palestinian struggle has a deep complex history of displacement, conflict, and national identity. In Clancy’s story, he introduces characters like Ismail Qati and Ibrahim Ghosn, who embody Palestinian resistance each driven by personal and shared experiences of injustice and violence. He first gives a sympathetic background to their story, depicting them as educated and intelligent characters, only to turn into terrorists. Raising questions about Clancy’s approach to evil and stereotyping.

There are notable differences in the way the Israeli police captain and the Palestinian terrorists are portrayed in Clancy’s story. The Israeli captain’s violent act is driven by a mix of extremist religious beliefs and a personal family crisis. Clancy provides a detailed backstory of the captain's life to offer some context for his emotions. His acts of violence are seen as impulsive rather than planned, despite his previous planning for the use of violence and his racism toward Arabs. After committing the act, he is filled with horror and regret for doing it. In contrast, the Palestinian terrorist's life is driven by revenge, and he shows no regret for his actions. The Palestinian terrorists are fuelled by inherent anger and a desire for revenge, which leads them to death.

Clancy’s narratives touch on the aspects of religious extremism. For example, Ayatolla Daryaei represents a radical interpretation of Islam, emphasizing violence and intolerance towards others with different beliefs. Ayatolla has a radical interpretation often in contrast with characters like Ryan and Prince Ali bin Sheik who have a tolerant approach to religion emphasizing coexisting

and peace. Suggesting that there are different ways to understand and practice religion, some leading to conflict and others for peace and harmony.

In Clancy's work, nearly all Arabs and Muslim characters, except the Saudi prince, are linked to, or willing towards a violent activity and typically Muslim characters meet their end with a call to God, reinforcing the stereotype of Muslim extremists. Unlike Clancy's "good guys", none of these antagonists have families or children, which would lend them a sense of humanity and sympathy.

There is a contrast if compared between fiction and reality, in the novel the extremist Palestinians attempt to sabotage the peace plan that Tom Clancy through his main character Jack Ryan wants to imply, that can make the world beautiful without war (Clancy 38). Jack imagined that he and America could put an end to the conflict that has occurred in the Middle East. Clancy portrays Palestinian extremists as antagonists who oppose to the peace process and solve it with violence to further their cause.

While Edward Said, in his essay *The Middle East "Peace Process": Misleading Images and Brutal Actualities*, comments about the peace process that happened after two years of publishing the book. The peace agreement that was signed in 1993, the accords had too many flaws, because it did not address the issues causing the conflict, not giving the Palestinians the full sovereignty to self-govern, and allowing Israel to maintain control over important parts of Palestinian life. Said also analyzed that, despite the peace talks Israeli settlements continued to expand, Palestinian homes were being demolished, and unemployment rates among Palestinians remained high, indicating a disconnect between what is being said and what is actually happening (Said et al. 383).

Conclusion

Clancy's writing involves details in his descriptions and frequent references to historical events, which his works might be considered as educational, that helps reader to understand about the army and politics, and relate somehow to his stories by relating them to a historical context. However, Clancy relies heavily on stereotypes, and his educational storytelling might mislead the reader. This limited perspective might reinforce biases or prejudiced notions because the reader does not have the full picture of the issues that actually happened in the Middle East.

Chapter Three: The Impact of Fictional Narrative on People's Perception

This chapter will explore how narratives play a crucial role in shaping how people view the world, from different sources of entertainment like movies, books, television shows, and music, even news reports and social media, these platforms provide a stream of information and stories that are real and sometimes fiction. Books and movies often create fictional narratives that reflect or exaggerate what is found in real-world issues. These stories by arousing empathetic or the opposite behaviours can influence people's perceptions, opinions, beliefs, making them sympathetic (or opponent) to certain causes or reinforcing certain thinking.

Tom Clancy's novels often foreshadow, and mirror certain real-life events specifically politics like political systems, and global conflicts. The fictional portrayal of his narrative can shape public perception and even in some cases influence policy decisions by reinforcing or changing an idea that could lead to shifts and affect political decisions, demonstrating the powerful role of fictional narrative in shaping our understanding of the world.

3.1 The Impact of Popular Culture on Politicians Worldwide

Daniel and Musgrave argue that consuming fiction has a significant impact on individuals' beliefs and perceptions, including their understanding of global politics and international relations. They consider that fictional narratives, movies, television, and novels, have a wide-reaching influence and that it may surpass traditional academic sources (Daniel and Musgrave 503).

Fictional works occupies a significant role in public opinion and influencing political speech or language. While academic discourse and essays in magazines are important for conceptualizing and raising questions, Nye remarked: "academics can also help the public and policymakers by framing, mapping, and raising questions even when they do not provide answers" (596), and mentioned both Fukuyama and Huntington's works *The end of History* (1992), and

Clash of Civilizations (1993) that have had a notable influence on debates regarding international relations conceptions post-Cold War and political theory on New World Order, with their shaping discussions about the direction of global politics and the nature of conflict in the contemporary world.

Fictional works can be equally impactful in changing opinions and motivating people to act. For instance, the Novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a powerful anti-slavery novel that depicted the harsh realities of slavery in the American South. It attracted new abolitionists after being moved by its influential narrative (Levine; Daniel and Musgrave 505). Some believe that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* played an important role in triggering the American Civil War.

