

EVIL IN NIETZSCHE AND ITS REFLECTIONS IN THE SPEECHES OF GEORGE
W. BUSH AND OSAMA bin LADEN AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
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by

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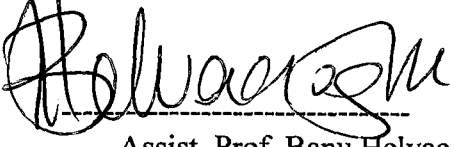
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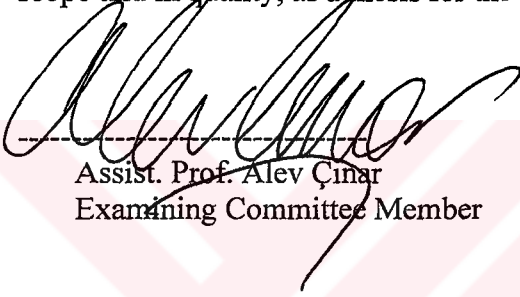
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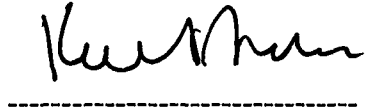
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ABSTRACT

EVIL IN NIETZSCHE AND ITS REFLECTIONS IN THE SPEECHES OF GEORGE W. BUSH AND OSAMA bin LADEN AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

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In this thesis I use Nietzsche's conception of evil and power in problematizing George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden's statements after the September 11 event. My main argument is based on Nietzsche's conceptualization of the creation of the idea of the real world. This idea of the real world is founded upon morality. I focus on a specific dimension of the conceptualization of evil which requires an incessant struggle between good and evil. Bush and Laden construct their moral wars against one another with a belief that one of them will eventually win. Following Nietzsche's framework, this thesis argues that this moral war is never going to end because this war is not meant to end, as the continuity of the war ensures the continuity of the power holders' power.

Keywords: Power, Evil, Mechanisms of Submission, Corruption of Man's Reason, Fear, Real World.

ÖZET

NIETZSCHE'DE KÖTÜ VE BUNUN GEORGE W. BUSH VE OSAMA bin LADEN'
İN 11 EYLÜL'DEN SONRAKİ DEMEÇLERİNDEKİ YANSIMALARI

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Bu tezde Nietzsche'nin kötü ve iktidar kavramlarını kullanarak George W. Bush ve Osama bin Laden'in 11 Eylül olayından sonra verdikleri demeçleri problematize ediyorum. Ana argümanım Nietzsche'ye göre ahlak üzerinden kurgulanmış olan 'gerçek dünya' fikrini problematize etmeye dayanıyor. Kötünün, iyi ve kötü arasında sürekli mücadele gerektiren belirli bir kavramsallaştırılmasına odaklanıyorum. Bush ve Laden ahlaki savaşlarını sonunda birinin kaçınılmaz olarak kazanacağı inancına dayandırıyorlar. Bu tezin argümanı, Nietzsche'nin ışığında bu ahlaki savaşın hiç bir zaman sona ermeyeceğini, çünkü bu savaşın devamının sağlanmasının aynı zamanda iktidar sahiplerinin, Bush ve Laden'in, iktidarlarının da devamını sağladığıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İktidar, Kötü, İtaat Mekanizmaları, İnsanoğlunun Mantığının Yozlaştırılması, Korku, Gerçek Dünya.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The attacks on Pentagon in Washington and the collapse of the two towers of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001 indicated that the moment of the new world order was about to come. No one knew what the new world order would be like, no one still knows what it is going to be like. As Osama bin Laden said “Those young men ... said in deeds, in New York and Washington, speeches that overshadowed all other speeches made everywhere else in the world. The speeches are understood by both Arabs and non-Arabs – even by Chinese”.¹ The collapse of the twin towers raised many political questions and indicated a transformation in power relations as a new power struggle began because a new player entered into world politics.² The attacks on NY and Washington were deeds that expressed something, that no one, not even the most talented poets, could have uttered in such a way that managed to call attention of all individuals in the world. Even though no one knew how this conflict would end, every individual, from NY to Peking, knew that the new order would be different than the existing one. Things will

¹ Laden. December 13, 2001.

http://www.cbc.ca/news/indepth/targetterrorism/backgrounders/binladen_tapes_transcript.html

² In this thesis, I am not going to examine the international political context of the September 11 incident.

be different because the power relations of the pre-9/11 period have been disrupted. Power relations have to be reorganized, and this reorganization means power struggle; whoever manages to establish his power firmer than the other, will rule.

This thesis regards George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden representations of power centers because they are the central players of this power game as their values are the ones that are claimed to be the ones that are in conflict. I problematize these central players within the context of Nietzsche's conception of power, more specifically, with reference to his conceptualization of good and evil, and morality. The reason why I chose Bush and Laden for my analysis is because, when I was listening to their speeches after September 11 trying to situate the rationale of their arguments - assuming that they were using different reasoning -, they reminded me of Nietzsche.

I analyzed the statements of Bush after September 11, and statements by Laden since 1996. September 11 is the point of departure of my analysis. That is why I start analyzing Bush's statement from this date on. However, when I was searching for statements by Laden, I came across speeches that contain claims about his intention to disrupt the existing power relations by carrying out jihad. This is why I date my analysis of Laden statements back to 1996, which is the first time he mentions carrying attacks on the U.S. On the other hand, as he was contented with the status quo, where the U.S. was standing as the only power center after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar world order, Bush had no claim on even a possibility of a political transformation.

Bush and Laden claim to operate on different goals and have different promises. Bush states his goal as protecting the principle of freedom and promises to destroy the 'terrorists', 'the evil', to guarantee a secure future for his people. Laden, on the other hand, state his goal as protecting the Holy Lands of Islam and promises a secure future for the Muslim people living in the Middle East and who have been suffering because of the actions of the 'terrorists', which in Laden's statements refer to Zionists. I argue that Nietzsche's conception of evil and its relation to his conception of power applies to both rulers' rhetoric in the same way. The way I read Nietzsche's writings and my analysis of the speeches of both Bush and Laden in light of Nietzsche revealed that both rulers make use of the instinct of survival in men, manipulate their fear of injury in the same way and utilize the corruption of man's reason to create submissive individuals by using the mechanisms of submission. Consequently, these rulers create a Myth. Although Bush and Laden use the idea of a 'real world'³ that is free from suffering and injury to motivate people, this process of creating a Myth operates in a vicious circle that is being fed by the struggle of evil against evil hence, the suffering never ends.

In Chapter 1, I am going to explain Nietzsche's search of the origins of values, especially concepts of good and evil, which have a ranking in morality. In the end of his search, he concluded that there is no fixed meaning of these values as there is no origin to them. The meaning of the values of good and evil change with regard to ever changing conditions and the source of knowledge, be it religion or Enlightenment, that defines the values. Nietzsche identifies the concepts of guilt, punishment, duty,

³ In two different translations Nietzsche, Friedrich. *Twilight of the Idols / The Anti-Christ*. Trans. R.J. Hollingdale. New York: Penguin Books, 1990 and Kaufmann, W. *The Portable Nietzsche*. New York: The Viking Press, 1968. The terms 'true' and 'real' world are used to imply the same claim. I use Hollingdale's translation, so I will be using the term 'real world'.

hostility to science, and (un)free will as tools that are used by different bodies of knowledge to construct meanings of good and evil.

Nietzsche argues that the concepts that religion and morality create are unreal as these concepts rest upon nobles' construction of an unreal world. For Nietzsche, if something is apparent, it is also real. This principle also applies to the world. According to Nietzsche (1990, p.49), the apparent world we are living in is the real world. The position of religion and morality with respect to the real world is no more than false impression because they are not referring to the apparent world when saying real world. In Chapter 3, I will argue that the real world that is constructed by religion and morality is based on a false impression of the world which is lived and experienced by people's natural instincts. The constructed real world is in contradiction with the actual world people are living in the world. Moreover, the constructed real world that the nobles propose does not exist.

Nietzsche challenges all religions and Enlightenment morality claiming that the constructions made by these sources of knowledge are not real. Moreover, the tools that enable them to make these constructions corrupt man's reason by causing them to make the four great errors. By the help of these tools, priests of religion and morality create unnatural sources for man's actions and hinder man's one and only natural instinct – the Will to Power, which is at the same time the Will to Life (instinct of survival). As it is the only natural one, instinct of survival is also the only real reason for man's actions and his only relation to the 'real' life.

The four great errors according to Nietzsche are errors of confusing cause and effect, false causality, imaginary causes, and free will. All these errors are utilized by the power holders/nobles⁴ of all sources of knowledge to create submissive individuals by the help of the tools of duty, punishment, hostility to science, (un)freewill, and the rhetoric of justice.

According to Nietzsche, the imaginary causes are the ideas of the existence of God or a higher moral order. People make the error of believing these unreal constructions as real causes, and commit the error of imaginary causes. People cannot tolerate inexplicability and want to know the cause of things, and if they cannot find a reason, they comply to the unreal construction of God. The error of false causality is believing in the existence of a causal relationship. For Nietzsche, there is no causal relationship rather it is the externalization of man's inner hostilities. That is to say, man suffers from his inner tensions but this suffering is externalized by exchanging these inner causes with external and false causes as if there is a relation between external events and his suffering.

Punishment and guilt are the main tools that are utilized by nobles when they are manipulating the error of confusion of cause and effect. By using the concepts of duty and guilt, nobles determine the conditions of reward and punishment for man; and these conditions, set by the nobles, result in the devaluation of the Will to Power in man. Error of free will rests on the assumption that man is a rational and sovereign individual who freely chooses the way to act, so he is responsible for his actions. On

⁴ I am going to use power holders and nobles interchangeably.

the contrary, Nietzsche thinks that man cannot be held responsible for his actions as there is no such thing as free will and the assumptions of free will is also false.

Power holders utilize the concept of punishment, and justice - in relation with punishment- most. As mentioned above, man's primary instinct is instinct of survival, and the nobles use the fear of injury that comes as a result of this basic instinct. Human beings are afraid of being injured, being one of them, nobles know this fear and manipulate it especially by using the tools of punishment and the rhetoric of justice. According to Nietzsche, there is no such thing as justice, for him, justice is just like good and evil; it does not exist unless there is somebody to define it.

Every center of power creates institutions of punishment – justice – with regard to their own conception of values. As there are different power centers, there are also different institutions and these institutions of punishment are in constant and ever lasting struggle. Suppose there are two sources knowledge A and B, these sources of knowledge will define two different institutions in accordance with the values that are defined differently by A and B. Institution A and institution B will be in conflict as the values that these institutions are founded upon will be in conflict. These institutions need to survive against each other because institution A is dangerous for people who live under institution B. If one type of conception of values of good and evil - one of these institutions – institution A for example, prevails or gets stronger than institution B than the people who live under institution B, including the power holders, will be injured as their 'good' will be a value that is defined as 'evil' by institution A. As a result, if they begin or made to live under institution A they will be punished because of the 'evil' element in their lives that came with the institution

B; thus they will be injured. So, sources of knowledge need power to secure their values and their lives. This implies that the concept of power functions in a twofold manner. One, power is the means to make definitions of values. Two, the institutions of punishment that leads to injury rely upon the definitions of these values. The power holders do not want people to realize their own Will to Power and make them submissive to their power because if there arises more Will to Power, all people who realized the Will to Power in themselves would make their own definitions and the power holders will have to deal with more and more values and institutions and with more possibility of injury for the power holders. In addition, powerholders/nobles who construct the meanings of the values of good and evil are aware of the permanent struggle between different sources of power and their different institutions that causes injury on who do not share the same values. Thus, they try to collect as many people as possible on their side (under their institutions) to be able survive in this struggle, and make them fight for the meanings that the power holders defined for them. However, although conceptualization of institution is important in Nietzsche, this thesis is not going to explain the implication of creating institutions in general. Instead, I am going to focus on punishment as a mechanism of submission which in Nietzsche's framework has an indirect bearing on the institution of punishment.

I explain the reasons and the importance of having and holding onto ones power in Chapter 1. This power is not an ever-lasting one rather it is fragile and sensitive to changing conditions, and need to be protected and sometimes re-established. One's power can be damaged in many ways and there are also many ways that are the signs of this damage. One of these signs is any harm that is inflicted upon a symbol of that power; this harm can be either in a form of absence of the

symbol by complete destruction of it, or by an invasion of that symbol by the opposing power's forces. In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the mechanisms that the two power centers, represented by George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden, use to (re)establish their power - by using fear - after the injury inflicted upon their power by the destruction or invasion of their power symbols (destruction of WTC for Bush and the invasion the Holy Lands in Saudi Arabia for Laden).

Bush and Laden utilize man's basic instinct of self-preservation and the fear people have in relation with this instinct. Bush and Laden use fear in men to control people and motivate them to fight against their enemy by saying that they will be fighting with their fear. To be able to do that Bush and Laden need to define the enemy that should be feared and hated – as fear and hatred are no different concept in Nietzsche- and they define this enemy as the evil one, as the cause of their fear and suffering, by using the mechanisms that corrupt man's reason (errors of: confusing cause and effect, false causality, imaginary causes, free will). Bush – the good - regards Laden as the evil one, likewise, Laden – the good - regards Bush as the 'evil one'.

In accordance with the identification of the enemy with the evil one – the source of fear -, both Bush and Laden employ three methods of manipulating and inflicting fear by the help of mechanisms of corrupting man's reason. The use of these three methods goes hand in hand with the four great errors. The first of these methods are directed to inflict and increase the fear of the good people of the ruler's own nation stressing the threat of continuation of the evil's evil actions that will cause disruption of the good's way of life. The second method is used to manipulate fear in

the international arena, and suggests that other good nations should also fear from evil and take necessary measures because they are not spared from this evil as it has a tendency to expand. The third and the last method is directed to the evil one suggesting that the evil one and who are 'For' evil, that is to say, who support evil by not fighting against it, will be punished – injured – by the good.

