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**The Complexity of the Definition of Terrorism In The United States:
How Terrorism Is Understood In The United States and Who Is
Worthy of Being Called A Terrorist
In The American Perspective**

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Abstract

The definition of terrorism, in general, is an act that is against the law or action that can be against the community and when it is planned to achieve political or religious goals. Initially, the resolution of terrorism was still national related to political struggles in countries where the government system was weak and the democratic politics were still fragile, such as in Colombo, Nepal, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, and other related countries in sub-Saharan Africa. After the events of 11 September 2001 in New York and Washington D.C. has made the issue of terrorism placed high on the international agenda. This change occurred because the events of 9/11 had befallen the United States. The United States is a country with an international system that requires US national security. The existence of 9/11 also caused complexity or complexity in resolving terrorism and who deserves to be approved as a terrorist in the United States context. This complexity occurs because of the difficulty in determining who, by whom, and for what acts of terrorism are carried out. Therefore, in this paper, a further study will be carried out on the complexity of the definition of terrorism in the United States and who deserves to be called a terrorist according to the United States version. To analyses the problem in this study, the authors used constructivism and the research method used was a qualitative research method.

Keywords: Definition, Terrorism, United States, National Context, International Context

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Background

Post 9/11, the United States constructed an understanding of terrorism as a transnational crime based on the ideology of radicalism and referred to the stigma of one of the religions and regions, namely 'Islam' and 'the Middle East'. Terrorism is one of the non-state actors in the study of international relations which is classified as a transnational crime. In fact, the UN in the Congress in Vienna in 2000 raised the theme of the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders which states that terrorism is considered a radical development that needs attention (Junaid, 2013). In this case, the definition of terrorism, in general, is an act that violates the law or acts of violence that can threaten the community and generally aims to achieve political or religious goals (Jackson & Sorensen, 2014, p. 485).

Initially, the definition of terrorism was still of a national nature related to political struggles in weak countries whose democratic governance and political systems were still fragile, such as in Colombo, Nepal, Syria, Somalia, Sudan, and other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. National terrorism usually takes place in the context of

civil war because the enemy is national and mostly fights in guerrilla warfare, and receives support from local sympathizers (Jackson & Sorensen, 2014, p. 487).

After the extraordinary attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington D.C. has put the issue of terrorism high on the international agenda. In addition, after 9/11, the definition of terrorism is no longer in the national sphere, but terrorism has been placed in the international sphere. The change occurred because the events of 9/11 had happened to the United States. The United States is a superpower in the international system that feels its national security threatened because of the events of 9/11 so that the United States defines international terrorism as the first threat to the security of the United States and continues with launching the war on terrorism (Jackson & Sorensen, 2014, p. 486). In addition, after 9/11 international terrorism has become a phenomenon that is synonymous with radical Muslim groups.

The most well-known radical Muslim group after 9/11 is the Islamic militant group Al-Qaeda which has

indeed claimed responsibility for 9/11 in the United States. Al-Qaeda is considered by the United States as a threat that will grow to a large scale against Western societies, especially the United States. Al-Qaeda is synonymous with radical Islamic organizations based in the Middle East. Therefore, the United States indirectly views terrorism as a transnational crime originating in the Middle East region which of course the majority of the population embraces Islam so that terrorism is associated with radical Islam. In other words, the United States indirectly labeled 'Islam' and 'the Middle East' in defining terrorism, and that means a far greater effect arising from the 9/11 attacks was on the United States' perception of terrorism (Pillar, 2011).

However, not all people in the United States give the label 'Islam' and 'Middle East' in defining terrorism. Not all people in the United States have a fear of Islam or Islamophobia because the definition of terrorism in the United States is very complex. The complexity of the definition of terrorism in the United States can be seen when the Las Vegas shootout took place by Stephen Paddock, a 64-year-old former accountant who lives in Mesquite,

Nevada, state (Artharini, 2017). Stephen Paddock fired repeatedly at the crowd of concertgoers who at that time featured country music singer, Jason Aldean (Artharini, 2017).