President Abraham Lincoln supposedly spoke to Harriet Beecher Stowe the writer of the novel and declared: "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war!". However, it notes that there is no evidence that Lincoln actually pronounced these words. The quote originated from Stowe family tradition and did not appear in print until 1896. Despite the lack of evidence, this-mention has been repeatedly cited as evidence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin's" impact on the Civil War (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Similarly, works of fiction can shape the perspectives and decisions of government officials regarding what they consider to be suitable for international relations. Dunn analyzes how Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness* shaped Western observers' understanding of conflict in central Africa, stating: "discourses and imagery on the Congo's identity have directly influenced political policies toward the Congo" (5).

However, often popular culture could lead to misleading people's perceptions. For instance, during and after the Vietnam War, Hollywood movies and media often depicted scenes where the U.S. returning veterans were shown being mistreated by anti-war protesters. These portrayals, despite widely believed, they are not strongly supported by historical evidence. Incidents of such

mistreatment were relatively rare, became rooted in popular culture, and contributed to a widely held belief about the treatment of Vietnam veterans (“The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam”).

Another point to consider is fictional narratives, whether they are filled with accurate information or misleading one, they contribute to the knowledge and beliefs that shape how the audience views the world. The “end of the world”, for example, no one has experienced it, but most people have a vision of what that might be like. This understanding does not come from academic studies or news reports, instead, it often comes from sources like the 2002 movie *Resident Evil*, or the 2003 film “*Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines*, seen by many people. These fictional images play a significant role in shaping almost everyone’s expectations about what such a disaster could endure.

Popular culture plays a powerful educational role (*soft power*) in delivering anxiety through messages (threats), shaping values and norms, perceptions and misperceptions that may match with international political challenges and aims. Often, shapes political leaders' perceptions and political decisions. In some of his speeches Winston Churchill is credited being inspired by the science fiction works of H.G. Wells, incorporating Wells' ideas into his own way of talking about politics and the policies he supported (“Churchill Borrowed Some of His Biggest Ideas From HG Wells”).

Hector Bywater published a novel untitled *The Great Pacific War* in 1925 and wrote a story imagining a war between Japan and the United States. Although the book did not exactly predict the Pearl Harbor attack and accuracy, it influenced perceptions of the Japanese military and gave readers a sense of what might happen in a war between these two countries (H-US-Japan, H-Review).

It is known that President Ronald Reagan after watching the John Badham’s film called *WarGames* (1983), took action to improve U.S. computer security at the U.S. Department of

Defense resulting in making anti-hacking laws. Furthermore, the Reagan Administration got inspired by sci-fi literature, notably from authors such as Larry Niven and Jerry Pournelle, to develop strategic programs like the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or “Star Wars.” It aimed to develop a missile defense system to protect the United States from potential nuclear attacks, primarily from the Soviet Union (“How Sci-Fi Like ‘WarGames’ Led to Real Policy During the Reagan Administration”).

President Bill Clinton alarmed on domestic material deficiencies by Richard Preston's novel *The Cobra Event* (1998). The novel's portrayal of a bioterrorist attack on American territory, led to the creation of the Strategic National Stockpile, which refers to the collection of medical supplies, equipment, and resources maintained by the government to be used in response to public health emergencies, for civilians' protection in events biological attack (Tate). Mangold and Goldberg noted: “Ironically, everything that Clinton had previously learned about biological terrorism from official sources did not have as much effect on him as the Preston novel... which lead [Clinton] to a profound interest and concern about the threat” (363). One expert of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta declared: “No way in hell [the combination of *The Cobra Event*' virus] it would work” (Hall).

3.2 Understanding the Influence of Fiction on Perception and Learning

The relationship between literature, popular culture, and politics is a complex and multifaced one, often influencing audiences who interact with fictional content. There are different ways of engagement that can affect how fictional stories impact people's perceptions, beliefs, and behaviours in the real world, particularly in the realm of politics. Researchers discussed about this topic, saying that people can easily distinguish between fiction and reality, suggesting that audiences can separate fictional elements from factual information (Shannon and Kowert 5).

However, J. Furman Daniel III and Paul Musgrave challenge the idea that the audience can easily separate fiction from reality when consuming popular culture or literature. These authors propose a concept called “synthetic experiences”, where audiences blend fictional elements with a real-world knowledge to create a coherent mental understanding. This blending of fiction and reality can influence how people perceive and interact with the world, suggesting fiction and facts are not always separated in shaping political beliefs and behaviors. They argue that these “synthetic experiences” “... affect how people interact with the real world ...” through “... knowledge derived from textbooks or data analyses”. By encoding information in ways that affect judgment and potentially replacing real facts obtained through fictional sources, because fictional stories can make unreal or new events seems normal. As a result, fictional stories affect world politics not because they provide facts, but because they make the audience feel like they are part of a made-up world (506).

The concept of “synthetic experiences” suggests that when people engage with arguments or narratives, they often accept them as true even if they are fictional (Daniel and Musgrave 507). This idea is based on the “dual-process model” of cognition (a mental process of acquiring knowledge and understanding through thought, experience, and senses) best known by Daniel Kahneman who describes that our brains have two ways of thinking; fast, automatic processing, emotional, and a slower, more deliberate and logical one (Kahneman). Fast and automatic processing prefers to believe information without much questioning and least effort, leading to accepting information without thorough evaluation, and relying on shortcuts like stereotypes and expectations (Moskowitz et al. 29).