The error of confusing cause and effect is not directly related to the techniques used to inflict fear however, I think it is still important as it is one of the ways to direct man's reason to other causes than the real ones for his suffering. Both Bush and Laden are using God as a reason of what happened; they label God as the cause either by claiming that God is testing the people or by making the attacks possible. This thesis is not going to explain the religious elements in Bush and Laden's speeches, because analyzing religious elements in two different utterances requires problematizing Christianity and Islam which is beyond the scope of my comprehension.

The first method of manipulating fear rests on the claim that the people's 'way of life' is in danger. Bush identifies his people's way of life with the principle of freedom, and he uses the rhetoric of war to intensify the errors of false causality and imaginary causes. Human beings have an urge to know the reasons for the conditions they live in especially if they suffer (error of imaginary causes), and as people did not have a memory of an incident or degree of fear similar to that of 9/11, Bush used this opportunity of defining the event and people's feelings for them as if there existed a causal relationship in the way things operate in the world (error of false causality). Bush used the rhetoric of war to present the event as an extraordinary event –

because war times are the times that most of fear, threat and casualties happen; so war times are the times that people are most fearful - that requires extraordinary measures to be able to cope with the threat it poses. Laden claims that people's life style especially with reference to their religious beliefs is in danger. While making this claim he relies on the first method of inflicting fear on his people, however, his style is different than that of Bush's. The people whom Laden is talking to are the ones who have been witnessing the on going conflict in Palestine. Those people have a previous memory of injury, which Laden recalls in their memory by constantly reminding them of the Zionist and American threat. In way, Laden intensifies fear and hatred in people against the evil, which he primarily labels as the U.S.

The second technique that is intended to inflict fear upon other nations uses the claim that evil has a tendency to expand to other lands and threaten other 'good' people's lives and their life styles. Here again, the error of false causality and imaginary causes are in operation. In his statements Bush defines a civilized nation who carryout a way of life which has freedom as a 'shared' principle, and he warns those nations by pointing the possible threats and attacks that will be carried out by the evil. Laden, like Bush, uses the same technique, in the same way. The only difference is the 'shared' value which in Laden's usage refers to Islamic religion, whereas in Bush's case it refers to a vague notion freedom. Laden leads people to identify with the people who have been suffering in Palestine. The strategy he uses is to create a forced empathy with Palestine's fear and pain. Because, he says, they will also live through that pain. As Bush did, Laden also warns the rulers of the Arab states arguing that the U.S. will also occupy their land, as it is the case on the Holy Lands in Syria.

The last method is aimed to inflict fear on the evil one and its supporters by threatening them with punishment. The significance of this method, I think, is the way that both Bush and Laden determines the supporters of the evil that relates to their claim that there is no neutral ground in this conflict. By utilizing the error of free will, Bush and Laden holds the states responsible for the side they chose in this conflict. For Bush and Laden, these states should define their allies clearly and they have to fight actively against the enemy.

In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the methods of manipulating people's fears. I demonstrate that the instinct of survival is the basic instinct in man, thus power holders use the feeling of fear to make people act in accordance with power holders' desires. Throughout Chapter 2, I concentrate on the speeches of Bush and Laden and explain three methods of manipulating fear that I identify, which they use to (re-) establish their disrupted power. In Chapter 3, I elaborate on the question of how people's primary instinct of self preservation and their fear of injury relates to the definition of the values of good and evil – morality. Moreover, I also address the question of how Nietzsche's mechanisms of submission are employed in the construction and use of morality in making a historical error of creating a Myth.⁵ Here I use Nietzsche's contrasting concepts of myth and the real world. As in Chapter 2, in Chapter 3 I will also demonstrate how Bush and Laden follows the same path towards the Myth, where none of the promises will be fulfilled.

⁵ In Nietzsche, mechanisms of submission include punishment, justice, duty and responsibility. Although Nietzsche does not mention it, I identify patience as an additional mechanism of submission that operates in extraordinary times.

As mentioned before, fear originates from the instinct of self-preservation and is the tool that is used by the power holders to corrupt man's reason, and make them submissive. Fear operates jointly with the feeling of suffering, which according to Nietzsche, is the means of elevating the human kind – the herd – to man. On the other hand, Nietzsche argues that suffering is presented as if it is a bad thing that should be abolished from people's lives because, as Nietzsche argues, suffering elevates herd to man by activating the Will to Power in them. The nobles/power holders do not want people to be aware of their instinct of Will to Power as the only reason for his actions because in that case (in the case that people become aware of their own Will to Power) people will not submit to their institutions, values and as a result to their power.

Power holders use mechanisms of submission with respect to morality to keep people away from the 'real world' and stay away from the awareness of the Will to Power. Thus, they created a world that is obsessed with security, and organize the mechanisms of submission to operate on the basis of promises for future security and abolishment of suffering. Punishment, being one of the mechanisms of submission, does not have a fixed criteria; procedures of justice – law – changes from one definition of values to another. Concepts of duty and responsibility are as empty as punishment or evil according to Nietzsche because these concepts exist only if there is someone to define them with respect to their definition of values and morality.

As for patience, Nietzsche does not count patience as a mechanism of submission however, I think considering the way it operates, noble's demand for patience for extraordinary measures can be regarded as an additional mechanism of

submission at extraordinary times. Power holders ask people to put up with the extraordinary measures they take, and they justify this demand for patience by claiming that they need to take these measures to be able to get rid of the evil and to secure a suffering free world in the future. By extraordinary measures, I refer to Bush's usage of the term suggesting that the fight that the U.S. is carrying on is a war, a different war that requires tighter security and surveillance of people's lives to which Americans are not used to and regard as an innovation of their freedom under normal conditions.⁶ Laden, on the other hand, does not use the term extraordinary measures, however, he also refers to the ongoing struggle as a war between "Islam and the Crusaders". He states that Muslims should fight to death in such an important war.⁷ The key point here is that neither Bush nor Laden mention the time frame for this patience; they demand patience and submission to the extraordinary measures for an indefinite time, whose duration is unknown. Nietzsche (1990. p.111) claims that "Disciplining of thoughts and feelings ... in two or three generations, everything is already internalized". Considering Nietzsche's words on the time frame which the internalization takes place, I argue that patience becomes a completing mechanism that actualizes submission because the nobles demand patience for an indefinite time with the promise that they will live free from suffering in the future and the people comply with it as they fear from injury. Moreover, besides the fact that instead of a secure future what people get is extraordinary submission, the promised secure world will never come because people will fight against the evil they try to get rid of but as

⁶ Bush, September 12, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html>. See also Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>; Bush, December 21, 2003. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/12/20031221.html>.

⁷ Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisim.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm; Laden, February 12, 2003. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2751019.stm.

“Evil brings evil”⁸ they can never abolish evil and attain an evil free world so their submission and suffering will never come to an end.

Mechanisms of submission enable the power holders to make the real world a myth. Nietzsche lists six steps that explain the pattern of creating a myth. The first step is the nobles’ claim to reality that they know the universal truth. Power holders, Bush and Laden, claim to know the real world that is composed of a particular morality that is right and true for everyone, which is a secure and free world. In the second step, the nobles claim that this real world, which is secure and free on the condition that it is moral, cannot be attained at the moment as there is evil – people who comply with another morality - in this world. The nobles promise to attain this secure and free real world, furthermore, to be able to achieve this end, they require not only submission of people to their morality but also people should fight against the ones, evil, who stand as an obstacle before the fear free world.

The third step proposes that this ‘real world’ can never be achieved because of three reasons. First of all, according to Nietzsche, to be real every individual should know the real world himself, no one else can make it happen for him. Second, the end of achieving the real world cannot be promised by anyone, including the nobles, because no one’s will is free from morals so they cannot make promises. The last reason is that even if nobles claim that they have a right to make promises and require everyone to fight to attain this end, it might never be achieved because ‘evil brings evil’; when people who submit themselves to a particular morality with the

⁸ Laden. October 06, 2002.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/central/10/06/aljazeera.binladen.tape.>

expectation of a secure and an injury free world start fighting with others – the evil - , others will fight back so security will not be attained.

Fourth step suggests that as the ‘real world’ cannot be attained it is also unknown, especially to the next generations. As mentioned above, two-three generations following the time, when the extraordinary measures were taken, will be born into those extraordinary measures and will get used to that way of life as a norm. As a result they will regard the conditions normal and will have no idea of the promise made to their preceding generations so, they will follow the same path with their ancestors and submit themselves to the fight against ‘evil’.

Fifth step puts forward the idea that as the new generations will not know anything about the promise that is used to motivate people to fight against the conflicting morality, the rhetoric of the ‘real world’ is no longer useful. As it has no use any longer, the ideal of the real world can be abolished from the agenda. Last step towards the Myth is abolishing the apparent world with the real world.

In conclusion, I argue that following the utilization of man’s basic instinct of survival, power holders make use of fear to corrupt man’s reason and utilize those mechanisms to activate mechanisms of submission, and here comes the history of the error. The real world becomes a Myth, a myth of Evil and constant fear that was aimed to be abolished. In addition, both Bush and Laden, no matter how enthusiastically they argue the contrary, are not different from in each other in any respect.

CHAPTER 2

POWER AND MORALITY IN NIETZSCHE

Good and evil are two of the concepts in morality in which being good is always at the highest in rank of values. Where do all these values come from? What is the origin of these concepts? Who makes this ranking? Is this a divine order or a consequence of a higher moral order that we, humans, can never know? Although Friedrich Nietzsche was born into a family of clergy and educated, unlike his family members, he did not believe that the concepts of good and evil and their ranking originally came from God. Like his 'Enlightened' friends he did not believe that there existed a higher moral order which includes the concepts and their ranking that apply to all but known by none.

Nietzsche used genealogical analysis in his search for the origins of the concepts of good and evil. More specifically he was interested in the reasons why good is always cherished. He concludes that there is no origin of good and evil since there is no fixed body of knowledge where one can find their true meaning. Since there is no origin, the definitions of these concepts change in accordance with changes in conditions. Later, Nietzsche looks for different sources of knowledge and identifies

mainly two of them, religion and Enlightenment, as the main sources that define good and evil. He identifies concepts of punishment, guilt and (un)free will being the tools of this construction. In this paper, I shall first briefly summarize how Nietzsche arrived at the conclusion of no origin to these concepts and then elaborate on his account of the reasons and the means to the construction of the concepts of good and evil.

Nietzsche starts his investigation of the conditions under which the concepts of good and evil emerge. He uses the etymology of especially Latin and Greek, and he looks for which values are attached to certain words. The conclusion he arrives at is that the concept of good was generally related to notions of superiority like 'noble', 'high-minded', 'powerful', 'the rich', 'the masters', and the concept of bad was related to 'common', 'plebeian', and 'low-minded' (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp.11-16). However, the other side of this conclusion is that these values are not fixed, not permanent, but temporary. The values change according to which source of knowledge - be it religious or moral - are defining them. For example, Christianity attaches the notions of superiority to the concept of good, conversely, Judaism attaches the reverse values to the same concept (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.18).

Nietzsche categorizes Christianity and Judaism as sub-sources of knowledge in particular under religion; priests of any religion create the notions of good and evil, which is done by modern man in Enlightenment. That's why he also includes modern man in his conception of the 'priestly type', for they are the constructors of these

values in the Enlightenment priests are in religion.⁹ Nothing is good and evil in itself. Rather, both are constructed and subject to change with respect to change in power relations. Thus, evil does not exist unless there is someone to define it. While investigating religion as one of the source of evil, I will primarily consider his ideas mainly about Christianity and also Judaism to point out his criticisms of religion in general. Nietzsche accuses religion and its conceptions for being unreal, and this criticism applies also to Enlightenment thinking as it preserved the notion of morality, which is as unreal as religion.

Nietzsche's claims that the concepts that are created by religion and morality are unreal rest upon his four propositions regarding 'this' world envisioned by religion and morality. First, for him, reality is demonstrated by appearance only and as 'this' world is the only world that is apparent, it is also the only world that is real (Nietzsche, 1990, p.49). Second, the conceptions of the priests regarding this apparent world are nothing more than a false impression as the world that they have designed as 'real' is based on a "...non-being of nothingness – the 'real world' has been constructed out of contradiction to the actual world" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.49). Third, Nietzsche (1990, p.49) states that when a reality exists, creating another world is pointless. And fourth, he regards the efforts of the priests, whether it is the Christians or moralists like Kant, as "...only a symptom of declining life" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.49).

⁹ What Nietzsche means by 'priestly type' or 'priestly mode' is those who are by nature masters of themselves and masters of others (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.64), and who cover either their material or spiritual impotence up by defining the concepts of good and evil accordingly (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.18).

According to Nietzsche (Kaufman, 1997, p.27), the only will that is in operation, that is to say, the only will that moves people, is the Will to Power. For him the Will to Power, which is at the same time the Will to Life (Kaufman, 1997, p.31), is the only reason that makes man act. Anything else is nothing more than a false construction. Moreover, anything that suppresses the Will to Power is declining life because 'real' life incorporates Will to Power as the primary and only motive in life. However, not everyman is aware of this instinct as the priestly type distorts their vision. Thus, Nietzsche (1990, pp.53-54) is challenging morality as well as religion because he is against any unnatural being¹⁰, and morality is one of these for existing morals are contradictory to the basic instincts of life. His contestation of religion and morality grows from this basic challenge that the reason of man has been corrupted by religion and morality by making 'four great errors'.

The first of these great errors is the error of confusing cause and effect. "Every religion and morality is: 'do this, refrain from this, and you will be happy [or at least not punished]'" (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.57-58). Man's reason is directed to false causes like God or a universal moral order. It is established that people think that if they do something said to be good by God they will be happy, or if they do something that is forbidden by divine law, they will be punished. However, for Nietzsche, the only cause is the Will to Power, but the priestly type creates causes other than this instinct to prevent people recognizing the Will to Power in themselves and challenging their Power.

¹⁰ Instincts of life are natural according to Nietzsche, and anything that does not include these is unnatural.

The second error is the error of false causality, which is the illusion that people are made to believe that there always exists causality (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.59-60). Each time they act out of their instincts, they are made to think of a causal relationship, as they are taught to want to know the cause for that act.