The shooting caused controversy because the act was not called terrorism by the United States government. Reporting from BBC Indonesia, according to US police Stephen Paddock is a 'lone wolf' or carry out attacks on his own initiative (Artharini, 2017). However, the people of the United States questioned the reluctance of US law enforcement officials to designate Stephen Paddock as a terrorist. Many people in the United States indicate if the absence of the word terrorism in shootings carried out by Stephen Paddock because Paddock is not brown-skinned and not Islam (Artharini, 2017). In fact, some major media in the United States, such as the New York Times and the Washington Post also highlighted the debate over whether the Las Vegas shooting action was classified as terrorism or not (Artharini, 2017). In this case, President Donald Trump, who also condemned the shootings that took place in Las Vegas, only said these actions as "true

devil" and did not use the word terrorism at all.

Based on this, it can be seen if there is complexity or complexity in defining terrorism and who deserves to be called a terrorist in the context of the United States. The complexity occurs because of the difficulty in determining to whom, by whom, and for what purpose the act of terrorism is carried out. Therefore, in this paper a further study will be carried out on the complexity of the definition of terrorism in the United States and who deserves to be called a terrorist according to the United States version. The study will use the theory of constructivism in international relations to prove indications that in fact the understanding of terrorism in the United States has been constructed to label Islam and the Middle East region because the United States has many national interests in the Middle East region.

Literature Review

In a study needed to support the results of previous studies relating to research in this paper, including:

1. From Paul R. Pillar's study (Pillar, 2011) entitled American Perceptions of

Terrorism in the Post 9/11 Decade, the research found that 9/11 was one of the most traumatic events in US history. The event strongly shaped the US public's perception of terrorism. The United States understands terrorism by focusing on only one type of terrorism group, namely Al Qaeda.

2. From Ashley J. Tellis's research (Tellis, 2004) entitled *Assessing America's War on Terror*, in that study it was found that 9/11 had provided the United States with an understanding of terrorism which was then channeled into various foreign policies.
3. From Erik Mannik's research (Mannik, 2007) entitled *Terrorism: Its Past, Present, and Future Prospects*, the research found that the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States after 9/11 has led the United States to issue war on terrorism which makes it more from 100 countries

participated directly against Afghanistan led by the Taliban. In addition, this study also found that the complexity in defining terrorism lies in the barrier of distinguishing between terrorist activities and freedom fighters.

4. From the research of Brian Michael Jenkins and John Paul Godges (Jenkins & Godges, 2011) entitled *The Long Shadow of 9/11: America's Response to Terrorism*, the study found that 9/11 was the last legacy for the United States to cause. The United States sees terrorism as an action that has very detrimental consequences that terrorist attacks force the United States to overreact by carrying out anti-Al Qaeda campaigns. In addition, the study also found a perspective of US citizens who were very concerned about the condition of the United States after the 9/11 attacks. They consider that

terrorism is the responsibility of the United States as a superpower to eradicate it. However, some people in the United States are upset because most of the world's community blames the United States for the chaos that occurred in the Middle East region.

5. From the research of Connor Huff and Joshua D. Kertzer (Huff & Kertzer, 2018), entitled *How the Public Defines Terrorism*, the research found that there are two components in classifying terrorism. First, objective facts on the ground consisting of information about the type and level of violence used, as well as the target and location of the incident. Second, the identity of the offender and the associated motivation. In addition, the study also found that President Barack Obama stated that any act of violence used to target innocent civilians could be said to be an act of terror.

Based on the five studies, it is seen that most find the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States, which is seen after the events of 9/11. The United States considers terrorism as a crime that is so harmful that it forces the United States to act to eradicate terrorism by means of hard power, and Al-Qaeda is considered an enemy of the United States in combating terrorism. However, the five studies are still lacking in the discussion. Therefore, this paper will fill those deficiencies which were not discussed in previous studies. The author will discuss the understanding of terrorism based on the context of the United States which is part of the construction of the United States because it has more national interests in the Middle East region where the majority of the population embraces Islam.

Research Questions

Based on the background above, the following problems can be formulated:

1. How is terrorism understood in the United States?
2. Who deserves to be called a 'terrorist' in the context of the United States?