Prentice and Gerrig highlight that individuals have a tendency “... to allow any information, reliable or unreliable, to gain entry into their store of knowledge and to influence their beliefs about the world” (530). Although, we might think we are actually analyzing fiction, we are mostly relying

on quick thinking that doesn't check for accuracy, as Gilbert said "...People are credulous creatures who find it very easy to believe and very difficult to doubt. In fact, believing is so easy, and perhaps so inevitable, that it may be more like involuntary comprehension than it is like rational assessment" (117). Prentice and Gerrig agree that "dual-process models" challenge the idea that our brains engage in special mental operations when processing fiction (544). In other words, these models suggest that the way we process information from fiction is not fundamentally different from how we process information from reality.

Some scholars share different perspectives regarding whether every person will automatically interpret every fictional content as an accurate representation of reality. Richter et al. demonstrated that readers with more background knowledge about a topic can help resist false information from fiction, suggesting the role of prior knowledge in validating information from narratives. Hinze et al. found that when misinformation seems to align closely with what people already know or believe, they might not notice or question it as much (318). Reading stories can create an "illusion of truth", where people believe both true and false information presented in narratives (Marsh et al. 535). Even when warned to be cautious, readers still tend to accept some misinformation from fiction (Daniel and Musgrave 507; Marsh and Fazio). Additionally, Rapp, Hinze, Kohlhepp, and Ryskin in their research found that efforts to encourage readers to validate the information from fiction, may unintentionally reinforce inaccurate data through repetition, leading participants to still use misinformation despite attempts to correct it (21). This shows the difficulty in eliminating the influence of fiction on our beliefs (Daniel and Musgrave 507; Prentice and Gerrig 531).

Psychologists use the concept of "transportation" to describe how deeply a reader is absorbed into a story (Gerrig 2-17), researchers have found that more engaging narratives are more likely to transport readers into their story worlds (Daniel and Musgrave 507; Green and Brock).

The key aspect of “transportation” is that the reader “...loses access to some real-world facts...” For example, the “reader may not notice others entering the room (Green and Brock 507). The ability of a text to transport readers is not only dependent on its literary quality but also on the sense of realism and logic. For example, in a story that is set during the Cold War, the characters cannot use the telephone because it was not available at that time (Busselle and Bilandzic 259). Authors aim to create a balance in their fictional worlds that encourages readers to engage in unreal aspects while connecting with elements that feel real or plausible (Jackson 19).

The experience of being mentally transported into a fictional narrative plays a crucial role in understanding why fact and fiction blend together. It influences individuals' beliefs, connections with characters, and perceptions of the world, leading to changes in behavior and attitudes (Daniel and Musgrave 508). Studies show that being mentally transported into a narrative can lead to a stronger identification with traits displayed by fictional characters (Sestir and Green); other scholars (or scientists) consider that lecturers who read about wizards or vampires psychologically became one of them (Gabriel and Young). Moreover, studies demonstrated that public spectators of the movie *Wag the Dog* is likely to believe in an unconvincing conspiracy, “namely that the U.S. government has and will fabricate a war for political gain” (Mulligan and Habel).

De Graaf et al. point out, that stories can influence what people believe in the real world (802). Daniel and Musgrave suggest that studying how people react to narratives, like movies and books, can give insight into public opinion. For example, instead of just using surveys to understand what people think, researchers can look at how fans and critics respond to different stories. By studying why certain stories are convincing to audiences, researchers can learn more about people's worldviews and beliefs (508).

3.3 The Impact of Tom Clancy's Novels on His Audience and Policy Makers

Tom Clancy's novels are known for their detailed portrayal of military technology and geopolitical conflict, surpassing more than just entertainment for his fans to read. He had provided for his public a window into the inner workings of military and intelligence operations. This attention to details can be traced back to his deep research and interactions with key figures as highlighted in the book *The Tom Clancy Companion*.

Tom Clancy's novel *Red Storm Rising* was coauthored with Larry Bond, who describes a pivotal research moment with Arkady Shevchenko¹. Clancy's extensive questioning was from the structure and function of the Soviet Politburo to the decor of the room where meetings took place, demonstrating his desire to create stories that felt authentic (Greenberg 3). The extensive research and attention included to his narrative, to ensure his portrayal of military and intelligence operations resonated with readers, and to conceptualize those settings, including those in policy-making roles.

His books were taken seriously not only by a general audience but also by policymakers and political leaders. Raises a question of whether the popularity of his novels contributed to shaping U.S. policy decisions, especially in matters related to military strategy and national security. Clancy was taken seriously as a military and political analyst because he talks about post-Cold War stories that address a broader range of international threats, Dan Quayle a Former Vice President of the United States said about Clancy's books: " They're not just novels. They are read as the real thing" (Chotiner).

Dan Quayle also opposed a provision to ban anti-satellite weapons tests, partly because such weapons were depicted as effective in Tom Clancy's *Red Storm Rising* (Osterlund and

¹ Shevchenko was the highest-ranking Soviet diplomat ever to defect to the U.S. (Barnes).

Rheem). This reference is significant because it indicates that a high-ranking politician used a work of fiction to support a policy position on a critical national security issue. Moreover, Quayle served as Vice President from 1989 to 1993 under George H. W. Bush Presidency. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that Dan Quayle, as Vice President had some level of influence on Bush's decision-making.