The error of imaginary causes is the third great error according to Nietzsche. It is that "...the ideas engendered by a certain condition have been misunderstood as the cause of that condition" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.60). This is related to the error of false causality. As men want to have a reason for feeling or acting as they do, they rely on previously defined causes. When one acts in a certain way, "The memory, calls up earlier states of similar kind and the causal interpretations which have grown out of them – not their causality... that something already known, experienced, inscribed in memory is posited as cause is the first consequence of this need" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.62).

The fourth error is the error of free will, which is created to make man accountable to the priests and their judgment and punishment. "Being in this or that state is traced back to will, to intentions, to accountable acts: the doctrine of will has been invented essentially for the purpose of punishment, that is of finding guilty" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.63). Men are assumed to be 'free' so that they can become guilty and punished as a result of their actions. Nietzsche (1990, p.64) argues, on the contrary, that no one can be accountable for any of their actions, as they act out of their instincts that are not "given" to them either by a God or a moral order.

According to Nietzsche, the priests of all sources of knowledge commit these four great errors in order to be able to create submissive individuals.¹¹ In the following pages I will give examples from different sources of knowledge to illustrate how the priests commit these errors. However, although every one of these four errors can be seen in Judaism, Christianity and Enlightenment morality, I will be selective while exemplifying them and discuss only one or few of the errors in each source of knowledge.

Nietzsche accuses Judaism for creating a faith that externalized people's inner tensions – the Will to Power. Jews related everything to a god, a divinity, and an unreality, which, in fact, are a 'decadence' (corruption) of man (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.144-145). They interpreted the real causal relationship as a means of creating a 'moral world order'. They used conscience to construct morality that is the transformation of "the expression of the conditions of life" to "an antithesis of life" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.146). To satisfy their desire for power, the priests risked decadence of man by creating God and faith to God, which according to Nietzsche (1969, p.110), is an assumption that is unthinkable because if God were to be a truth, it should be thinkable and felt by man, but the conception of an all-good God is fulfilling neither of these requirements. Hence, God and the moral order constructed by using him is not really true; it is only a tool for the justification of the Jewish priests' conception of morality and conception of good and evil (Nietzsche, 1990, p.133).

¹¹ Actually these are not the errors of the priests, rather they use these means to cause men to err.

Nietzsche's main criticism of the Christian conception of God is because this conception entails an imaginary cause. According to him "...god must be able to be both useful and harmful, both friend and foe" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.136). The Christian God is only good, but Nietzsche (Nietzsche, 1990, p.136) argues that he cannot be only a good God because, to make forgetful mankind remember him, he must cause pain because only pain makes remembering possible. As nothing can be something in itself, God is also not an exception; he is not good in himself, so he does not exist (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.172-173).

In Christianity, the reason for suffering is related to the error of causality. Although a person's suffering is actually because of his self 'inner tensions', his being weak and impotent, this reason is externalized, and the blame is put on the powerful ones by defining them as 'barbaric', evil, so that they – the weak, the impotent - become the good ones, better, higher than the barbarians (Nietzsche, 1990, p.143). For Christians, externalization of their inner pain under the name of 'sin' is something respectable because, to their mind, they are suffering because of an enemy - the barbarian-, the powerful ones - the enemy -, are committing sin against God, and as their pain is caused by this enemy, suffering is not bad but respectable (Nietzsche, 1990, p.142). Arguing that as this kind of respectable suffering is not true, Nietzsche (1990, p.143) claims that the only way for someone to believe in this is faith, having a firm belief in something for which there is no proof; it is the only way for man to give up questioning and just believe, faith justifies suffering for them.

Nietzsche (1990, p.172) defines the real world as "spirit, virility and pride, beauty and freedom of the world" which are defined as evil and prohibited in

Christianity. Thus, he states that morality "...is a lie" because morality consists of values, which, for him, are harmful for the reason that "...whom ever hates, whatever he hates, that has value" and Christianity is harmful as it is "...a criterion of values" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.172).

The implication of the error of confusion of cause and effect was that it enabled the priests to claim for non-resistance: as if people had strength to resist, the priests called for not expressing it. Here, Nietzsche's concern with the psychology of the redeemer is observed. Jesus, for example, was wrongly called a hero when he was crying for not resisting; he was appreciating non-resistance of people who were already incapable of resisting. This, for Nietzsche (1990, p.151), is where a new morality appears: "incapacity for resistance here becomes morality". Redemption is not real for as long as it refers to something unknown or impossible to reach – God – that cannot be redeeming, or obligating (Nietzsche, 1990, p.50). The idea of redemption was invented by Christian priests based upon two psychological conditions. The first is their 'hatred of reality'. Instead of accepting the reality that they are incapable of resisting, they give the name 'morality' to unnatural conditions. The second is the externalization of man's inner hostilities; as if their inner tensions are caused by outside forces, they called for "no longer resistance to anybody, including evil", which is against the instinct of self preservation (Nietzsche, 1990, p.152).

According to Nietzsche this call for non-resistance was to endure the priests' power. Christian priests defined reward and punishment in relation to the conception of God in order to be able to make people obey their will in the name of God's will.

They ensured preservation of their power by determining the values of things (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.147-148). And, by 'devaluing' the Will to Power by defining it as evil and by not letting people live free from morality and its values, they in fact preserved their own power. In Nietzsche's (1990, p.146) words, "The new conception of him [God] becomes an instrument in the hands of priestly agitators, who henceforth interpret all good fortune as a reward, all misfortune as punishment for disobedience of God, as 'sin'". That is to say, they protected their power from being challenged, by labeling others' desire for power, or to challenge their authority, as sin.

Nietzsche criticizes popular morality's distinguishing of the expression of strength from strength itself. According to him, this is confusion of cause and effect, and as noted above, causes corruption of reason. In his words, "there is no being behind doing" (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.29). That is to say, if one has strength, he expresses it, he makes some action to show his strength. When someone has strength he makes rules with that power. No one wants strength just for its own sake; it has some aim which is to set rules for punishment. Nietzsche gives examples to show that this has been so throughout history; he noticed that the ones once being oppressed later became the strong ones so the definition of good and evil changed. That is, the definition is dynamic not static: when the sources of knowledge change status, the values, definition of good and evil also change (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp.34-36).

To Nietzsche, idealists of the Enlightenment, modern man, are not different from theological priests because they too use morality and concepts of morality and make the same four errors. Nietzsche (1990, p.160) blames enlightenment thinkers for continuing to be Christian, and for him, preserving Christian values is a disgrace for

modern man as he continues to stick with morality and the priestly conceptions of good and evil knowing the aims they are serving.

An example to preservation of priestly values by modern man is the moral concept of duty. The case of duty is no different than other moral concepts: it was created by Christian priests with reference to Jesus' sacrifice of his life. Descendants of Jesus should pay their dues to him by fulfilling their duty of doing what he asked for, be good and not resist. Moralists took the same concept and change it to man's having a duty in general. Nietzsche opposes this idea of duty as proposed by the moralists because, according to him, everyone has a duty to fulfill and that is acting in accordance with one's instincts. The idea of having a duty in general contradicts with Nietzsche's understanding of duty that is following instincts. Utilizing the concept of duty, enlightenment morality demands man to act on an impersonal duty that is imposed upon him and that is harmful to man, as it does not have any relation with his instincts (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.131-132, 184).

Likewise, Nietzsche directs his criticism of enlightenment thinking to their presupposition of the existence of –memory of- free will. For him, enlightenment thinkers' understanding of responsibility originates from their presumption that a man is calculable, regular, and necessary, and secures his own future.¹² On the other hand, this memory of will presupposes an individual to be a sovereign individual, who, in accordance with his will, freely distinguishes between events, calculates them and act accordingly, and takes the responsibility of it. Whereas, Nietzsche argues that this is the error of free will. There is no such thing as free will. Responsibility, being the

¹² Nietzsche as well thinks that man has these characteristics however he is critical of the conclusion that enlightenment thinkers derive from here.

'right to make promises' -to act upon ones desires- is not free because this responsibility is not free from morals (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp. 39-40). Will is not free, our actions are not free even they were calculated, and this is where bad conscience derives from. And as it is implemented externally, and hence unnatural, there is no such thing as bad conscience according to Nietzsche. The feeling of guilt – bad conscience - is external to man's nature as well as conscience is because, although these are concepts of legal sphere, they derive from morality which is something constructed and not existing in itself (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp.43-44).

The building blocks that facilitated the formation of morality, values, and priestly conceptions of these in Nietzsche's thinking are punishment and guilt¹³. All sources of knowledge define evil in terms of injury. Priests define evil as any condition where there is a possibility of injury. Nietzsche (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp.39-40) claims that a man equally needs two contradictory faculties, one being forgetting, the other being memory. Memory does not come into being as natural as forgetting. Pain is the means to create memory. Making something never forgettable for someone is only possible by making him suffer and feel pain (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.41). Pain became the basis for the construction of conscience as well. Making someone suffer both mentally and physically via punishment is the method for creating a place in memory for something that a power holder wants to be placed in people's permanent memory.

¹³ Guilt derives both from man's inner tensions – bad conscience - and it is inflicted upon him externally by punishment.

Nietzsche states that man is not moral until he submits himself to morality as a source of knowledge. Nobles¹⁴ are the ones who make laws appropriate to their definition of good, and to place these values in permanent memory what they do is to punish people, cause pain and injury in them, so that these values, together with pain, are not forgotten. This is how the priests corrupt reason; they establish the concept of a 'moral world-order' by using the four errors and 'encourage' people to submit to it by placing these values in permanent memory with the help of 'punishment' and 'guilt'.

The purpose of punishment is to revitalize the guilty feeling¹⁵ of a man. However, being formed by the powerful and directed to serve their own goals, punishment increases fear; it "...tames men but [does] not make them better" (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.60). Punishment has two aspects according to Nietzsche, one is its being a custom, the existing procedures, and other is its meaning, why it is used. The procedure of punishing has always existed but its meaning constantly changes (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.57). To him, it is like the values good and evil: whoever is in power uses the procedures of punishment in a way that serves their goal, which is to punish evil as they define it. It is not for the sake of justice, because, as Nietzsche argues, there is no such thing as justice.

Justice, according to Nietzsche (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp.49-50), is making an arrangement between parties that are equal in power and obliging others who are lesser in power to reach an agreement among themselves. The one who fails to compromise with the others or fails to fulfill the requirements of that agreement faces

¹⁴ The ones who are in power and construct the meanings of values at the time of their rule.

¹⁵ Resentment men call guilty feeling bad conscience (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.53).

punishment and loses the right to be protected by society. Consequently, fear of injury, which will be the case without the protection of society, causes people to obey society's rules as set by the powerful.

Earthly law is a struggle of the nobles against resentment men's revenge, to disable the ones who want to punish the wrongdoer excessively, to protect the wrongdoer against the powerful community who has power to impose punishment. Wherever there is justice of resentment man¹⁶, there is a higher understanding of justice of the powerful ones that prevents the guilty one from being revenged. This higher law is the law of the powerful, so justice, like good and evil, is a concept constructed according to the powerful ones' conceptions of values. As Nietzsche (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.55) puts it, "...‘just’ and ‘unjust’ exist, accordingly, only after the institution of the law"; that is to say, the one who sets the institution, the procedure, also creates the law, the meaning.

Being a tool for memory, punishment uses the tool of pain to make things unforgettable, and the powerful ones use this tool to make their values unforgettable. Bad conscience presupposes that states were formed by 'acts of violence'; this was a product of the "creation and imposition of forms". For Nietzsche (1969, p.75), priests are destroyers of life "...who set snares for many and call it the state: they hang a sword and a hundred desires over them". The priests, the powerful ones, created moral values that do not belong to men in 'reality' and disassociated his wild instincts from his nature (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.63). Moreover, they created institutions out of these values and trapped man in these institutions. "Confusion of the language of

¹⁶ Nietzsche thinks that when they talk about justice, men of resentment are in fact asking for revenge (Nietzsche, 1969, p.162).

good and evil; I offer you this as the sign of the state” (Nietzsche, 1969, p.76). The state, the church, or any other institution utilizes the concepts of good and evil – the language of morality - in favor of establishing their power.¹⁷

By nature masters, nobles, at first constructed these forms without any relation to guilt, responsibility, or bad conscience. However, these forms were constructed because of nobles, their Will to Power enabled them to create and impose meanings, forms, and values upon other men. This was because of a natural master’s power and his craving to overcome himself. His struggle against himself became a struggle of one man versus other men and he imposed these meanings, forms, and values on others to stay powerful (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.64). He needed to impose these on other men because otherwise the others’ forms would be imposed upon him, so he wouldn’t be powerful any longer and free from punishment of others, so being free from injury is related to who is powerful and whose meanings and forms are set in society.

Nietzsche (Kaufman, 1997, p.27) supposes in accordance with his four propositions that only our passions and desires, namely sensual pleasure, hunger, and selfishness, are given but nothing else. The Will to Power being the essence of life, “...fear is mother of all morals” (Kaufman, 1997, p.67), he who fears to be injured is weak. To escape from the feeling of guilt and punishment nobles want power so that when they become powerful and their values will be good. The values which are bad according to the definitions of those in power will be transformed into good and

¹⁷ “Liberal institutions...cease to be liberal as soon as they are attained” (Nietzsche, 1990, p.102). As soon as a principle is established in form of an institution then it starts serving not to its premises but to the priests, the ones who establish it. Because, priests establish it not for the good of people, but to strengthen their rule through that institution.

liberate the weak from repression. Nietzsche (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, pp.28-29) argues that when one demands strength it is because one is weak: demanding strength is a sign of weakness, it is accepting that you are weak and need strength.

Power is the means to make laws. Whoever has power makes laws in accordance with their own definition of values, and this causes injury in others because their conceptions of values, mainly good and evil, are different from the others'. The weak ones suffer from punishments that are created according to the powerful ones' conceptions of moral rules. Hence, the weak ones want to acquire power to implement their own moral norms as well as the legal rules in order to be liberated from the injury of punishments in a case of overruling laws, and the way to achieve this is by being powerful.