Framework

In this paper the author uses one theory in international relations namely constructivism which is used as a big umbrella to analyze and evaluate the problems that exist in this paper. As a big umbrella in this study, constructivism has a variety of assumptions that can be used to analyze and evaluate the problems that exist in this paper. The reason the authors use the theory of constructivism in international relations is that the authors believe that everything made by countries in the world is the result of the construction of their respective national interests. Similarly, the definition of terrorism in the United States which in my opinion is the result of the construction of the United States as a superpower that has an interest in the Middle East region in addition to the interests of maintaining the security of the country's sovereignty. Therefore, by using the theory of constructivism in international relations I want to know and evaluate the definition or understanding of terrorism in the United States through the construction that the United States is trying to build in the international world.

Constructivism in international relations has four basic assumptions.

First, constructivism believes in the significance of ideational structures in the international system. Constructivists tend to want to show the superiority of ideas from the material (Bilad, 2012). If rational-positivist doctrines that the international structure is nothing but the distribution of material capabilities. However, constructivists believe in the opposite that the international structure is the distribution of ideas, and countries act according to the pattern of the distribution of ideas (Bilad, 2012).

Second, constructivism rejects the doctrine of 'value-free' or the fact-value distinction. The point is that constructivists believe that each person or country has a different perspective on certain phenomena and the difference is determined by what paradigm is adopted. In a sense, a phenomenon will be interpreted differently by people who hold different paradigms (Bilad, 2012). Third, constructivists believe that if there are many interpretations about one phenomenon and of course there is one of the best, who is closest to the actual reality, and who is able to explain and understand better than the others (Bilad, 2012). Finally, constructivism believes that what people want to interpret about

a fact is actually interpreted in social life (Bilad, 2012).

Methodology

In this study, the authors chose to use qualitative research methods because qualitative research methods are well suited to understanding complex social interactions, to examine social phenomena that cannot be investigated using quantitative research, and to examine an issue in more depth. In addition, the qualitative research method will be combined with evaluating the theories used in this paper as part of the master level stages. Data collection techniques used in this research are literature studies by collecting secondary data, in the form of books, electronic journals, both domestic and international, and reliable international news articles from domestic and international media related to the problems in this paper. . In addition, this paper also uses an interview method with a scholar who is indeed an expert in the field of defense such as terrorism.

Results

The term terrorism comes from the Latin word 'terrere' which means to frighten (Mannik, 2007). In other

words, terrorism is a transnational crime that aims to create fear in a wider audience and to prevent various parties from doing something or forcing a party to follow certain behaviors (Mannik, 2007). The understanding of terrorism according to the United Nations, namely criminal actions included in actions against civil society carried out with the intent of causing death or serious bodily injury, or hostage actions with the aim of provoking a state of terror in the general public, as well as intimidating the population or forcing the government and an international organization to do something about certain actions, and also acts of terrorism in any form can not be justified, whether in the form of political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, or religious (Jackson & Sorensen, 2014, p. 486). Even though the UN as an international organization has issued an understanding of terrorism, countries in the world still experience complexity in defining terrorism.

The complexity in defining the term terrorism occurs because there are many parties who have different interests in defining terrorism so that it is not easy to obtain the same view

(Suryani, 2017). Actually, there are two important components in defining terrorism. First, relatively objective facts on the ground consisting of information about the type and level of violence used, as well as the target and location of the incident (Huff & Kertzer, 2018). Second, the identity of the perpetrators of terrorism and the motivation behind the perpetrators to commit acts of terror (Huff & Kertzer, 2018). In this case, a terrorist has the motivation behind his acts of terror that is a terrorist trying to change the status quo or defend something they really value, and they are willing to use violence to achieve that goal (Goepner, 2016). In other words, the most important component of various definitions of terrorism is the use of threats of violence, acts of violence and non-discrimination, political motivation, and fanaticism towards a religion (Suryani, 2017).

One of the acts of terrorism that are recorded in the history of the world in the event that occurred in the United States on September 9, 2001. The event was a suicide attack carried out by terrorists by hijacking planes and then crashed into the World Trade Center and Pentagon buildings. The incident

caused thousands of casualties and became the heaviest blow to the United States because after the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the United States hoped to be able to provide order and security stability to its citizens (Tellis, 2004). However, because of the incident, the United States must work harder to maintain its security stability. Therefore, President George W. Bush immediately moved quickly to issue a War on Terrorism policy. The policy was then directed at Islamic militant groups namely Al-Qaeda as the cause and Osama Bin Ladin became a target for the United States to eradicate terrorism, as well as extending to all Islamic countries.