Another case to consider is that, Ronald Reagan, the 40th President of the United States. According to the author *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime*, Reagan read Clancy's *Red Storm Rising* as part of his preparation for the Reykjavik summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (Cannon 252). The influence of Clancy's novels on policymakers, as exemplified by Reagan's reading, may also suggest a blurring of lines between fiction and real-world policy discussions. If Reagan found value in Clancy's perspective, other policymakers could find that too.

A series on C-SPAN called "The Presidency", guested Captain Benjamin Griffin who graduated from the United States Military Academy, he served as a squadron (a military flight formation) intelligence officer, and is currently assigned to the U.S. as an instructor for the History Department in the U.S. Military Academy, talked about the influence that author Tom Clancy and President Ronald Reagan had on one another in the 1980s as the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union moved to the diplomatic forefront ("Ronald Reagan, Tom Clancy, and National Security").

Benjamin Griffin Stated that Reagan read *Red Storm Rising* on Air Force One before a summit with Mikhail Gorbachev, and instead of discussing with his staff about materials related to nuclear arms negotiations, he conversed about Tom Clancy's book that was about World War Three. Reagan viewed Clancy's novel as a form of "research", that took it as a serious topic, and appraised the narrative as "contains more than a small bit of truth", also viewed the plot line of it matches how Ronald Reagan visualized American Cold War and gaining insight into the near

future. The conclusion that Reagan drew from *Red Storm Rising* directly influenced his approach to negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachev, shown in Reagan's willingness to reduce nuclear weapons while maintaining a commitment to strategic defense aligns with the themes explored in Clancy's novel ("Ronald Reagan, Tom Clancy, and National Security").

Reagan recommended *Red Storm Rising* to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher since he considered the novel as a valuable resource for gaining insights into Soviet intentions and military strategy. By proposing the book to Thatcher, Reagan aimed to provide her with a similar perspective on the geopolitical landscape ahead of the Reykjavik Summit of 1986 (Mohdin). The fact that Reagan suggested a work of fiction to Margaret Thatcher, demonstrates the role of fiction in influencing the perspectives of political leaders, shaping their strategic thinking and decision-making during the Cold War era. *Red Storm Rising* served as more than just entertainment for Reagan, it functioned as a strategic plan that helped him conceptualize and articulate his Cold War strategy, highlighting the complex interplay between popular culture and policy decision-making.

A gathering arranged by Michael Deaver a Former White House Deputy Chief of Staff, brought Clancy together with John Lehman Former United States Secretary of the Navy, whom Clancy regarded with respect. Demonstrating the intersection of Clancy's fictional narratives with real-world discussions on military strategy and policymaking. Clancy engaged in a conversation with Lehman suggesting that his novels were taken seriously by individuals deeply involved in defense and national security matters (Merry).

David French a "former Senior Counsel for the American Center for Law and Justice and for the Alliance Defending Freedom" reveals how Clancy's books, especially *The Hunt for Red October*, affected his imagination as a young reader and continued to influence him into adulthood. This influence extends to how readers perceive military service and national security, and his narratives often emphasize the importance of serving one's country and confronting evil without

hesitation. Creating a sense of admiration for the armed forces and reinforcing the idea of national duty. French's recounting of his experience in Iraq—where he asked himself, "What would Jack Ryan do?" an example of how Clancy's characters can serve as role models in real-life situations (Revolution, "About David and Nancy French - the French Revolution"; French).

French's perspective on Clancy's portrayal of the military could be valuable in assessing those interested in or involved with national security. This resonance could extend to policymakers who read Clancy's novels and draw inspiration or affirmation from them. By looking at his perspective, it can be seen that Clancy's novels could play a role in shaping public attitudes toward U.S. policy and defense ultimately affecting decision-making processes.

CNN Journalist, Judy Woodruff, discussed with Clancy for his expert views about the events of 9/11 and what happened in his novel *Debt of Honor*, which was released in 1994, where he depicted the attack in the plot (CNN.com - Transcripts). Furthermore, another journalist named Bill O'Reilly talked with Clancy about the attack (*An Interview With Tom Clancy*). These discussions might have influenced the elite to enhance national security policy and prepare for any future attack, because Tom Clancy once said in the Department of Education in 1990: "...The head of every intelligence agency in the United States has CNN piped into his office..." (Raywollesen Fortes 8:13)

Moreover, *The Sum of All Fears* which was released in 1991, discussed previously in Chapter 2, the novel does depict a peace process concerning the Middle East, even though it is important to know that it is a work of fiction. The Oslo Accords on the other hand were a real set of agreements between Israel and Palestine to establish a peace process to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the negotiation took place in Oslo in 1993 and was signed in Washington, D.C. days later (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica).

In short, Clancy's novels played a significant role in the political landscape, influencing the perception of his readers most significantly U.S. leaders. Shaping beliefs and “propagate[ing] ideas about the United States’ proper role in the world” also in the military branch (Daniel and Musgrave 512). Utilizing his works as a source of information, despite being a fictional story, somehow his novels got trespassed through the White House and became the elites’ guidebook that influenced President Reagan's and Vice Quayle's decision-making.

Conclusion

The fictional narrative has the power to change people's perceptions. It could work as a foretelling story about the future, narrating stories of hope, fear, utopia, and dystopia that readers can “transport” through it, forgetting the errors it might contain. However, it can influence people's beliefs, particularly in the realm of politics, and help policy-makers understand how politics should function.