The nobles, the powerful ones, also want power for the same reason – out of fear of injury. They want to maintain their existing domination so as not to be subject to the currently weak ones' punishments, whose moral rules, if implemented, will cause injury on them. Priests, who use the four great errors, thus have “fear of truth” (Kaufman, 1997, p.42) that there is no causal relationship, as it will destroy their power. Hence, they institutionalize their values and create fear of injury in the minds of other men and thereby make them subject to morality. Thus, they impose concepts like punishment, duty, and guilt, on weaker ones and define the will to power as evil, a condition that should be punished by using the fear of injury to hinder the will to power of weak ones and to immobilize their desire to acquire power.

CHAPTER 3

HOW FEAR DEFINES EVIL AGAINST EVIL: GEORGE W.

BUSH vs. OSAMA bin LADEN

George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden are in a power struggle. They use all or one of the methods of corrupting man's reason by using strategies that cause them to make the four great errors of confusing cause and effect, false causality, imaginary causes or free will to win this struggle. The most successful strategy is to manipulate the basic instinct in man that is the instinct of survival that relates to fear. Bush and Laden manipulate and utilize fear by three methods. First, they inflict fear of being dismissed from the power struggle if the rules are made by the other player. Second, refer to the previous conditions or future possible encounters when Bush's side might have harmed Laden's side or vice versa. The two power holders use these examples to demonstrate each others' destructive capacity. They try to inflict fear on men to mobilize them to engage in a war against this possible destruction. Third, Bush and Laden try to increase mobilization on their side by simply threatening states which might choose 'the wrong side'. However, if one wants to be one *the only player in town*, it is recommended that they use all the mechanisms.

The most powerful men have always inspired the architects ... Pride, victory over weight and gravity, the will to power, seek to render themselves visible in a building; architecture is a kind of rhetoric power, now persuasive, even cajoling in form, now bluntly imperious. The highest feeling of power and security finds expression in that which possesses grand style. Power which no longer requires proving ... which is conscious of no witnesses around it; which lives oblivious of the existence of any opposition ... fatalistic, a law among laws: that is what speaks of itself in the form of grand style (Nietzsche, 1990, p.84).

Obliviousness of the existence of any opposition is proof of power and architecture is the physical symbol of this obliviousness. On the other hand, the existence of an opposition represents the rupture of that power. Similarly, an opposition demonstrated over physical entities symbolizes that the power has fallen apart. The opposition can be represented by absence as well as presence. Absence of a physical entity that should be occupying a physical place is an undeniable activator of consciousness and makes it aware of an opposition. Words echo in one's mind: It should be there (there should be something in this void), it is absent, so there is something missing: the power to enable the existence of the 'grand style'. Likewise, the physical existence of an entity that has no place in a certain space represents an awareness of opposition in consciousness. It is there (there should be nothing occupying that space), there is something, so there is something missing: the power to ensure the absence of any being in that space. In the second case the echoing words are different but they end up asking the same thing: Are we powerful? Because now, the conscious is aware of an opposition; power is no longer de facto.

The Twin Towers were a 'grand style'. It was a standing proof of the power of the U.S. It never symbolized freedom before the attacks as George W. Bush said in his very first statement after the attacks on September 11: "Freedom itself was

attacked this morning”.¹⁸ With the Twin Towers gone, so was the rhetoric of power and it was replaced by the rhetoric of freedom. A total void is unbearable as it meant total loss – of power – so it was replaced with the rhetoric of freedom as if the towers had always represented freedom. The image of the destruction of freedom is better than an image of the destruction of power, because a power holder without power cannot motivate his people with no claim, however, is he persuades his people that a principle, namely freedom, that they believe in is under threat than it is more probable that he manages to motivate people on his side. After the attacks a new tower was designed immediately to fill the void, ‘The Tower of Freedom’. Freedom was emphasized as absent; the expression of rebuilding a tower of freedom implied that the buildings once standing there had also been symbolizing freedom.

Osama Bin Laden, the ‘prime suspect’ of the attacks, warned the U.S. citizens long before the attacks constantly to “elect governments that are truly representative of them and that can protect their interests”¹⁹ if they wished to live free of harm on their own lands. The event that took place on September 11 did not come without warning. Why then were these threats not taken into account? Because, these were threats against the U.S. citizen’s freedom to live without being harmed, and these threats were regarded as being impossible to realize as the U.S. was powerful and its power no longer required proving. As Americans never imagined that their power could ever be challenged, they never listened to the threats, but were shocked when they were “struck ... in one of its vital organs, so that its [America’s] greatest buildings are destroyed”.²⁰

¹⁸ Bush, September 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-1.html>.

¹⁹ Laden, May, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/pbsfrontline05-1998.cfm>.

²⁰ Laden, October 7, 2001. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/binladen10-07-01a.htm>.

Laden's threats were made against the U.S.'s freedom but the attacks were directed against its power. May be it was Laden who demonstrated this fact more clearly "... other events that took place, bigger, greater and more dangerous than the collapse of the towers ... The immense materialistic towers were destroyed, which preach Freedom, Human Rights, and Equality".²¹ The towers represented freedom also for Laden among other things. These principles are the foundation of the legitimacy of the power of the U.S. and contrary to Bush's statement, the foundation of the power of the U.S. was touched upon.

As discussed before, presence can also be a proof of the existence of opposition to power and can activate consciousness to acknowledge of an opposition. The physical existence of the American forces on the Holy Lands²² was the cause of the awareness of opposition in bin Laden's and many Arabs' consciousness to the power of God. Laden talks about the 'massacres' of Muslim people on that land and their suffering under the 'Zionist Crusaders', but for him "The greatest of these aggressions ... is the occupation of the land of the two Holy Places – the foundation of the house of Islam, the place of the Revelation, the source of the message and the place of the noble Ka'ba, the Qiblah of all Muslims is by the armies of the American Crusaders and their allies".²³

For Laden, the 'grand style' is the land itself, "God ... attributed this Holy Ka'aba...to himself as a sign of glorification and honor for the Holy Ka'aba".²⁴ The lands were not destroyed physically. Rather, the destruction is the destruction of their

²¹ Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm.

²² Laden refers to Syria, Jerusalem, and the Al Aqsa Mosque.

²³ Laden, August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>.

²⁴ Laden, January, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>.

symbolic meaning – of power. The lands are under control of the ‘Zionists’²⁵, so they destroy the image of being ‘oblivious of the existence of any opposition’ just by being there. The troops are physically on the land but the physical invasion of the land represents the symbolic invasion of its meaning; the absence of power. A physical existence of a power other than the ones than the ‘legitimate’ rulers means that the ‘legitimate’ rulers lack power.

The challenge to the power of the Holy Lands is not just because of the existence of U.S. troops there, but this challenge is also intensified by the cooperation of the governments of the lands with the troops; they are cooperating with the challenge to power. For Laden these governments, instead of opposing this presence and challenge to power, cooperate with it and damage the power of the Lands further. This damage is illustrated by bin Laden as follows: the decisions that the U.S. makes harm the people of the Middle East, and the governments that are supposed to protect their citizens from suffering do not fulfill this duty, so their power is no longer legitimate according to Laden.²⁶ In addition, they also lose their legitimacy because, according to Laden, Islamic principles should rule the Holy Lands, but the governments on those lands put ‘man made laws’ before God’s laws so his power is not only challenged but literally negated; “Man fabricated laws were put forward permitting what has been forbidden by Allah such as usury and other matters ... All this took place at the vicinity of the Holy Mosque in the Holy Land ... As the extend of these infringements reached the highest levels and turned into demolishing forces threatening the very existence of the Islamic principles”.²⁷

²⁵ When Laden says ‘Zionists’ he refers to Israel, and all allies of it, especially the United States.

²⁶ Laden, August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>

²⁷ Laden, August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>

Laden is calling for end of the 'occupation'²⁸ of the Holy Lands as it would mean ending opposition to the power of God-made laws. Occupation of the Holy Lands for Laden is what 'attack on freedom' is for Bush. Laden says Muslims' lives would be meaningless if they do not "worship God of the Ancient House".²⁹ That is why Laden is "calling on the Nation"³⁰ to carry on jihad aimed at liberating Islamic holy sites, and the Ancient House, and Al-Aksa Mosque and all Islamic lands".³¹ Bush, for the very same reason, is calling on the nations that enjoy freedom to actively fight terror.³² However, only calling for a fight against the 'Evil' that challenges their power is not sufficient. Bush and Laden have to rationalize the call and ensure an affirmative response to it. This rationalization is done through using fear, that is, 'the mother of all morals' (Kaufman, 1997, p.67).

Nietzsche would call this rationalization the 'corruption of man's reason', which according to him, is committed by the rulers³³ through using religion and morality. The first of these great errors that caused the corruption of reason in man is the error of confusing cause and effect. The only cause for Nietzsche (1990, pp.57-58) is Will to Power, but man's reason is directed to false causes like God or a universal moral order. That is to say, when something bad or good happens, people are made to believe that it comes from a divine being and if they oppose this higher order they will be punished. The second is the error of false causality, which is the illusion that people are made to believe that there always exists causality (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.59-60). Each time they act out of their instincts, or something that affects their lives

²⁸ Both physical withdrawal of the U.S. troops and putting an end to rule of civil laws.

²⁹ Laden, January, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>.

³⁰ He refers to the Arab Nation when saying nation.

³¹ Laden, January, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>.

³² Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

³³ The ones who are in power: 'priests' in Nietzsche's language.

happens, people want to know the cause for that, and search for a cause, and act as if there is a causal relationship.

The error of imaginary causes is the third great error according to Nietzsche. It occurs when "... the ideas engendered by a certain condition have been misunderstood as the cause of that condition" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.60). This error is related to the error of false causality; when man acts or feels in a certain way, as he is craving to know the reason of it, he turns to his memory and looks for similar situations. He relates his current feeling to a previous condition and he relies on previously defined causes to find a reason for the existing condition. To put this in Nietzsche's (1990, p.62) words, when one acts in a certain way, "The memory, calls up earlier states of similar kind and the causal interpretations which have grown out of them – not their causality... that something already known, experienced, inscribed in memory is posited as cause is the first consequence of this need".

The fourth error is the error of free will that is created to make man accountable to the rulers and their judgment and punishment. "Being in this or that state is traced back to will, to intentions, to accountable acts: the doctrine of will has been invented essentially for the purpose of punishment, that is of finding guilty" (Nietzsche, 1990, p.63). Men are assumed to be 'free' so that they can become guilty and punished as a result of their actions. Nietzsche (1990, p.64), however, argues that no one can be accountable for any of his actions as he acts out of his instincts and those are not 'given' to him either by a God or a moral order.

The rulers who are in control of the present, the power holders, use these four great errors as a means to cause men to err, as a result of which they become capable of creating submissive individuals to secure their power and guarantee its obliviousness of any opposition; as Zizek (1994, p.41) puts it, “Since the subjects conduct is wholly determined by seeking the maximum of pleasure and the minimum of pain, it would be possible to govern the subject, to predict his or her steps, by controlling the external conditions which influence his/her decisions”. The mechanisms that enable the creation of submissive individuals will be elaborated on more in the subsequent chapter. However, here, I will concentrate on the mechanisms that prepare the fertile ground for the creation of submissive individuals; that is to say, the mechanisms that make people commit these errors and make submission possible.

Manipulating fear is the most important tool for realizing this corruption. Controlling, manipulating and inflicting fear is an essential component in the corruption of reason of man because fear is the primary and most fundamental sensation of man (Nietzsche, 1969, p.312). Fear, according to Nietzsche (Kaufman, 1997, p.96), is the “cruel wild beast”. “the mastering of which constitutes the very pride of these human ages”. I identified three different ways that both Bush and bin Laden employ to manipulate fear. However, before taking the argument on the ways of using fear as a mechanism to corrupt men’s reason further, it is important to note the relationship between fear and hatred.³⁴ Instinct of survival makes fear the basic instinct of men. Men try to minimize pain in accordance with the instinct of survival. I argue that, hatred is interrelated with fear. Because, man hates whatever causes pain or suffering in him, at the same time, man also fears whatever causes suffering in him.

³⁴ As will be argued later, bin Laden uses hatred more than fear, but they are interrelated.

As he does not want to feel pain and distress, man hates to fear and, relatedly, he hates whatever causes him fear. Thus, men hate whatever causes him to fear.

Bush and Laden both follow the same path while enacting and making use of fear, and their agent to carry out this task is the 'Evil One'. There is an 'Evil' that is feared - and hated. The power holders define why evil should be feared, why it is dangerous, what threats it poses, and what kinds of suffering it can cause. In the following pages I will first lay out the three different ways that might be used to enact and manipulate fear, and then I will demonstrate that these methods can be found in Bush's and Laden's statements. In the meantime I will also relate these methods to Nietzsche's conception of corruption of man's reason by showing how these statements include the four errors. However, although each of these four errors can be seen in the statements of Bush and Laden, I will be selective while exemplifying them in three ways of inflicting fear and try to identify the ones that are most self explanatory.

As I have discussed already, fear is inflicted upon people in three ways. Two of them are directed to *the good*, emphasizing that people should fear evil, whereas the third one is directed against the 'Evil' one, saying that the evil one should fear them. The first mechanism is that fear that is inflicted upon power holders' own people emphasizes the threat of the continuation of *evil* and the continuation of death as a result of *evil* actions, and as a result this would be end of the *goods*' 'way of life'. The second comprises also other nations, other good people than their own people, and suggests that there is a threat of the expansion of *evil* to other lands and other *good* people, so *good* nations should also fear evil as casualties many expand to their

lands. The last way says: *evil* should fear the *good*; that is to say, *evil* and the ones who are “For” *evil* should fear the ‘justice’ that *good* ones are going to distribute – they will be punished by the *good*.³⁵ Here, if we exchange the word *evil* for *bin Laden*, or *terrorists*, then we will understand it is Bush who is speaking the words; on the other hand, if we exchange the word *evil* for *Bush*, or *terrorists*, then it becomes Laden’s words.