Post 9/11, the perspective of the United States of America views Islam as religious teaching that justifies terrorism. This perspective arises only because Osama Bin Ladin and the Al-Qaeda network came from Islamic militant groups which are of course Muslim, making the perspective of the United States generalized to areas that are predominantly Muslim, including the Middle East region. As a result, after 9/11 in the United States, the term Islamophobia emerged and several Islamic movements also became the

main target of the United States government by labeling the 'Radical Islamic Movement' against groups such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, and Jemaah Islamiyah (Wijaya, 2010).

Post 9/11, the efforts of the United States in combating terrorism are enormous, nearly more than half a million members of the United States military have invaded Iraq and Afghanistan (Goepner, 2016). In addition, the United States also conducted military operations of five Muslim-majority countries, such as Syria, Pakistan, Libya, Yemen, and Somalia (Goepner, 2016). However, the United States' efforts in combating terrorism indirectly worsen the conditions for the development of terrorism because these efforts further increase the motivation of potential terrorists to join terrorist organizations and carry out acts of terror (Mannik, 2007). Islamic extremist groups are taking advantage of the chaos in Syria, Libya, Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia (Darke & Papadopoulos, 2016). The terrorists in the name of Islam to achieve their political goals by using the idea of jihad became a call to kill those they consider infidels including Christians, Jews, Hindus, etc., as well as

all Muslims who disagree with them (Mannik, 2007). Not only that, but also these terrorists also have the motivation to destroy the United States. Seeing this, the United States' efforts to eradicate terrorism are not only based on wanting to destroy Islamic militant organizations to its roots, but also destroying the ideology of radicalism.

Based on this, it is seen that overall, both the community and the United States government after 9/11 defined terrorism more as an act of terror based on the ideology of radicalism that indirectly labels Islam and the Middle East region. However, after nearly 18 years of the events of 9/11 that took place in the United States, the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States which was initially fixated on the ideology of radicalism, Islam, and the Middle East, gradually Islam has been well accepted and integrated into American society Union. The views of the United States of America began to open up and not fully emphasize terrorism in Islam. For example the case of the brutal shooting in Las Vegas by Stephen Paddock. The United States government does not refer to the shooting as an act of terror. However, this fact caused a debate

among the people of the United States who regretted that the action was not classified as an act of terror and was only classified as a criminal or psychiatric act. The United States community considers if the actions of the United States government that do not classify the shooting as terrorism because Stephen Paddock is not Muslim and is a white person. Seeing this, it can be seen that the US community does not all see terrorism as part of Islam, and this then makes it more complicated to define terrorism in the United States.

Actually, if examined in more depth the complexity in defining terrorism in the United States occurs because of the many interests of various parties including the United States government and can be said if this is the result of the construction of the United States. There is nothing wrong with the United States definition of terrorism after 9/11 which focuses on acts of terror based on ideology, Islam, and the Middle East because the United States as a superpower does have to do the definition of the threat of terrorism which is considered as a potential that can damage its security stability . However, basically in defining terrorism, the United States has a

national interest in Middle Eastern countries, both in terms of energy such as oil and gas or the application of ideology such as democracy.

Most countries in the Middle East region have not become democratic countries. Therefore, the United States must exert its influence to make countries in the Middle East a democracy because by becoming a democracy, the United States will easily control these countries. If these countries are still based on authoritarian and radical governance, it will be difficult to insert the interests of the United States because authoritarian governments tend to be hard and decisions only depend on their leaders. In addition, the Middle East region which is close to Russia and China also makes the United States afraid that the Middle East region will be interrupted by communist ideas. So the United States needs to label the ideologies of 'radicalism', 'Islam' and 'Middle East' to make these radical ideologies slowly disappear and be replaced with democracy. However, unfortunately efforts to label radical ideologies in the Middle East also helped label Islam because the majority of the population in the Middle East embraced Islam.