The influence of Tom Clancy’s novels on U.S. policy decision-making and national security, highlights his works resonate with his audiences on a subconscious level. While it is considered ridicule to cite a fictional work in political discussion, the impact Clancy had made politicians combine both knowledge from their previous background and the pieces of information that fiction contains, undoubtedly leading to an influence in their perspective and decision making.

General Conclusion

This dissertation has explored the U.S. perception of the Middle East and North Africa that was shaped by historical events, literature, movies, and media portrayals. Also, this study dealt with the American author Tom Clancy, who had a major influence on American perceptions and U.S. policy decision-makers, focusing on the depiction of the Middle East in his novel *The Sum of All Fears*. Through using a combination of historical and descriptive approaches, this research has shown how Clancy's narrative shapes and reinforces stereotypes about Arabs and Muslims.

Clancy's novels, known for their detailed and realistic depictions of military scenarios, that goes beyond entertainment, shaping public opinion by presenting complex topics like international relations in an understandable way. These narratives affect the general public by his detailed storytelling and plausible scenarios, highlighting the powerful role of fiction in shaping real-world politics and people's perceptions.

Techno thriller is considered as a particular literature genre that has influenced politics and military leaders. the connection of fictional narrative and politics reveals that storytelling has profound impacts on both general audiences and policymakers, through concepts such as "synthetic experiences" and "transportation", we understand that engaging with fiction can blur the lines between fact and fiction, making it difficult for individuals to separate between the two.

While some fictional narratives transcend stereotypical messages and offer an exaggerated portrayal. For instance, Clancy's portrayal of Arabs does hold some stereotypical thoughts that existed in the U.S. perception in the past, and writing misspelled Arabic words although he is known for doing much research before delving into a topic. At the same time, he is not limited solely on Arabs; other regions also depicted them in a negative role. These various depictions suggest that Clancy's work falls into stereotypical depictions regarding the Middle Easter,

showcasing different of adversaries similarly and unfavorable way, highlighting the difference between the U.S. and other regions.

The impact of Tom Clancy's novels is clear, his novels are not just popular fiction, they provide what can be described as an "education" on political matters. meaning that readers who consume his fiction, learn about the military and provide an idea about other cultures to his audience, the matter lies on the political role he is playing. However, his stereotypes do not offer readers a new way to see the world. Eventually following the same traditional image of Muslims and Arabs, limiting the perspective on foreigners, shaping their views and beliefs. This influence might be considered to policymakers who reads Clancy's work, motivating them through scenarios presented in his novels into their own strategic plans.

Policymakers, like any other audience, can be exposed to the influence of popular culture. When they engage with narratives, whether through novels, films, or television series, they may not only absorb factual information but also the misinformation from it. These narratives can inform their worldview, impact their judgments, and influence their decisions of politics and international relations.

This understanding underlines the importance of narratives that the author project, and for researchers and readers to approach literature and popular culture with a critical view. Since it is found that readers especially policymakers do not rely only on academic sources, to learn how the world functions or to engage in it. By understanding how effective narratives could be to shape beliefs and behaviors, we can see the different ways in which it contributes to public opinion and policy- decision making. Consequently, the study of popular culture and its impact on politics becomes an important angle to look at, through which it offers an insight into how fiction influences society and politics.

To better understand the implications of these results, future studies may address exploring how does techno-thrillers work facing AI and Metaverse. In other words, AI and the Metaverse make the frontier between the real and the virtual world disappear since the metaverse is a virtual world which does not exist but within which human, financial, real estate, political and diplomatic transactions exist. We are no longer in a virtual potentially comes true with techno-thriller, we are in a virtual which becomes real, and consequently how techno-thriller genre takes place in a world where the boundaries between real and virtual are no longer blurred but no longer exist. As these platforms and other technologies that continue to evolve through time, it is crucial to investigate how they can shape our understanding. By addressing this question, that might be a subject for further research, researchers can better comprehend the complex interplay between technology, media, and politics.

Works Cited

Primary Sources:

An Interview With Tom Clancy. www.greenspun.com/bboard/q-and-a-fetch-msg.tcl?msg_id=006S81.

Clancy, Tom. *The Sum of All Fears*. 1991.

CNN.com - Transcripts. 11 Sept. 2001, transcripts.cnn.com/show/bn/date/2001-09-11/segment/74.

Raywollesen Fortes. "Tom Clancy on America, Government, History, Writing, and the Private Sector 1990 Speech." YouTube, 19 June 2018, www.youtube.com/watch?v=SJ47CZCMPHU.

Secondary Sources:

"Abraham Lincoln." *whitehouse.gov*, 8 Mar. 2015, obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/1600/presidents/abrahamlincoln

"Arab-American Group to Protest Offensive Masks ". *Los Angeles Times*, 28 Oct.1989.

"Churchill Borrowed Some of His Biggest Ideas From HG Wells." *University of Cambridge*, 27 Nov. 2006, www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/churchill-borrowed-some-of-his-biggest-ideas-from-hg-wells.

"Culture: Interview With Jack Shaheen." *Counter Culture*, 25 Nov. 2009, countercultureuk.com/2009/11/25/culture-interview-with-jack-shaheen.

“How Sci-Fi Like ‘WarGames’ Led to Real Policy During the Reagan Administration.” *New America*, www.newamerica.org/weekly/how-sci-fi-wargames-led-real-policy-during-reagan-administration.