The first great error is not directly related to the ways of inflicting fear. However, I think it is worth noting here. “An emotional attitude towards a power, called God, is kept constantly alive” (Nietzsche, 1990, p.141); this was the first reaction of Bush and Laden to the attacks, although in different ways. Bush said: “The resolve of our great nation is being tested”³⁶, and he was referring to the Supreme Being – God -, who blessed America, was now testing its resolve. The first great error, the error of confusing cause and effect started to be committed right from the start by attributing this event to a divine plan of divine being. The error of confusing cause and effect is not only related to God but also to a moral world order; that is to say, based on the assumption that there is a moral world order brings about the conclusion that everybody should follow that moral order, which in our case, is civilization. Bush emphasizes the requirements of being a civilized nation and calls on other nations to follow these requirements which means following its basic principles - one of which is freedom - and protecting them: “Nations that enjoy freedom must actively fight terror”.³⁷

³⁵ Concept of punishment and it’s relation to fear – evil – submission will be elaborated on more in Chapter 3.

³⁶ Bush, September 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-1.html>.

³⁷ Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

Laden uses the same mechanism to cause men to err about cause and effect but in the reverse way. For him, the attack on America was made possible by God; this time, it is not a test by God, a test to measure the Americans' capacity to overcome it. Rather, it happened because God wanted it to happen. "America was hit by God in one of its softest spots"³⁸, "it is not because of our skill ... but thanks to God it was possible"³⁹. The events had nothing to do with any capacity or 'skill' of man as he does not have the capacity to make it happen if God did not want it to happen. Moreover, Laden repeatedly uses verses from the Koran to affirm his actions. He says what they are doing is dictated by the Koran; these are the orders of God, so their duty is to carry these orders out, "the enmity is based on creed".⁴⁰

If we return to the three ways of using fear and start with Bush's rhetoric for the first one, it goes like this: if we do not do something to stop terror, it will cause the end of *our* way of life – freedom - with continuous terrorist – evil - actions, and more casualty will follow. "Our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of ... terrorist acts".⁴¹ Starting with this statement Bush identifies freedom with the way of life of American citizens, "These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life".⁴² It is where the identification of the Twin Towers with freedom instead of power is observed. He notes the importance of defending their freedom – their way of life – by implying that there is a serious, frightening threat to their freedom, that people should fear from loosing their freedom and thus they should defend it.

³⁸ Laden, October 7, 2001. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/binladen10-07-01a.htm>.

³⁹ Laden, April 15, 2002. <http://www.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/04/15/terror.tape>.

⁴⁰ Laden, November 3, 2002.

<http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/oocwatun.cfm>.

⁴¹ Bush, September 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-1.html>.

⁴² Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

After mentioning the threat to their freedom Bush goes on to say: "Today our nation saw evil".⁴³ I interpret this statement as another way of saying: you saw evil today, get ready face fear (you are not used to threat; this is the first time there is a threat that you should fear). People are also informed about the nature of the threat as life threatening as well as perpetual. The people are warned about the continuity of fear on the first day by Bush when he alerted the people about the possibility of further attacks.⁴⁴ The level of fear together with threat was increased to its highest level when Bush labeled the attacks as acts of war.⁴⁵

War is usually an open and declared armed hostile conflict between states. On the second day after the attacks on the World Trade Center even if nobody knew which terrorist organization carried out these attacks, it became clear that this was not a declaration of war of any state against the U.S. Nevertheless, the event was labeled an act of war. Why would Bush categorize it as war? Fear of losing one's life and one's way of life is at its peak in war times and this is used in two interrelated ways. Using the categorization of the event as war is related to Nietzsche's second and third great errors. The people's need to know the cause of an event, as if there is causality,⁴⁶ triggers the third error which is the error of imaginary causes.

As argued earlier, man turns to his memory to find similar feelings and similar events to those that caused his present feeling of suffering and try to give meaning to

⁴³ Bush, September 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-1.html>.

⁴⁴ Bush, September 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-1.html>. See also Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

⁴⁵ Bush, September 12, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html>. See also Bush, September 13, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010913-7.html>; Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>; Bush, October 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-7.html>.

⁴⁶ Second error: error of false causality.

it. However, in the case of September 11, no such attack had been experienced before. As Bush puts it, “Americans have known casualties of war ... surprise attacks - but never before on thousands of civilians ... a night fell on a different world...where freedom itself is under attack”.⁴⁷ This event had no similarities with any previous events both in type and its destructiveness. Thus, no matter how deep or back they looked, people could not find a similar condition to identify as an imaginary cause. This lack of comparable previous experience created a great opportunity for nobles to create imaginary causes for people instead of people. Bush made use of this opportunity and he “look[ed] forward to the opportunity to explaining to the American people who it is and who would do this to our great country, and why”.⁴⁸ As he could not find an earlier state of mind stored in the collective memory, he defined this event as a “new kind of evil...a new kind of war”.⁴⁹ This attack was a fearful event. However, as this kind of event had not been experienced before, it becomes an opportunity to define both the event and the degree of fear that should be felt. People could have found a different imaginary cause, and/or they could have found the ‘reality’ that there is no causality if their consciousness was not interrupted by a definition made before their own search ended. Nietzsche (1990, p.174) claims “[power holder] ... invents distress ... distress does not allow man to think”, Bush and Laden increase distress by manipulating fear. They corrupt man’s reason by using fear and prevent them to think for themselves and realize that the cause that is proposed to them as ‘real’ is, in fact, a falsification of reality. So, there is the possibility that the fear that they are faced with is greater than the fear they would have felt if left alone, because by constant revitalization of intense fear, people are never allowed to overcome the first shock. By calling the event a ‘new kind of war’,

⁴⁷ Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁴⁸ Bush, September 16, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>.

⁴⁹ Bush, September 16, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>.

Bush from the beginning, takes control of the memory of people and causes them to identify with the worst feeling they could ever find in their memory, which is war, when there is constant threat to their life and way of life.

A different – but definitely related - way of using the category of war is that because war times are extraordinary times and require extraordinary measures, the power holders are given the legitimate power to take these extraordinary measures without questioning in order to get rid of the intense and disturbing feeling of fear. Although I will elaborate on this issue more in the following chapter (because it relates to submission), for the sake of integrity of the argument of this chapter, it is helpful to note it here. Faced with terrorists whose goal is “remaking the world – and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere”⁵⁰, any measure is legitimized, as what is at stake is people’s way of life: “our freedoms – our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and disagree with each other”.⁵¹ Related to this argument, another issue that will be considered in the following chapter is making this fear constant by revitalizing it through an emphasis on the high probability of another attack that can come at any time any place, “Our discoveries ... confirmed our most fears ... We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities ... instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities”.⁵²

⁵⁰ Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁵¹ Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁵² Bush, January 29, 2002 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>. See also Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>; Bush, December 21, 2003 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/12/20031221.html>; Bush, January 09, 2004 <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/01/20040109-6.html>.

Laden's usage of fear is much like Bush's; his rhetoric is that death on Arab lands will continue, and Muslims way of life living in the Middle East, which is already being threatened, will come to an end, if the U.S. is allowed to act on Arab soil. As the way of life in the Holy Lands is related to people's religious beliefs – in Islam - Laden can easily claim that the 'war on terrorism' is 'a war on Islam'.⁵³ One difference from Bush in the way Laden uses fear is that Laden emphasizes hatred more than fear. On the other hand, the interconnectedness of fear and hatred that was previously noted should be kept in mind here. Laden uses hatred by mentioning the people of different Muslim nations in the Arabian Peninsula as well as in other lands who are suffering because of the actions of 'Zionists'. Just as Bush says that terrorists want to 'impose their radical beliefs everywhere', Laden uses the same language and warns the Arabs that the U.S. wants to rule with 'total control': "the Zionist lobby, which serves the needs of Israel that kills our sons and our children without right so that they can keep on ruling with total control".⁵⁴

To start with Laden's ways of inflicting fear upon people by emphasizing the threat to their life styles, we find that he identifies their way of life – the Islamic way of life - with Muslim women. "Unless the good and righteous people come forward to defend God, Ka'aba and God's religion as they defend themselves and Muslim Women, everything will perish, be it religious or secular".⁵⁵ Here Laden equates women with their way of life, and their way of life with religion. In addition, Laden states that the Americans' claim of the need for more democracy in the Middle East is

⁵³ Laden. October 7, 2001. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/binladen10-07-01a.htm>. Also see Laden, February 12, 2003. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2751019.stm; Laden. October 18, 2003. <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/10/18/binladen.tape/>.
⁵⁴ Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisime.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm.
⁵⁵ Laden. January, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>.

a threat to their way of life as their “beliefs, curricula and morals” will be changed accordingly.⁵⁶

Like Bush, Laden also uses two mechanisms for corrupting man’s reason when inflicting fear on people - of loosing their lives and ways of life -. To heighten people’s awareness of the life threatening conditions around them he makes use of the error of false causality, and related to it, the error of imaginary causes. However, in Laden’s case, in contrast to Bush, when people return to their memory to find similar states of mind and experience about threat, danger and fear, there are actual events to catch this similarity and identify their existing situation⁵⁷. And Laden makes use of this identification and intensifies it by emphasizing those past (and also current) violent events. He keeps reminding people of the past and ongoing misery in the region in case they had had a chance to forget them. “The Zionist Crusaders and their alliances’ have caused suffering on Muslim people on different lands i.e. Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Bosnia, Tajikistan, Philippines”.⁵⁸ Utilizing the error of imaginary causes, Laden makes people identify their situation and the threat directed to their life and way of life directly with the existence of U.S. troops in the Holy Lands. After this identification has been established, it is not very hard for Laden to inflict fear in people by manipulating hatred against these ‘occupying’ forces: “What is happening in Palestine is a small sample of what will take place in the region: the killing of man, women ... putting the people into a perpetual state of fear, where they can expect

⁵⁶ Laden, January 5, 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3368957.stm.

⁵⁷ When I say existing situation, I refer to the literal ‘occupation’ of Palestine and the suffering people faced either because of actions of Israel, Russia, or else.

⁵⁸ Laden, August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>. See also Laden, January, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>; Laden, May 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/pbsfrontline05-1998.cfm>; Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm.

death at any time”.⁵⁹ In addition, Laden further increases hatred by accusing the U.S. – and other supporters of Israel – of being hypocritical. He criticizes the policies of the U.S. for being supportive of Israel and the inaction of the U.N. against Israel and against other miseries that Muslims in different parts of the world face. “For several years our brothers have been killed, our women have been raped ... in the safe havens of the United Nations and with its knowledge and cooperation”.⁶⁰

The second way that fear is inflicted upon people is, as noted before, directed to the people of *good* nations with the claim that evil has the capacity to expand to their lands. In this case I read Bush’s claims as follows: all ‘civilized’ Western nations should fear from the terrorists because their evil actions will spread to their lands, and their life and way of life is also in danger just as the U.S.’s is. Here, freedom becomes a defining element for other nations and they are said to be under threat of being attacked just because their way of life incorporates freedom. “This enemy attacked not just our people, but all freedom-loving people everywhere in the world”.⁶¹ In the operation of this mechanism of fear, the errors of false causality and imaginary causes can also be observed here as was the case in the first method of manipulating fear; however, this time the errors apply to a wider scale, as Bush stated in his talk in the General Assembly of U.N. “As we meet, the terrorists are planning more murder,

⁵⁹ Laden, February 16, 2003.

http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/not_in_website/syndication/monitoring/media_reports/2768873.stm

⁶⁰ Laden, November 3, 2002.

<http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/oocwatun.cfm>. See also Laden, December 26, 2001. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/obluttuse.cfm>; Laden, October 7, 2001. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/binladen10-07-01a.htm>; Laden, October 15, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/articles/10152002-To.The.Islamic.Ummah/faotnacw01.html>; November 3, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/oocwatun.cfm>.

⁶¹ Bush, September 12, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html>.

perhaps in my country or perhaps in yours. They kill because they aspire to dominate”.⁶²

The world nations have been alerted against the spread of deadly and continuous threat also with the label of the event as an act of war. As argued before, the categorization of the events as war is significant in increasing the level of fear. The absence of comparable experience in the memory of the world nations causes a lack of causal interpretation based on previous experiences, hence allows the creation and manipulation of imaginary causes for the entire world nations and heightens the level of fear. In addition, categorizing the attacks as a “new kind of war” that all world nations must fight⁶³ - as in the first method of inflicting fear - enables the definer to make use of the attributes of the extraordinariness of the time of war. That is to say, the extraordinary measures that are required at extraordinary times also apply to the international setting, e.g. international law can ‘legitimately’ be ignored.

Bush further intensifies the level of fear in the international arena by emphasizing the threat posed by the possibility that terrorists might possess and use weapons of mass destruction (WMD).⁶⁴ And this poses a threat not only to people’s lives but also to the principles they ‘share’, as Bush stated in his speech to the U.N General Assembly: “They can be expected to use chemical, biological and nuclear weapons ... Civilization itself, the civilization we share is threatened”.⁶⁵

⁶² Bush, November 10, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011110-3.html>.

⁶³ Bush, October 11, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011011-7.html>.

⁶⁴ Bush, November 10, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011110-3.html>.

See also Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

⁶⁵ Bush, November 10, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011110-3.html>.

I think one statement by Bush summarizes how the second method of inflicting fear on other nations is utilized. That is, “The civilized world is rallying to America’s side. They understand that if terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down building, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments”.⁶⁶ As will be discusses more in the following chapter, first part of the quotation implies that there are sides and you have to choose a side, and if you define yourself as a ‘civilized nation’ – or if you want to be considered as a civilized nation - that values freedom, you should be on America’s side. Second part of the quotation reads that terrorism should be punished or else, it will expand and harm your people as well. The last part claims that terrorism poses a serious threat to your power.