When attacks such as shootings carried out by US citizens are only said to be psychological, or even criminal, there are two reasons behind them. First, the sale of weapons in the United States as a state income, if the attack is said to be an act of terrorism, it is feared that no one will buy weapons and will harm state revenues. Second, if all is said to be an act of terror, then this will have an impact on the expenditure of the United States because the United States will spend a lot of money to eradicate other groups outside of Islamic militant groups. If the United States eradicates all groups in the United States, then in the United States there will be a population crisis and it is likely that many groups in the United States are protesting because they do not accept that the group is also called a terrorist group.

In addition, the attack in the form of a shooting in Las Vegas was not said to be an act of terror because Stephen Paddock did not have an ideology of radicalism. The ideology of radicalism that is commonly used by Islamic militant groups is an understanding that wants a change in the system and in this case the group usually wants a change to the caliphate

system. To make changes to the caliphate system, the terrorists ultimately targeted to destroy the United States because the United States is a superpower that rules the international system. If the United States is destroyed, the terrorists will easily realize their main goal, which is to establish a caliphate system. In this case, the United States government does not find any indication of the ideology of radicalism in the actions of Stephen Paddock and moreover Stephen Paddock is a citizen of the United States who is logically impossible to wish to destroy the United States. In other words, Stephen Paddock has no motivation or specific targets in carrying out shooting attacks in Las Vegas.

Seeing this, it seems to me that the 9/11 attacks were not really the turning point of the United States in defining terrorism, but rather the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States has been well constructed by the United States. The United States in constructing the definition of terrorism uses the constructivist theory flow in international relations. In constructivism, if the international

structure is a distribution of ideas, and countries act according to the pattern of the distribution of ideas. The 9/11 attacks on the United States became part of an international structure that was accidentally created, which was then used by the United States as an idea to create a War on Terrorism policy and distribute the idea throughout the region, including the Middle East region.

The idea was then followed by other countries by campaigning for the War on Terrorism. The idea also contains the stigma that terrorism is related to radical Islam and the Middle East. The distribution of ideas was also inserted by the interests of the United States in the Middle East. In other words, the 9/11 attacks are just the right timing to channel the interests of the United States in the Middle East under the pretext of the War on Terrorism policy and make the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States lead to radical Islam and the Middle East so that the United States wants to be impressed as a world police which will protect the world from terrorist attacks. The definition of terrorism issued by the United States will indirectly become a reference for

other countries so that the United States seems to have the support of world countries to expand into the Middle East region.

According to constructivism in international relations, believing that a country already exists by itself and is constructed by humans, namely leaders like the president. In other words, the definition of terrorism issued by the United States is also indirectly constructed by the incumbent president. First, at the time of the 9/11 attacks the United States was being led by President George W. Bush. Bush is the president of the United States from the Republican Party and usually the president who comes from the Republican Party is hard in carrying out his policies and this can be seen from the policy of war on terrorism issued by the United States. The policy implies the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States at that time indeed directed at radical Islamic networks such as Al-Qaeda and in the Middle East region.

Secondly, when the capture of Osama Bin Ladin in 2011 by the United States, at that time the United States was being led by President Barack Obama. Obama is the president of the

United States from the Democratic Party and usually the president of the Democratic Party is soft power in carrying out its policies. Although during Obama's administration, Obama continued the previous definition of terrorism, his policy was not as hard as the previous president. Finally, during President Donald Trump's administration, Trump firmly implied the definition of terrorism that labels radical Islam and the Middle East region. It's just that the target is not Al-Qaeda anymore, but ISIS. The United States during the Trump era issued Ban Islam Policy. The policy is part of the United States National Defense Doctrine which applies a 1% doctrine. This 1% doctrine is intended that if there is 1% of someone who is indicated terrorism, then the United States must act immediately (Aji Kusuma, 2018). In other words, the United States takes precedence to prevent further terrorist attacks. One of the actions is by not allowing several Islamic countries in the Middle East region to enter the United States or repatriating Islamic names. Seeing this, it is seen that from the Bush administration, Obama, until Trump there has been a relay in defining terrorism and also seen if the definition

is the result of state construction and the state is the construction of its leaders.