“Ronald Reagan, Tom Clancy, and National Security.” C-SPAN.org, 5 Feb. 2016, www.c-span.org/video/?404158-1/ronald-reagan-tom-clancy-national-security.

“The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam” *Goodreads*, www.goodreads.com/book/show/508513.The_Spitting_Image.

A National Security Strategy for a New Century. Office of the secretary of defense. *Historical Office defense.gov*, Dec 1999.

Al-Mwajeh, Ziad. *Critique of Postmodern Ethics of Alterity Versus Embodied (Muslim) Others: Incompatibility, Diversion, or Convergence*. 2005, ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA86202079.

Assayag, Jackie. *East and West: Orientalism, War and the Colonial Present*. 2007.

Baiocco, Richard. *Readings on Tom Clancy*. Greenhaven Press, Incorporated, 2004.

Barnes, Bart. “SOVIET DEFECTOR ARKADY SHEVCHENKO DIES.” *Washington Post*, 2 Mar. 2024, www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1998/03/12/soviet-defector-arkady-shevchenko-dies/3fc5f474-e7b7-4d1c-b6f2-e565dfa1ef22.

Bin Ladin, Carmen. *Inside the Kingdom: My Life in Saudi Arabia*. New York: Warner, 2005.

Bush, George W. "Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People". United States Capitol. Washington, D.C. White House, 20 Sep. 2001.

Busselle, Rick, and Helena Bilandzic. "Fictionality and Perceived Realism in Experiencing Stories: A Model of Narrative Comprehension and Engagement." *Communication Theory*, vol. 18, no. 2, May 2008, pp. 255–80. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2008.00322.x>.

Butler, Andrew C., et al. "Using popular films to enhance classroom learning: the good, the bad, and the interesting." *Psychological science* vol. 20,9 (2009): 1161-8. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02410.x>

Cannon, Lou. *President Reagan: The Role Of A Lifetime*. PublicAffairs, 2008.

Chotiner, Isaac. "Tom Clancy Is Dead, but His Frightening Political Worldview Is Alive and Well." *The New Republic*, 11 May 2021, [newrepublic.com/article/114960/tom-clancy-dies-novelists-legacy-and-lessons-america](https://www.newrepublic.com/article/114960/tom-clancy-dies-novelists-legacy-and-lessons-america).

Christgau, Robert. "Creative Censorship". *Village Voice*, 3 Feb, 1987.

Cleveland, William L. "A History of the Modern Middle East." *Cleveland, William L: 9780813334899 - AbeBooks*, www.abebooks.com/9780813334899/History-Modern-Middle-East-Cleveland-0813334896/plp.

Crooke, Alastair. "It Is Essential to Talk to the 'terrorists.'" *The Guardian*, 10 Dec. 2004, www.theguardian.com/world/2004/dec/10/afghanistan.comment.

De Graaf, Anneke, et al. "Identification as a Mechanism of Narrative Persuasion." *Communication Research*, vol. 39, no. 6, May 2011, pp. 802–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650211408594>.

Dunn, Kevin C. *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*. Boston University African Studies Center, 2003.

El-Farra, Narmeen. "Arabs and the Media." *Journal of Media Psychology*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1996, pp. 1–7.

www.academia.edu/12363943/Arabs_5_21_05_1_36_AM_ARABS_AND_THE_MEDIA

French, David. "Remembering Tom Clancy." *The French Revolution*, 2 Oct. 2013, www.patheos.com/blogs/frenchrevolution/2013/10/02/remembering-tom-clancy.

Gabriel, Shira, and Ariana F Young. "Becoming a vampire without being bitten: the narrative collective-assimilation hypothesis." *Psychological science* vol. 22,8 (2011): 990-4.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611415541>.

Garson, Helen S. *Tom Clancy: A Critical Companion*. Greenwood, 1996.

Gerrig, Richard J. *Experiencing Narrative Worlds: On the Psychological Activities of Reading*. 1993.

Green, Melanie C., and Timothy C. Brock. "The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 79, no. 5, Nov.

2000, pp. 701–21. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.701>.

Greenberg, Martin Harry. *The Tom Clancy Companion*. Berkley Trade, 2005.

Hall, Stephen S. "Science-Fiction Policy." *MIT Technology Review*, 2 Apr. 2020,

www.technologyreview.com/1998/11/01/102211/science-fiction-policy.

Hazbun, Waleed. "Reading Culture, Identity and Space in US Foreign Policy - MERIP." *MERIP*, 21 Oct. 2016, merip.org/2005/09/reading-culture-identity-and-space-in-us-foreign-policy.

Hibri, Cyma. "Orientalism: Edward Said's Groundbreaking Book Explained." *The Conversation*, theconversation.com/orientalism-edward-saids-groundbreaking-book-explained-197429.

Hinze, Scott R., et al. "Pilgrims Sailing the Titanic: Plausibility Effects on Memory for Misinformation." *Memory & Cognition*, vol. 42, no. 2, Sept. 2013, pp. 305–24. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-013-0359-9>.

HISTORY. "How the Oslo Accords Almost Ended the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict | History." *YouTube*, 14 May 2018, www.youtube.com/watch?v=nERZr_d343w.

Horton, Jeff W. *Cybersp@Ce*. World Castle Publishing, LLC, 2013.

Hourani, Albert. "Islam in European Thought the Tanner. Lectures on Human Value". United Kingdom: clare hall, Cambridge University, 30 and 31 Jan and 1 Feb. 1989.