Bin Laden utilizes fear in a second way just as Bush does by claiming that if not stopped, the U.S. invasion will spread to other Arab nations’ lands, so Muslim counties should fear from this evil: “America is getting ready for a new round in its crusader war against the Islamic World, this time against the Muslim people of Iraq, as it seeks to complete its plan of dividing the Ummah [Islamic Nation] and tearing it apart, to loot it of its wealth and resources, and to prepare for the establishment of Greater Israel after expelling the Palestinians”.⁶⁷

The relevance of the two errors - false causality and imaginary causes - was explained earlier, and they are both observable Laden’s rhetoric as well. Laden employs the error that people make by thinking that causality exists and looking for

⁶⁶ Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁶⁷ Laden, October 15, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/articles/10152002-To.The.Islamic.Ummah/faotnacw01.html>. See also Laden, February 16, 2003. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/not_in_website/syndication/monitoring/media_reports/2768873.stm.

imaginary causes. Laden directs people's reason to identify the existing condition with the imaginary causes he selected from their similar former experiences. By doing this Laden is also sending the message that other Muslim states' turn to be occupied and suffer is about to come if they do not stop this 'occupation': "Muslims: If you do not punish them for their sins in Jerusalem and Iraq, they shall defeat you because of your failure. They will also rob you of land of al-Haramayn [Mecca and Medina]".⁶⁸ Laden takes pointing out imaginary causes one step further and defines the nature of the conflict/distress in the Middle East region as a war: "In truth, this is a religious-economic war. The occupation of Iraq is a link in the Zionist-crusader chain of evil. Then comes the full occupation of the rest of the Gulf states to set the stage for controlling and dominating the whole world. For the big powers believe that the Gulf and the Gulf states are the key to global control due to the presence of the largest oil reserves there".⁶⁹ Although Laden dates this state of war to British withdrawal from the region and the foundation of Israel, his emphasis on war starts with the arrival of the troops of the U.S. on Saudi lands, Israel – Palestine conflict and continues with the military involvement of the U.S. in Afghanistan and Iraq. By pointing out the extent of U.S.'s involvement and by labeling this expansion as war, Laden, like Bush, utilizes the intense fear in war times and the danger that the countries in the region might face, which is loosing the resources they possess and as well as their power, as a result of a war.

The last way that Bush inflicts fear upon people involves constructing a differentiation between 'For' and 'Against'. The countries that are 'Against' U.S. or

⁶⁸ Laden, January 5, 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3368957.stm. See also Laden, February 16, 2003.

http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/not_in_website/syndication/monitoring/media_reports/2768873.stm.

⁶⁹ Laden, January 5, 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3368957.stm.

its policies are labeled as being 'For' the terrorists, and they are warned to fear from the U.S. and the justice it is going to distribute. In which case, they are going to be punished by the U.S. and suffer along with the terrorists.

Determining who is for and who is against is important because this determination has an important implication which is punishment. Nietzsche (1969, p.226) warns the people: "Keep your eye clear of their For and Against! There is much right much wrong in it: whoever looks on grows angry". He makes this warning because, for Nietzsche, being 'For' a power holder and 'Against' others implies being part of that power holder's morality. This is why pointing out the relevance of the identification of 'For and Against' and its aims and consequences in the case of the manipulation of mass fear is important. The concept is also worth mentioning here because the determination of 'For and Against' relates to the fourth great error, the error of free will. States are being held accountable for the choices they make regarding the side on which they will stand for because the error of free will creates this illusion that men are 'free', this is the only way to judge and punish them for their choice when they make an undesirable choice.

The rationale behind the determination of 'For and Against' is that an explicit declaration of hostility against the U.S. is no longer required to be regarded as against the U.S. That is to say, even if a country does not explicitly state that it is against the U.S. or its policies – very few countries could dare to say so, if that country does not explicitly state that it is for the U.S. and its policies, it is regarded as a hostile country: "Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or

you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime”.⁷⁰

In addition, explicitly agreeing with the U.S. is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to be regarded as a ‘For’ country. The criterion that reveals your allegiance is the actions you take; whether you participate in the actions of the U.S. or not. If a country does not clarify its allegiance and tries to maintain a neutral position, for America, that country is against America and for the terrorists, one that ‘feed, harbor and house’ the terrorists, and those countries will be punished by the U.S.: “We will not only deal with those who attacked America, we will deal with those who harbor them [terrorists] and feed them and house them”.⁷¹

Laden makes use of the last method of inflicting fear as well. Neutrality is unacceptable also for Laden: “So the image of the world today is split in two parts, like Bush said, either you are with us, or you are with terrorism [the U.S./Zionists]. Either you are with the crusade, or you are with Islam”.⁷² And, as discussed in the case of Bush, the error of free will is observable here as well. It is employed to make states accountable for their actions and to judge and punish them as a result of any decision that is contradictory to that of the rulers’. Thus, Muslim countries that are against Jihad are considered as being For the ‘Zionists’: “If Muslims don’t cooperate and support their Mujahideen brothers then, in effect, they are supplying the army of

⁷⁰ Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁷¹ Bush, September 15, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010915.html>. See also Bush, September 16, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html>; Bush, September 17, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-3.html>; Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>.

⁷² Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm.

the enemy”⁷³, and they are advised to fear the justice that the Jihad seekers are going to deliver; they are going to be punished and suffer as the U.S. had been. Laden’s statements follow the same rationale as Bush’s rhetoric for the determination of For and Against. That is to say, an explicit declaration of being against Jihad is not a necessary condition to be categorized by Laden as being Against Jihad. Rather, as in the case of Bush, not participating in Jihad is enough to be regarded as being Against, and requires punishment. If other Muslim/Arab countries are not acting with the jihad seekers, then they are considered to act with the Zionists: “whomever takes the disbelievers as friends, protectors, and leaders has become a disbeliever, and the biggest signs of alliance is favoring their victory, in speaking, discussing and writing.”⁷⁴

Different from Bush’s rhetoric, however, Laden employs the error of imaginary causes to increase the level of fear of the Againsts. He refers to the previous experience(s)⁷⁵ of the U.S. and other allied countries and reminds them that ‘terrorists’ are still capable of attacking them by giving the example of the attacks on U.S. Marines in Kuwait and on an oil tanker in Yemen⁷⁶, and claiming that the allied

⁷³ Laden, August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>. See also, Laden, January 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>; Laden, November 3, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/oocwatun.cfm>; Laden, February 11, 2003. <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/02/11/binladen.excerpts/index.html/>; Laden, February 12, 2003. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2751019.stm; Laden, January 5, 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3368957.stm.

⁷⁴ Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm

⁷⁵ Laden refers to Mujahideens’ battles in Afghanistan against Russia, in Bosnia etc. in his several statements. See Laden, December 6, 1993 <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/roberfisk12-06-1993.cfm>; Laden, August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>; October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm; October 15, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/articles/10152002-To.The.Islamic.Ummah/faotnacw01.html>.

⁷⁶ Laden, October 15, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/articles/10152002-To.The.Islamic.Ummah/faotnacw01.html>.

countries should know that they can destroy them.⁷⁷ And by reminding others of these previous experiences, Laden guides men's drive to find causes for the existing condition to relate with these past experiences as (imaginary) causes and intensifies their fear by claiming that "America will never dream, not those who live in America will never taste security and safety unless we feel security and safety in our lands and in Palestine".⁷⁸

I argue that challenging a state's power via destroying or occupying its symbol of power (or what is to be considered as its power symbol) is actually more destructive to that power than challenging it by simply explicitly opposing to its policies, criticizing its actions and even by declaring war. As it can be followed from the arguments above, the parameters of fear vary in accordance with the change in the sources that define, manipulate and utilize fear. So, just as Nietzsche concluded that evil does not exist, a similar genealogical analysis may suggest that fear does not exist. On the contrary, fear exists in its most intense form but it is not the fear of ordinary people from the threat to their life, ways of life, their principles or their beliefs. Rather, it is the rulers, the power holders who fear. They fear from losing power so badly that they make every possible move to strengthen their power over people. Bush claims that the 'terrorists' attacked to their principles (way of life, freedom), Laden claims, 'the Zionists/terrorists' attacked to their principles (Muslim way of life, beliefs, freedoms). However, what both Bush and Laden do not explicitly state is the fact that the *terrorists* attacked and harmed their power. Each challenged the power of the other one so now they are struggling to regain or re-establish it but may be in a different way. Although Bush and Laden's own desire is to be able to

⁷⁷ Laden, September 10, 2002. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2248894.stm.

⁷⁸ Laden, October 7, 2001. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/binladen10-07-01a.htm>.

stand oblivious of opposition with their power, both accuse each other for having a desire to dominate the world.



CHAPTER 4

REFLECTIONS ON THE ‘MECHANISMS OF SUBMISSION’ AS USED BY BUSH AND LADEN

Nietzsche is against any kind of morality be it religious or modern because following morality causes man to submit himself to power other than his Will to Power, and this causes man to remain as a herd and he cannot be man. Nietzsche (1990, p.172) states that “Concept of morality is a lie ... whomever hates whatever hates has a value”. As argued in Chapter 1, power holders give things their values in accordance with their interest of holding onto their power to be spared from injury. According to Nietzsche (1969, p.214). only the author of the values knows what is good and what is evil, and these authors, by defining what is good and what is evil, also “Creates a goal for mankind and gives the earth its meaning and its future”. The goal, which, nobles who came to be Bush and bin Laden in my study, creates, is a ‘real world’ that is secure and free from the oppression of other moralities. By constructing the meaning of values and creating a goal for mankind, nobles are also giving the earth its future; but what kind of a future will this be? A world that is constructed by corrupting man’s reason by causing them to commit the four great errors, and then using the mechanisms of submission to make them submit themselves

to a particular morality; and causing the real world became a myth; the future is a Myth.

This chapter is going to explain how the concepts of fear and suffering are used to utilize mechanisms of submission in Nietzsche and the implication of these mechanisms, which are punishment, duty, responsibility and patience. The mechanisms of submission are a consequence of Nietzsche's conceptualization of power, power struggle and morality. In my reading of Nietzsche, this conceptualization and the implications of it results in the construction of an ideal of a 'real world' and then transformation of it into to a myth.

"Fear is the mother of all morals" (Kaufman, 1997, p.67) so, fear is also the mother of submissive man. Man's basic instinct is self-preservation and he fears whatever threatens his survival, Will to Life (Nietzsche, 1990, p.49). Power holders manipulate the effects of these threats by the help of mechanisms that corrupt man's reason, and manipulating fear helps the operation of these mechanisms. As was argued in Chapter 2, once man's reason is corrupted, it is easier to make him submissive. Fear operates together with the feeling of suffering. If something causes suffering in people, they are afraid of that event because suffering causes pain and distress in them. Suffering is not a bad thing for Nietzsche; he believes that suffering in fact leads human species to be man. However, power holders use this feeling of distress in man and present it as something that should be afraid of.

...and suffering itself is looked upon by them [Enlightenment thinkers] as something which must be *done away with* ... 'man' has hitherto grown most vigorously ... under the opposite conditions [not happy conditions but under conditions which cause suffering], that

for his end [end of being a 'man'] the dangerousness of his situation had to be increased enormously, his inventive faculty and dissembling power (his 'spirit') had to develop into subtlety and daring under long oppression and compulsion and his Will to Life had to be increased to unconditioned Will to Power ... suffering, violence, danger, tyrannical...serves as well for the elevation of the human species as its opposite (Kaufman, 1997, p.31).

The Will to life becomes the Will to Power under conditions that cause suffering. Suffering is a tool that activates the Will to Power in human species and makes them man. As the activation of the Will to Power in herds make them man, avoiding suffering in human beings is suppressing their potential of becoming 'man'. This is what has been done in the modern thought, evil is eliminated from almost all discourses.

The obsession of the modern world with security derives from the power holders' manipulation of fear, and their idealized world became an 'only Good' place where it is no longer possible to speak of evil. The power holders need to make people frightened from suffering and to prevent them seeing the elevating side of suffering by telling people that suffering is bad and they should do away with it. So, people who suffer feel pity for themselves (in addition to the actual feeling of suffering, they are also effected by the rhetoric that says they should get away with it so sense of suffering is increased) and try to eliminate suffering instead of using it as a tool, corruption of their reason is another reason of people's inability to realize suffering as a tool.

If we take the definition of value as it was in the pre-moral times, we can also claim that people do not understand the value of suffering. In pre-moral times, the

value of something was determined by its consequences (Kaufman, 1997, p.24). For Nietzsche, suffering is good because the consequence of suffering is good, that is elevation of human species to 'man'. However, moralists say that suffering is bad, and they prevent people from acknowledging the value of it. So, when they don't understand the value, people want to get away with it, and this causes them not to recognize and use their Will to Power as an elevating tool. Saying that suffering is bad and preventing people from using it as a tool means putting an obstacle before people's Will to Power, so their becoming 'man'. As people think that suffering is bad, they submit themselves to man who promises them to abolish suffering.

Suffering is caused by the nobles' false conceptions but they claim that this pain is caused by some external cause they know how to get rid of this pain. As a suffering man's primary aim is to get away from the pain, he complies with the ways that nobles show him to prevent pain, which are in fact directed not to end this pain but to assure the continuity of it. As a result, his suffering increases as the way that the nobles show – redemption – is the wrong one, which also does not exist. In addition, this false direction prevents man from finding the natural causality and the true way that would help them to end their suffering. So, man stay dependent on the nobles' definitions and their power and the nobles' power position is secured as no one would understand the real causality for as long as they will be looking in the wrong direction and do not see and claim the Will to Power in themselves (Nietzsche, 1990, p.175).

Power holders first define suffering as something that should be done away with: than they use already fearful events to increase the level of fear in man as a

result of that event and point out those events as a source and continuation of suffering (people cannot give a meaning to the event so they do so). Then, they make use of the traumatizing effect of the situation and promise them security on the condition that people submit to their power and say that only on the condition that people submit to the definitions, their morality, their rules, their judgment, duties they assign, they can provide security. People already submit themselves to fear and what the power holders do is to use concepts like punishment and duty to make people submit to their power. They transfer submission to fear to submission to their power. To get frightened comes with the instinct of survival, Will to Life may feed fear also but the purpose of it is to activate the Will to Power but what the power holders do is to use that instinct and fear that comes with it to use in the opposite way of its real purpose. The real purpose is the Will to Power but power holders use the tool of activating the Will to Power and by avoiding people to use this purpose they use the tool of suffering to attain their end of creating submissive individuals to their power to be able to stay in power and be exempt from any harm that would come in the opposite case.