According to constructivism in international relations also believes that each person or country has a different view depending on what paradigm is used. Related to understanding terrorism in the United States because of the United States as a superpower that embraces the realism paradigm so that the realism paradigm makes the United States highly uphold national security and try to find as much power as possible. Therefore, by looking at the 9/11 attacks the United States felt it had to increase its national security through a policy of war on terrorism, but it still sought power by inserting interests in the Middle East so that in this case the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States referred to radical Islamic ideologies and Middle East region. Then, the paradigm is constructed through the US version of terrorism. In other words, the definition of terrorism in the context of the United States is as a transnational crime based on the ideology of radicalism and refers to the stigma of one of the religions and regions, namely 'Islam' and 'the Middle East'. The definition is like a propaganda arena for the United States

and the prospects for the future will always be like that as long as the United States still has interests in the Middle East.

Terrorism is a transnational crime committed by both individuals and organized groups. Individuals or organized groups that carry out acts of terror are called terrorists. In classifying who qualifies as a terrorist according to the context of the United States is actually seen from the three elements that I evaluated from the analysis and presentation in the previous section. First, look at the motivating background. Indeed this is very difficult to detect because we will not be fully aware of the thoughts of others. Therefore, motivation can be detected if viewed in terms of the intended target. Most terrorists carry out acts of terror by targeting individuals or groups who disagree with or do not share their ideology. In other words, ideology is the motivation for terrorists to carry out acts of terror.

Second, see the identity of the perpetrator. After an act of terror there are usually individuals or groups who claim responsibility in the terror incident. However, most of the United States considers that individual

individuals will be less likely to commit acts of terror because the United States considers terrorism to be an organized activity that should be carried out by groups that certainly contain individuals (Huff & Kertzer, 2018). In addition, the identity of the offender who also relates to religion and the region from which the offender originated. Finally, look at the type of violence terrorists use. The types of violence commonly used for acts of terror include bombing, shooting and hijacking aircraft. Based on the three elements of terrorist classification, it can be said that what is appropriate to be called a terrorist in the context of the United States is an organized group that has an ideology of radicalism, as well as carrying out acts of violence in the form of bombings targeting groups that are not of one ideology.

Thus, the complexity of the definition of terrorism in the United States occurs in the pluralism of the United States. They tend to still experience complexities in defining acts of terrorism and sometimes are often confused with criminal actions. Some people in the United States whose families were not victims of the 9/11 incident assume that terrorism is not related to religion or the Middle East

region, while some people whose families are victims of 9/11 assume that terrorism is related to ideology in the name of religion. In other words, the events of 9/11 have forever changed the landscape of US threats and US understanding of the risks of terrorism. However, in fact the United States has provided an understanding of terrorism through the Department of Defense of the United States of America. According to the Department of Defense of the United States of America, terrorism is an activity that focuses on its motives, the scope of motives from terrorism is not only in the political aspects but also in religious and ideological aspects (Hardiman, 2005, p. 38). Seeing this, it can not be denied if the understanding of terrorism in the United States refers to elements of the label of religion and ideology of radicalism.

Conclusion

Based on the explanation above, which was elaborated and evaluated with constructivist theory, it can be concluded that the construction of the United States that has interests in the Middle East and coupled with the events of 9/11 has brought the United

States to have its own understanding of terrorism as a transnational crime based on the ideology of radicalism and refers to the stigma of one of the religions and regions namely 'Islam' and 'the Middle East'. In other words, if there are criminal acts such as shootings, hostage-taking, or bombing in the United States that are not based on the ideology of radicalism, are not Muslims, and are not from the Middle East, then it is not said to be an act of terrorism. In addition, the classification of who deserves to be called a 'terrorist' in the context of the United States refers to organized groups which certainly have an ideology of radicalism, and who carry out acts of violence in the form of bombing whose targets are groups that are not of one ideology.

Quoting the statement of one of the International Relations lecturer at Paramadina University, Aji Kusuma M.Si (Aji Kusuma, 2018) who is currently conducting his dissertation in the field of security studies at Padjajaran University, said that the act of terrorism is actually not related to any religion because terrorism is an extreme ideology who attack those who have different ideologies. In a sense, acts of terrorism refer to ideology and

then associated with religion. In this case, in my opinion also actually labeling a particular religion against acts of terrorism is not an acceptable reason because no one religion teaches to kill one another, or even commit suicide. In other words, it is true that the definition of terrorism in the United States that labels 'Islam' and 'Middle East' is only part of the construction of the United States as a superpower to be able to insert the interests of the United States throughout the world, especially the Middle East region.

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