H-US-Japan, H-Review. *H-Net Reviews*. www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=6749.

Jackson, Patrick Thaddeus. "Critical Humanism: Theory, Methodology, and Battlestar Galactica." *Battlestar Galactica and International Relations*, edited by Nicholas J. Kiersey and Iver B. Neumann, Routledge, 2013, pp. 18–36.

Kahneman, Daniel. *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. Penguin UK, 2011.

Lemaire, Pascal. "«Ain't No Techno-Thriller in Here, Sir!»." *Hélice*, vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 2014, pp. 50–71. dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7736557.

Levine, Robert S. "Uncle Tom's Cabin in Frederick Douglass' Paper: An Analysis of Reception."

American Literature, vol. 64, no. 1, Mar. 1992, p. 71. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2927489>.

Little, Douglas. *American Orientalism. The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*. 3rd

ed. Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 2008.

Maksum, Mochammad. *THE DISCOURSE OF TERRORISM REPRESENTED IN*

TOM CLANCY'S THE SUM OF ALL FEARS. University of Maulana Malik Ibrahim

Malang, 2022.

Malinen, Miika. *Tom Clancy and Orientalism: Arabs and Muslims in the Contemporary*

Technothriller Novel. 1 Jan. 2006, jyx.jyu.fi/handle/123456789/7320.

Mangold, Tom, and Jeff Goldberg. *Plague Wars: The Terrifying Reality of Biological Warfare*.

Macmillan, 1999.

Marsh, Elizabeth J., and Lisa K. Fazio. "Learning Errors From Fiction: Difficulties in Reducing

Reliance on Fictional Stories." *Memory & Cognition*, vol. 34, no. 5, July 2006, pp. 1140–49. <https://doi.org/10.3758/bf03193260>.

Marsh, Elizabeth J., Michelle L. Meade, and Henry L. Roediger III. "Learning facts from

fiction." *Journal of Memory and Language* 49.4 (2003): 519-536.

[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-596X\(03\)00092-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0749-596X(03)00092-5)

Merry, Robert W. "Tom Clancy and Ronald Reagan." *The National Interest*, 3 Oct. 2013,

nationalinterest.org/commentary/tom-clancy-ronald-reagan-9178.

Mohdin, Aamna. "Reagan to Thatcher: Read a Tom Clancy Thriller to Understand the Soviet Union." *Quartz*, 21 July 2022, qz.com/583822/reagan-to-thatcher-read-a-tom-clancy-thriller-to-understand-the-soviet-union.

Moors, Agnes, et al. *Discourse and Palestine: Power, Text and Context*. 1995, [ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA71310158](https://www.ejournals.org/ejournals/viewdocument.aspx?CID=BA71310158).

Moskowitz, Gordon B., et al. "The History of Dual-process Notions, and the Future of Preconscious Control." *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*, edited by Chaiken Shelly and Trope Yaacov, New York, The Guilford Press., 1999, pp. 12–36. psycnet.apa.org/record/1999-02377-001.

Mulligan, Kenneth, and Philip Habel. "The Implications of Fictional Media for Political Beliefs." *American Politics Research*, vol. 41, no. 1, Aug. 2012, pp. 122–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673x12453758>.

Naim, Hakeem. "Orientalism, Afghanistan, and the Recycling Rhetoric". *KabulPress.org*, 25 Dec, 2011.

Nassar, Galal. "Orientalism's local allies". *Al Ahram*, 20-26 Sep, 2007

Nye, Jr. Joseph S. "Bridging the Gap Between Theory and Policy." *Political Psychology*, vol. 29, no. 4, July 2008, pp. 593–603. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2008.00651.x>.

O'Sullivan, John L. "The Great Nation of Futurity". Essay, November, 1839. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/the-great-nation-of-futurity/>

Osterlund, Peter, and Donald Rheem. "Quayle: Wide Appeal but Untried on National Stage." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 Aug. 1988, www.csmonitor.com/1988/0818/aquay.html.

Palestine Diary. "Edward Said on Orientalism." *YouTube*, 28 Oct. 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=fVC8EYd_Z_g.

Prentice, Deborah A., and Richard J. Gerrig. "Exploring the Boundary Between Fiction and Reality." *Dual-Process Theories in Social Psychology*, edited by Shelly Chaiken and Yaacov Trope, New York, The Guilford Press., 1999, pp. 529–46. psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1999-02377-025.

President Declares "Freedom at War With Fear." 20 Sept. 2001, georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html.

President Delivers State of the Union Address. 20 Jan. 2002, georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html.

Rabinowitz, Dan. "Belated Occupation, Advanced Militarization: Edward Said's Critique of the Oslo Process Revisited." *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 31, no. 2, Jan. 2005, pp. 505–11. <https://doi.org/10.1086/430979>.

Rapp, David N., et al. "Reducing Reliance on Inaccurate Information." *Memory & Cognition*, vol. 42, no. 1, June 2013, pp. 11–26. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-013-0339-0>.

raystevensmusic. "Ray Stevens - 'Ahab the Arab' (Music Video) [From Get Serious]." *YouTube*, 23 July 2009, www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYn_6NjcopY.

Revolution, French. "About David and Nancy French - the French Revolution." *The French Revolution*, 12 Mar. 2015, www.patheos.com/blogs/frenchrevolution/about.