Mechanisms of submission for Nietzsche are punishment - justice, duty, responsibility, and patience.⁷⁹ As argued in Chapter 1, punishment relates two things, one is to make people remember the pain they had when punished so not to let them forget the pain that came with their disobedience to the rules. Thus, they make people remember the morality and its rules that the people should obey; this way, they place these rules in the permanent memories of the people and make them frighten from the punishment that they are going to face with in case of disobedience. The other, relates

⁷⁹ Nietzsche uses these concepts strictly in Christian context. However, as I discussed his conceptualizations in Chapter 1, I will not go into the details of Nietzsche's problematization of Christian morality.

to the procedures; procedures of justice is where justice, its procedures and its changing meaning comes on stage. The procedures of punishment is constant however, the definition of justice, according to which people are being punished, changes from one power center to another (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.57). Nietzsche argues, like the concepts of good and evil, justice does not exist, the power holders use the concept of justice to inflict pain, by punishment, on the ones they define as evil who are the ones that do not follow their definitions and obey their rules - their power. As justice does not exist but created by the nobles, the procedures - the institution - are also created in relation with the constructed meaning of justice. So, justice exists only after the institution of law (the procedure) is created in accordance with the values that are defined by the power holders; their definition of evil becomes the one to be punished (Ansell-Pearson, 1998, p.55). Nietzsche argues that when people are talking about justice what they mean in fact is revenge. Nietzsche (1969, p.162) thinks that when they talk about justice, a man of resentment is in fact asking for revenge. Both Laden and Bush want "justice" but what they call for is revenge.

Likewise, the concepts of duty and responsibility serve the same end of creating submissive individuals being an implication of mechanisms of submission. Nietzsche argues that the concept of duty is as empty as the concept of justice. It is imposed upon man by the Enlightenment thought, and Nietzsche (1990, pp.131-132, 184) rejects this kind of duty as for him, man cannot have a duty in general - including a duty towards 'humanity'; his only duty is acting in accordance with his instincts. Responsibility is another false perception that the Enlightenment thinkers have. According to Nietzsche, the principle of responsibility - the right to make promises - is not free from morals. So, when man is making promises with the

assumption that man calculates his desires rationally and secures his future, he is in fact making the error of free will which is assuming that there is free will. Principle of free will presupposes that this rational individual is sovereign; conversely, man is neither free nor sovereign because his 'will' is not free of morals. Bush and Laden use the false conception of responsibility and duty in their speeches. Bush claims that to protect freedom and to get rid of evil is the U.S.' responsibility to history.⁸⁰ Laden, on the other hand, refers to duty towards God, and he claims that freeing the Holy Lands from the 'Crusaders' and protecting Islam is a collective duty of all Muslims to God.⁸¹

An additional mechanism to the mechanisms of submission that Nietzsche mentions is power holders' demand for patience. When extraordinary things happen, people get frightened and they are traumatized, and as their primary instinct is the instinct of survival their primary concern become security. Under such a condition, when people believe that their life is at stake, people are inclined to do anything necessary, give up any right or freedom they regard as natural and patiently wait for the secure world to come with the help of the extraordinary measures (giving up some or most of their freedom) taken by the power holders. Here, the feeling that shapes people's behaviors is fear. If people think that their lives are at stake than, they comply with any measure to attain an injury free world; they wait patiently and do whatever is said to be necessary to achieve this end of a secure world. If people think that there is nothing to fear than they do not obey the extraordinary measures and lose

⁸⁰ Bush. September 14, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010914-2.html>; Bush. September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>; Bush. October 7, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html>; Bush, September 12, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912-1.html>; Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

⁸¹ Laden. August 23, 1996. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>; Laden, January. 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>; Laden, October 21, 2001. http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm; Laden, October 18, 2003. <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/10/18/binladen.tape/>; Laden, January 05, 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3368957.stm.

their patience. They take a stand against power holders' actions that hinder their freedom. This is why keeping fear constant is important. People obey the extraordinary measures as long as they believe that there is a life threatening condition. Thus, power holders rule with an unquestioned power for as long as they make people believe that the threat is constant or continuing. So, they keep fear alive to be able to rule more comfortably and with more authority. Bush keeps people's fear constant by reminding them the high probability of the repetition of the event in the future as a result of 'terrorist' attacks by telling people that the 'terrorists' might have weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in their possession to use these WMD against them.⁸² Similarly, Laden also reminds people of injury they have been observing in the Middle East and says that the U.S. is being extending its area of influence and as a result of this expansion they will also be injured.⁸³

As mentioned before, suffering is presented as if it is something that should be done away with; when there arises a life-threatening event, an extraordinarily dangerous event, the power holders promise people to assure their security in the future and to do everything they can do to prevent such an event and the suffering it causes in the future. Power holders require people to comply with the extraordinary measures without questioning that are necessary to keep the promise power holders

⁸² Bush, September 12, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912-1.html>. See also Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>; Bush, September 28, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020928.html>; Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

⁸³ Laden, August 23, 1996 <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements>; Laden, January, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/abc01-1998.cfm>; Laden, May, 1998. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/pbsfrontline05-1998.cfm>; Laden, October 7, 2001. <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/binladen10-07-01a.htm>; Laden, October 21, 2001 http://www.terrorisme.net/doc/qaida/001_ubl_interview_a.htm; Laden, December 09, 2001. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/amymufobl.cfm>; Laden, October 15, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/articles/10152002-To.The.Islamic.Ummah/faotnacw01.html>; Laden, November 3, 2002. <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/oocwatun.cfm>.

made. The power holders present the traumatizing event as an extraordinary event so that the necessary measures that should be taken to prevent the repetition of that event would also be extraordinary measures, which the people would not obey under normal conditions. Patience is demanded in such cases from people because these extraordinary measures are the ones that disturb people in one-way or another. In addition, patience is necessary as these measures also cause suffering on people because these measures disrupt people's normal course of living, and may cause suffering of people.

Before moving on to the implications of demanding patience, I should explain the falseness of the concept of promise upon which patience as a mechanism of submission is built. For Nietzsche, responsibility and promise are interrelated concepts, as mentioned before, responsibility is the right to make promises, and for Nietzsche, man cannot make promises, he cannot be responsible, as he is not a sovereign being – because his will is not free from morals. Consequently, power holders, who promise a secure world in exchange for people's submission, actually cannot make such a promise as they are not sovereign. _Because, as argued above responsibility relies on false premise that man have free will, and since as nobles are not spared from the false assumption that they are sovereign, they are also bound up by morals and do not have free will. Therefore, so they cannot make promises, even if they do so, they cannot keep that promise. The other scenario is that the power holders know that they will not be able to keep their promises but they anyway make promises about maintaining their security in the future because, they want to use the opportunity of their people's willingness to submit themselves to new ways of submission under extraordinary conditions.

In Chapter.1, I argued that both Bush and Laden state that their people's way of life is under attack and they want to protect it. Besides, the promise they make is all about protecting people's way of life. They claim that under such conditions, when their way of life is under attack, the way to protect these ways of life is to 'temporarily' take some measures that can disrupt the desired way of life but they say that this temporary disruption is necessary to secure the future of these ways of life. Their claim is that the way of life is disrupted by the evil actions and if they do not secure it against this evil, then the disruption will be permanent. To continue following Bush and Laden's power centered statements: to prevent the permanent disturbance of our way of life, we need to take measures that may 'temporarily' disrupt our way of life. I read their argument as follows: as long as the disruption of the way of life is done not by the evil but by us, the good, than the disruption will be temporary. Regardless of who started the disruption and to which end, the disruption of everyday life becomes permanent. Even if the temporary disruption of life is established by the good with the aim of preventing evil to permanently disrupt way of life, permanent disruption will be the norm, because as Nietzsche claims within two or three generations, everything will be permanently internalized. For Nietzsche, in pre-moral times a value of a thing is determined by looking its consequence, and in this case as disruption of the way of life is an undesirable consequence, it definitely does not have the highest rank.

Implication of the demands of patience is submission as Nietzsche (1990, p.111) claims, "... disciplining of thoughts and feelings ... in two or three generations, everything is already internalized". After agreeing or even volunteering to submit to extraordinary measures for an indefinite time, everybody will get used to

extraordinary measures and these measures will be regarded as normal and people will be submissive. The nobles present suffering as if it is something bad, and demand patience from people to be able to end people's suffering. However, in the mean time, when people are waiting the power holders to end their suffering, which is a tool that activates the Will to Power in human species, people submit themselves to the nobles' power. Nobles prevent human species to recognize the usefulness of suffering by corrupting their reason by the help of the method of fear. Bush refers to permanent protection in the future and demands patience, but he does not specify the length of this patience. In a press conference held on September 15, 2002, Bush stated that "... we will get them ... this effort may require patience", and he answered a journalist's following question "How long?", saying: "As long as it takes".⁸⁴ What it takes is people's internalization of the existing conditions – they will submit themselves- and as they internalized this no one will ask for a reverse condition. Although Laden is not as clear as Bush on this matter, he also demands patience: "Victory will be achieved with patience".⁸⁵

Mechanisms of submission, which are justice, punishment, duty and patience, make the real world a Myth. For Nietzsche the real world is the apparent world we live in together with the suffering, injury and its pleasures. On the other hand, nobles construct a 'real world' that is founded upon false premises and it is in contradiction with the actual world (Nietzsche, 1990, p.49). That is to say, I read Nietzsche's (1969, p.206) conception of the real world as the actual world in which man lives in

⁸⁴ Bush, September 15, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010915.html>. See also Bush, September 12, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html>; Bush, September 17, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010917-3.html>; Bush, September 20, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>; Bush, October 7, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html>; Bush, December 21, 2003. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/12/20031221.html>.

⁸⁵ Laden, February 12, 2003. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2751019.stm.

accordance with his natural instincts, that are sensual pleasure, lust for power and selfishness. In this apparent world, human beings enjoy sensual pleasures, suffer and activate their Will to Power and become men. Conversely, in the real world that the nobles construct, not the natural instincts but the false constructions of morality form the basis of all human conduct. Since the real world constructed by nobles is in contradiction with the world of human's natural instincts, in Nietzsche's conceptualization, we enter in the realm of falsification. In my reading of Nietzsche, this process of falsification is inseparable from his argument on mechanisms of submission. As discussed in chapter 1, power holders make people comply with their definitions of morality which in Nietzsche's conceptualization refers to the mechanisms of submission. In chapter 2, I take Nietzsche's statement "fear is mother of all morals" and contextualize it in relation with the four great errors. In this chapter, I focus on the implications of these four great errors in the context of mechanisms of submission. I construct this process with reference to Nietzsche's (1990, pp.50-51) six steps in "How the 'Real World' at Last Became a Myth – History of an error".

Nietzsche lists six steps on "How the 'Real World' at Last Became a Myth – History of an error". Although these steps can be interpreted in various ways, I read these steps as the road that takes people away from the real world towards a myth. To be more precise, I use Nietzsche's six steps to argue that the way that the real world is constructed has a pattern and the power holders follow these steps. My argument is not that power holders follow these six steps consciously, however, the way I read the speeches of Bush and Laden, revealed that Nietzsche's six steps of the way that the real world becomes a myth applies to the construction of the real world upon morality

- with the help of mechanisms of submission. Moreover, Bush and Laden as the power holders utilize fear in such a way that although they have a claim about the real world, their political actions result in creating a myth. In what follows is an explanation of how this pattern of producing a myth is reflected in Bush and Laden's speeches.

1. The real world, attainable to the wise, the pious, the virtuous man – he dwells in it, *he is it*. (...Transcription of the proposition 'I, Plato, *am* the truth') (Nietzsche, 1990, p.50).

Before explaining how this step applies to Bush and Laden, I first need to explain my interpretation of 'I am' as 'I know'. I argued above that the real world for Nietzsche is the world man lives in accordance with his instincts; so reality is in the realm of man's own natural instincts. That is why Nietzsche says that the real world is attainable only to the wise man who acknowledges these instincts and dwells in his nature, and by doing this man becomes natural and be the reality himself. Man, to be able to comply with his nature and act in accordance with his instincts, first needs to know his nature. This knowledge of the real world is attainable to the noble men who are aware of the Will to Power in them and who struggle for power and struggle to make others accept their morality which they designed to protect their power and life; their reality. Thus, I argue that the claim 'I am' can be read as 'I know'. 'I' need to 'know' becomes corollary claim to the 'I am'.

As was argued before nobles, who are aware of the Will to Power in them and know that other people also have the same potential, design and create mechanisms of

submission to prevent people realizing this potential. The reason for this creation is because, nobles need to suppress others' the Will to Power to hold on to their own power and be spared from an injury that will result from others' power. The suppression is realized by using the mechanisms of submission. Mechanisms of submission are indispensable for the construction of the nobles' reality. But by saying reality, I do not claim that the moralities that the nobles set are noble's nature, rather, morality and rules that are set with regard to this morality are to protect nobles' reality. I argued in Chapter 2 that both Bush and Laden utilize fear to settle the mechanisms of submission. As the power holders, Bush and Laden are the nobles who have power and struggle to keep it. They know their reality, they are the reality, and they know this and act to keep up with their power. They claim that they know the reality but their claim is that they know the reality for every one and the reason for this claim is not that they really know the reality for every one, rather they know the reality for themselves. But to be able to act upon their own reality, they have to use their Will to Power and they need to protect themselves from others' Will to Power. They claim that they know the reality for every one so the claim 'I am' becomes 'I know'. In case of Bush and Laden it becomes 'I know the universal reality'.