- Richter, Tobias, et al. "You Don't Have to Believe Everything You Read: Background Knowledge Permits Fast and Efficient Validation of Information." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 96, no. 3, Jan. 2009, pp. 538–58.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014038>.
- Roane, Kit R. "NATO Links Bosnia Government to Training Center for Terrorists". *New York Times*, 17 Febr. 1996.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "A Confession of Faith. We Stand at Armageddon, and We Battle for the Lord". Progressive Party Convention – Chicago, Illinois August 6, 1912. *Almanac of Theodore Roosevelt*. n.d.
- Sandikcioglu, Esra. "Orientalism: the ideology behind the metaphorical gulf war." *Gerhard Mercator University, Duisburg*, 2010.
<http://www.tulane.edu/~howard/LangIdeo/Sandikcioglu/Sandikcioglu.html#FNT0>
- Sestir, Marc, and Melanie C. Green. "You Are Who You Watch: Identification and Transportation Effects on Temporary Self-concept." *Social Influence*, vol. 5, no. 4, Oct. 2010, pp. 272–88. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2010.490672>.
- Shaheen, Jack G. "Hollywood's Muslim Arabs." *The Muslim World*, vol. 90, no. 1–2, Mar. 2000, pp. 22–42. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2000.tb03680.x>.
- Shaheen, Jack G. *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. Olive Branch Press, 2009.
- Shaheen, Jack. Arab And Muslim Stereotyping in American Popular Culture. Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, History and International Affairs, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1997.

Shannon, Vaughn P., and Paul A. Kowert. *Psychology and Constructivism in International Relations: An Ideational Alliance*. University of Michigan Press, 2012.

Shweder, Richard Allan. "George W. Bush and the Missionary Position." *American Academy of Arts & Sciences*, 30 July 2019, www.amacad.org/publication/george-w-bush-missionary-position

Soharwardy, Syed. "Muslims Against Terrorism (MAT)- struggling for justice". *Islamic Supreme Council of Canada*, Oct 20, 2001.

Tate, Aden. "How the Cobra Event Changed American Pandemic Response." MIRA Safety, 8 Dec. 2022, www.mirasafety.com/blogs/news/how-the-cobra-event-changed-american-pandemic-response.

TeachingAmericanHistory.org. "Inaugural Address (2005) | Teaching American History." *Teaching American History*, 26 June 2023, teachingamericanhistory.org/document/second-inaugural-address-6.

Terdoslavich, William. *The Jack Ryan Agenda: Policy and Politics in the Novels of Tom Clancy: An Unauthorized Analysis*. Forge Books, 2005.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Oslo Accords | Summary, Significance, and Breakdown." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 27 Mar. 2024, www.britannica.com/topic/Oslo-Accords.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Uncle Tom's Cabin | Summary, Date, and Significance." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 16 Apr. 2024, www.britannica.com/topic/Uncle-Toms-Cabin.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. 29 Apr. 2003, georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nssall.html#:~:text=We%20fight%2C%20as%20we%20always,open%20societies%20on%20every%20continent.%22.

Twain, Mark. *The Innocents Abroad*. United States: Velvet Element, 2008.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1377. S/RES/1377 (2001). UN, 12 Nov. 2001.

Whitehead, Alfred North. *Science and the Modern World*. Good Press, 2023.

Wilson, Woodrow. "8th Annual Message December 7, 1920". Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley. American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/207615>

Young, Jeremy. *Violence of God and the War on Terror*. Church Publishing, Inc., 2008.

Zapata, Christian. "Berlin Wall | HISTORY , Dates and the Fall | HISTORY." *HISTORY*, 16 Nov. 2023, www.history.com/topics/cold-war/berlin-wall.

الملخص

تبحث الدراسة في تأثير الكاتب الأمريكي للخيال، توم كلانسي، على الإدراك العام واتخاذ القرارات السياسية في الولايات المتحدة. تتعمق في كيفية خلق السرد المفصل لكلانسي إحساسًا بالواقعية يتردد صداه مع الجمهور العام وصناع السياسات. من خلال التحقيق في الفجوة بين ثنائية الخيال والواقع التي يمكن أن تؤثر على سلوكيات القراء وإدراكهم، تُظهر الدراسة كيف يمكن أن تتراكم المعلومات الصحيحة والمعلومات المضللة لتكون مخزونة في معرفة القارئ، ومن خلالها يفسر الناس العالم ويكونون إدراكًا له، حتى وإن كانت المعلومات أو السيناريو غير مرجح الحدوث. علاوة على ذلك، تحلل الدراسة كيف يصور كلانسي أعداءه، خصوصًا من الشرق الأوسط في روايته "مجموعة من المخاوف"، باستخدام السياق الوصفي والتاريخي لتقديم فهم للقضايا الثقافية والسياسية التي أثرت على وجود قصة الكاتب، تشير النتائج إلى أن تصويره للشخصيات المسلمة والعربية غالبًا ما تكون مشوهة وقد يعزز هذا إلى الصور النمطية والتحيزات، مما قد يؤثر على السياسة الخارجية نظرًا لأن رواياته تُقرأ من قبل صناع السياسات والمسؤولين العسكريين. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تبرز الدراسة أن خيال كلانسي ليس للقراءة والتسلية فقط بل يلعب دورًا مهمًا في تشكيل الواقعين السياسي والاجتماعي.

كلمات مفتاحية:

إثارة تكنولوجية، توم كلانسي، التيار السياسي السائد، صورة نمطية