The way Bush and Laden use this first step is as follows: Bush and Laden know the reality and state that they know the reality for everyone by saying that their principles are right and true for everyone. Bush demonstrates his knowledge to the universal reality as: "The values of freedom are right and true for every person, in every society".⁸⁶ Similarly, Laden also has a claim to the knowledge of the real world:

⁸⁶ Bush, September 20, 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

“It is known that security is a pressing necessity for all mankind”.⁸⁷ They say that they know the real world and how to attain it. For Bush, the real world rests on the principle of freedom, for Laden the real world is the one that is ruled with God’s laws that are dictated in the Qur’an. Although the principles that the real world rests upon different principles for Bush and Laden, they have a common point which is that the real world is a moral one (Bush’s and Laden’s definition of morality are different so are the principles they propose as real). This moral world is in reality a secure one. In the real world every individual will be submitting themselves to true morality (which is different for each power holder) and there will be no evil which may injure people. When everyone submits to the same moral principles, the real world becomes free from terror and a secure one.

I discussed earlier in this chapter, the primary instinct of man is the instinct of survival, so he first and foremost seeks for security. So, the world that ‘I’ desires to dwell in is a secure one. The secure world, which is the one free from injury, is possible only if those who disagree with the nobles’ morality do not come to power. The nobles, who are fearful themselves, use people’s fear of injury in two ways. They mobilize people’s fear of injury by creating a world of fighters, who by fighting against others’ morality help the nobles conceal their own fears. At the same time, the nobles reproduce their own power-based morality by preventing people to come to terms with their own Will to Power. The world ‘I’ lives in is composed of morality, but as Nietzsche says “morality is a lie, whoever hates whatever hates has a value”. In fact Bush and Laden’s claim to morality is also a lie. In this study, I read Nietzsche’s conceptualization of a lie as a process of falsification.

⁸⁷ Laden, April 15, 2004. http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/ft/-/2/hi/middle_east/3628069.stm.

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2. The real world, unattainable for the moment, but promised to the wise, the pious, the virtuous man ('to the sinner who repents') (Nietzsche, 1990, p.50).

Bush and Laden utilize the second step of the pattern by saying that the real world that is secure and free is unattainable for the moment. However, '*I*' promise that the secure and free world will come when everybody on earth starts living with '*my*' morality, when everybody accepts submission to the values that '*I*' set for them in accordance with what '*I*' hate. It is not enough for Bush and Laden when the individual 'sinners' regret for not obeying their values and submit themselves to their morality. The individual's submission is not enough for them to attain the secure real world. They require each and every individual's submission totally and completely. Security is at risk when there is even a single individual who does not submit himself to their morality. When a single incidence of an 'evil' disruption occurs, the secure and free world is threatened. Therefore, Bush and Laden construct their own morality as the fight with the evil ones.

3. The real world, unattainable, undemonstrable, cannot be promised, but even when merely thought of a consolation, a duty, an imperative (Nietzsche, 1990, p.50).

Nietzsche is noting a paradox here, according to him, the real world does not exist, it is only an idea – a false idea – of the power holders. But the power holders oblige the people to submit themselves to the morality of the nobles and 'extraordinary measures' are necessary to attain this false idea of the real world. That is to say, the power holders demand submission to attain to something that does not

exist, the real world. The thought of the real world that is presented to the people as a consolation obliges people and this, according to Nietzsche, is a paradox because something that does not exist cannot be a consolation, it is an impossibility.

For Nietzsche, real world is attainable only to the wise, the pious, the virtuous man who dwells in it, when 'he is it'. But unattainable to anyone who is not *it*. It cannot be promised because every individual must dwell because it must be achieved by each individual, no one else except for ones self can attain it for him. This has two implications. First, the real world is attainable only by the individual him/herself. No one else can attain it in the place of that individual. No one else can help the individual to find the route to the promised world. Second, man cannot make promises because, since his free will is unfree, the man is not capable of promising. However, Bush and Laden make this promise of the real world on the condition that it is moral. They demand submission to their morality. But just because they demand morality does not imply that this secure and free world will be attained.

In Nietzsche, a real world that rests on morality will not be an actual possibility because morality itself is a lie. In addition, even if people submit themselves to either Bush's or Laden's morality or any morality with the expectation that they will reach the real world and fight for that, this fight has no end. When supporters of Bush's morality are fighting against Laden's morality, the same mechanism is repeated by Laden's supporters. Two constructions of 'evil' fight one another with the impossible promise of freedom and security. Hence, the moral construction of evil itself invites another moral construction of evil. The ones who claim the reality and promise to attain it on the condition that everybody should fight

against evil also present this aim and the fight for it as a duty both for themselves and the ones who want to live in a secure and free 'real' world.

4. The real world – unattainable? Unattained, at any rate. And if unattained also *unknown*. Consequently also no consolation, no redemption, no duty: how could we have a duty towards something unknown? (Nietzsche, 1990, p.50).

In the fourth step of the pattern, Nietzsche continues with the implication of the paradox that arises in the third step. He demonstrated that the real world does not exist, so can not be attained. At this point Nietzsche asks, how can something unknown obliges us? When Bush and Laden demand from people to oblige themselves to something that is unknown and cannot be attained, do not make us realize that the human mind is expected to oblige by a non-existent constructed reality.

As discussed above, a secure and free real world is unattainable, and according to Nietzsche, also unknown. I think, the real world is unknown by the next generations, because it is unattainable, because the next generations will not even have an intention of attaining or knowing that end. As argued before, the generations to come after the ones that lived with the condition of constant fighting and agreed to submit themselves to the extraordinary measures that were taken to attain the real secure and free world, will have no idea about what the real world is. They have never lived through even the slightest bit of it. So, by making it unknown to the next generations, Bush and Laden also make the future generations unaware of the promises they made in the past. Yet, the institutions of punishment and the

extraordinary measures will remain. But as people will not have the idea of the real world, they will not question these extraordinary measures nor will they realize that the ongoing war between two moral constructions of evil might become the norm.

5. The 'real world' – an idea no longer of any use, not even a duty any longer – an idea grown useless, superfluous, consequently a refuted idea: let us abolish it! (Nietzsche, 1990, pp.50-51).

As discussed previously, people submit themselves to nobles' power who promises them a real world that is free and secure. As I noted before Nietzsche claims that within two or three generations, people will internalize this submission. So the nobles will no longer need the idea of a real world to motivate people to submit themselves to their morality and fight with others'. Thus, the power holders, Bush and Laden, abolished the idea of the real world because the next generations will be already submissive to their power, so there will be no need to promise people for anything or to get involved in the rhetoric of duty.

6. We have abolished the real world: what world is left? The apparent world perhaps? ... but no! *with the real world we have also abolished the apparent world!* (Nietzsche, 1990, p.51).

Throughout the pattern of creating a myth from the real world, Nietzsche claims that the nobles construct the real world upon a non-being, morality that is in opposition with man's instincts and nobles abolished the real world. At the last step of making the real world a myth, Nietzsche claims that with the real world nobles also

abolished the apparent world. For Nietzsche, the apparent world, the world we are living in, is the only world that is real. At this point, after Nietzsche claims that the apparent world, the only reality for him, is also abolished with the real world, I have nothing to say. One possible interpretation of this statement by Nietzsche in the world, in which we live in now, might be to contextualize it in relation with simulacrum.

Everything, including the apparent world people are actually living in – reality for Nietzsche, is abolished. There left nothing, but people continue to live. So this is simulacrum. People live in a construction which is contradictory with their instincts, nevertheless people's prime instinct of survival continues to shape the power struggles in the world. There is no real world, no apparent world; what Bush and Laden left the people with is the image of a secure and free world, a simulacra where fear rules and submission is the norm. This image is created by manipulating people's instinct of survival by using their fears.

To sum up, in this chapter, I discussed the reflections of Nietzsche's mechanisms of submission and their implications in Bush and Laden's rhetoric against evil. Bush and Laden label suffering as something that should be done away with and they manipulate people's fear to create a world that is obsessed with security. Maneuvering over security enables the power holders to utilize the mechanisms of submission that are punishment, responsibility, duty and patience. I argue that utilizing the mechanisms of submission creates a path to making the real world a myth. The power holders have a claim to the knowledge of the real world, which, according to Nietzsche, is a false construction. This (un)real world that is

secure and free from injury is promised to come but in an indefinite future. The power holders show the way to this real world to come as a moral path in which every individual submit themselves to their morality and fight with others' morality. On the other hand, for Nietzsche, this path and the pattern that is followed to direct people in this path leads only to the abolishment of the actual world together with the idea of the real world and what people is left is a simulacrum in which their fight with evil never ends.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In chapter 1, I discussed the concept of power in Nietzsche and its relation to his conceptualization of evil. Nietzsche claims that nobles construct morality and define good and evil in accordance with their goals of achieving and holding onto power. All men have the Will to Power inherently. However, the Will to Power in men is potential and they need to actualizing this will by following their instincts. Nietzsche argues that nobles corrupt man's reason by causing them to commit the four great errors of imaginary causes, false causality, confusing cause and effect, and free will. The implication of corruption of man's reason is creation of submissive individuals by utilizing the mechanisms of submission; that is creating false conceptions of punishment – justice, responsibility, duty and patience.

According to Nietzsche, power holders, just like the other people, have instinct of survival and fear of injury, which is related to that instinct. There exist punishment in an unreal world that is constructed upon the lie of morality. Injury occurs when a man does not comply with that morality, or if he complies with another morality that is not the one that makes the laws - the institution of punishment. Thus, man is injured

if the morality that he complies with is not the one that holds the power. Those power holders, who recognize the Will to Power in them and act upon the Will to Power, are aware of this fact, so they want to hold on to their power. The power holders are aware of a possibility that if alternative moralities and their laws seize power, this will destroy the power base of the nobles. This will imply that their definitions of values will also be destroyed as a result they be vulnerable to injury.

In Chapter 2, I demonstrated that as the representatives of power, George W. Bush and Osama bin Laden utilize people's fear of injury as a tool to corrupt people's reason. I identified fear as the most important and effective method to cause men to err as it is directly related to man's basic instinct, instinct of survival. I identified three methods of using fear in Bush and Laden's speeches. In two of these methods, Bush and Laden inflict fear upon their own people and on ones that they regard as friends, as they comply to the principles - same morality. The other method is to frighten the 'evil one' and its supporters. These methods are significant as they are the way to corrupt man's reason. However, another significance of fear is that by using the three methods of inflicting fear, both Bush and Laden, are identifying and addressing their enemies, the 'evil one'. Bush labels Laden as the evil one and says to his people that they should be fear him because his goal and action are threats to people's lives. Likewise, Laden identifies Bush and the U.S. as the evil one and warns the people he is addressing about the possible harm that they will face as a result of Bush's political actions.

In chapter 3, I argued that with the identification of each other as the evil one, both Bush and Laden use the mechanisms of submission to create submissive

individuals with the false promise of a secure and free real world. Both power holders use the constructions of punishment, responsibility, duty and patience to motivate their people to comply with their morality and fight with the other. I explained how Bush and Laden manipulate people by telling them that if they follow morality, not any morality but a particular one –Bush’s- which is defined by them, and fight with others -Laden-to make them submit themselves to the same morality, then, possibility of injury will be abolished. Bush and Laden promise their people security on the condition that they submit themselves to their morality and fight with others. However, that is promised to come with peace but that will never come because evil brings evil. As argued, Bush and Laden follow the same pattern to make their people submissive. Nietzsche names this pattern as “How the ‘Real World’ at last become a Myth”. Nietzsche claims that the real is the apparent, the real world is the apparent world, and the world that the power holders design upon morality is an unreal world.

The power holders, design the institution of punishment, responsibility, duty and patience with the promise, which, in fact, they are not capable of making according to Nietzsche, to attain a secure world – the real world. And they follow the pattern of making the real world that is, composed of man’s instincts, a myth by claiming that they know the reality that cannot be reached at the moment but they can help people reach it on the condition that the follow their morality and fight to abolish the others’. However, with this clam what they are really doing is to take people away from the real world.

In conclusion, I suggest that the power holders require people to fight with other moralities and abolish them so that their reality – morality - will prevail. On the

other hand, this claim is no more than rhetoric. That is to say, the power holders claim that the condition of the real world that is secure and free from injury is abolishing the other moralities – the evil. However, as discussed in the previous chapters, power holders construct morality on their definition of evil. Thus, to be able to construct a morality and ensure its livelihood, power holders need an evil to define their good and morality in opposition to it. Consequently, if there exists no evil, then the good will perish. In my study, Bush and Laden are the power holders who have a claim to truth and define their moralities in opposition to each other, and define each other as evil. They claim that evil had to be abolished, so they encourage their people to fight with it. Bush and Laden specify the end of this fight as until the evil is defeated, which will never happen. Bush argues that: “There can be no peace in a world of sudden terror”, so, terror must be abolished for a peaceful world.⁸⁸ Laden argues that: “There will be no peace until infidelity is defeated”.⁸⁹ In spite of their almost identical statements, these power holders’ aim is not to ‘really’ abolish the evil. Their rhetoric is a fight against the other with the aim of abolishing it. However, none of them will prevail from this war not because none of them are capable of abolishing the other but because their real aim is not actually eliminate the other. They need each other to be able to exist. If evil is eliminated, good will also perish as there will left nothing to define the good as contrary; when the definition become impossible, then as it cannot be defined, good will also be abolished. According to Nietzsche; nothing is good in itself, the value of it lies in a constructed definition, so if it is not defined it also does not exist. Bush and Laden have to define the value of good and evil to be able to construct a morality and found their power upon it as any other power holder does. They need each other; they need the evil to be able to hold on to their power over their

⁸⁸ Bush, October 7, 2001. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html>.

⁸⁹ Laden, October 18, 2003. <http://www.cnn.com/2003/WORLD/meast/10/18/binladen.tape>.

people. Thus, this power struggle between Bush and Laden is in fact not a struggle against each other but against the Will to Power that potentially exist in their own people: if the power holders cannot manage to corrupt people's reason, they will realize the Will to Power in them that is the true path to the real world, so they will not follow the power holders' morality but abolish it, which will cause injury in the power holders. As a result, the power holders, to be spared from injury, promises people a false reality that is free from evil. The struggle that Bush and Laden - as representations of power - claim to carry on against evil is in fact their collaboration to keep it alive.



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