



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

**US GEOPOLITICAL CODES AND ROLE OF PERSIAN GULF OIL
IN US MILITARY INTERVENTION IN THE REGION (2001-2004)**

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By
SAEID NAJI

**Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

August 2012

DEDICATION

*To my beloved family
"Roya, Mohammadreza, and Zahra"*



Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in Fulfilment
of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Chair: Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD

Faculty: Human Ecology

This thesis examines the role of the Persian Gulf oil as a geoeconomic factor in the US military intervention in the Persian region. This role is examined in relation to the US attempts to preserve its world leadership position and reconstruct a new geopolitical world order. This role is examined by analyzing US geopolitical codes. This examination focused on the US geopolitical code during the first term of the George W. Bush presidency between 2001 and 2004.

A qualitative content analysis technique was used to analyze data in order to get an in-depth understanding of the US geopolitical code. In this respect, selected US presidential speeches and some official documents such as National Security Strategy and National Energy Policy, as well as the important relevant past studies were consulted and analyzed.

Data analysis revealed a number of important findings. Firstly, there has always been a close connection between geopolitical codes of the United States and its world

leadership position. The American geopolitical culture postulates the US as a “holy land” with the “chosen people”. Therefore, the country has a mission to spread and defend freedom, democracy and peace around the globe. After September 11, global terrorism came to be defined as the main threat to the civilized world and American values. To defend these values, Bush argued that there was therefore a need to reinforce US military might and its global actions as a world leader.

Secondly, since the Second World War, the importance of the Persian Gulf region remained as prominent geopolitical assumption in defining the US geopolitical codes. The importance of this oil rich region as US vital interests has clearly been asserted in the various American doctrines during different periods. Based on US geopolitical codes, all threats to this vital area must be countered by force. In this respect, the Iraqi regime was defined as a serious threat to these regional interests. Iraq was also linked to terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. That consequently justified a pre-emptive war against Iraq to preserve US interests.

Lastly, the US military intervention in Iraq would mean reinforcing the US presence in the region as well as controlling the richest oil area in the world. The geoeconomics of controlling oil would mean controlling the global economy and other great rival powers, which are the most important oil consumers as well. This would thus ensure the security of oil flow toward all industrial countries as well as preserving the interests of US friendly states. It would also portray the United States as a benevolent leader and increase its legitimacy, which had been declining since the early 1970s. And finally, it would help to impose the US global geopolitical code

on other states in the reconstruction of the new geopolitical world order in order that the US world leadership would continue.



Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Doktor Falsafah

**KOD GEOPOLITIK AMERIKA SYARIKAT DAN PERANAN MINYAK
TELUK PARSİ DALAM CAMPUR TANGAN TENTERA AMERIKA
SYARIKAT DI RANTAU İNİ (2001-2004)**

Oleh

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Tesis ini mengkaji peranan minyak Teluk Parsi sebagai faktor geoekonomi dalam campur tangan tentera Amerika Syarikat di Teluk Parsi. Peranan ini dikaji berdasarkan cubaan Amerika Syarikat untuk memelihara kedudukannya sebagai pemimpin dunia dan membina semula susunan geopolitik dunia baru. Ini bakal dilakukan dengan menganalisa kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat. Penelitian ini akan menumpu kepada kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat semasa penggal pertama Kepimpinan George W. Bush antara tahun 2001 dan 2004.

Teknik analisis kandungan kualitatif telah digunakan untuk menganalisis data bagi mendapatkan pemahaman mendalam tentang kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat. Seubungan itu, beberapa ucapan terpilih Presiden Amerika Syarikat dan beberapa dokumen rasmi seperti Strategi Keselamatan Negara dan Polisi Tenaga Negara bersama-sama beberapa kajian lepas yang penting dan berkaitan turut akan dianalisa dan dirujuk.

Analisis data telah menghasilkan beberapa penemuan penting. Pertama, terdapat kaitan rapat antara kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat dan kedudukannya sebagai pemimpin dunia. Budaya geopolitik Amerika menganggap Amerika Syarikat sebagai “tanah suci” dengan “orang-orang yang terpilih”. Oleh itu, negara itu mempunyai satu misi untuk menyebarkan dan mempertahankan kebebasan, demokrasi dan keamanan di serata dunia. Selepas kejadian 11 September, keganasan global telah didefinisikan sebagai ancaman utama ke atas tamadun dunia dan nilai-nilai Amerika. Bagi mempertahankan nilai-nilai ini, Bush telah berhujah bahawa terdapat keperluan untuk mengukuhkan kekuatan tentera Amerika Syarikat dan tindakan global mereka sebagai pemimpin dunia.

Kedua, semenjak Perang Dunia Kedua, kepentingan rantau Teluk Parsi kekal sebagai andaian utama geopolitik dalam mentakrifkan kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat. Kepentingan rantau yang kaya dengan minyak ini sebagai kepentingan utama Amerika Syarikat telah ditegaskan dalam pelbagai doktrin Amerika dalam tempoh masa yang berbeza. Berdasarkan kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat, semua ancaman ke atas kawasan penting ini mesti diatasi dengan kekerasan. Dalam pada itu, rejim Iraq telah diklasifikasikan sebagai ancaman yang serius kepada kepentingan serantau. Iraq juga telah dikaitkan dengan keganasan dan proliferasi senjata pemusnah besar-besaran. Kejadian itu telah mewajarkan perang pre-emptif terhadap Iraq bagi memelihara kepentingan Amerika Syarikat.

Akhir sekali, campur tangan tentera Amerika Syarikat di Iraq bermaksud mengukuhkan kehadiran Amerika Syarikat di rantau ini dan di samping itu mengawal kawasan minyak terkaya di dunia. Apabila geoekonomi minyak berjaya

dikawal, ia juga bermakna kawalan ke atas ekonomi dunia dan kuasa-kuasa saingan yang besar yang lain. Yang menariknya, mereka ini juga merupakan pengguna penting minyak di dunia. Ini seterusnya akan memastikan keselamatan aliran minyak terhadap semua negara industri dan juga memelihara kepentingan negara-negara mesra Amerika Syarikat. Hal ini juga akan menggambarkan Amerika Syarikat sebagai pemimpin prihatin dan meningkatkan kesahihannya semenjak ianya menurun pada awal tahun 1970. Akhirnya, ia dapat membantu menurukan paksa kod geopolitik Amerika Syarikat ke atas negara-negara lain dalam pembinaan semula susunan geopolitik dunia bagi meneruskan kepimpinan dunia Amerika Syarikat.

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I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 16 August 2012 to conduct the final examination of Saeid Naji on his thesis entitled, “US Geopolitical Codes and Role of Persian Gulf Oil in US Military Intervention in the Region (2001-2004)” in accordance with the Universities and University College Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A)106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Doctor of Philosophy.

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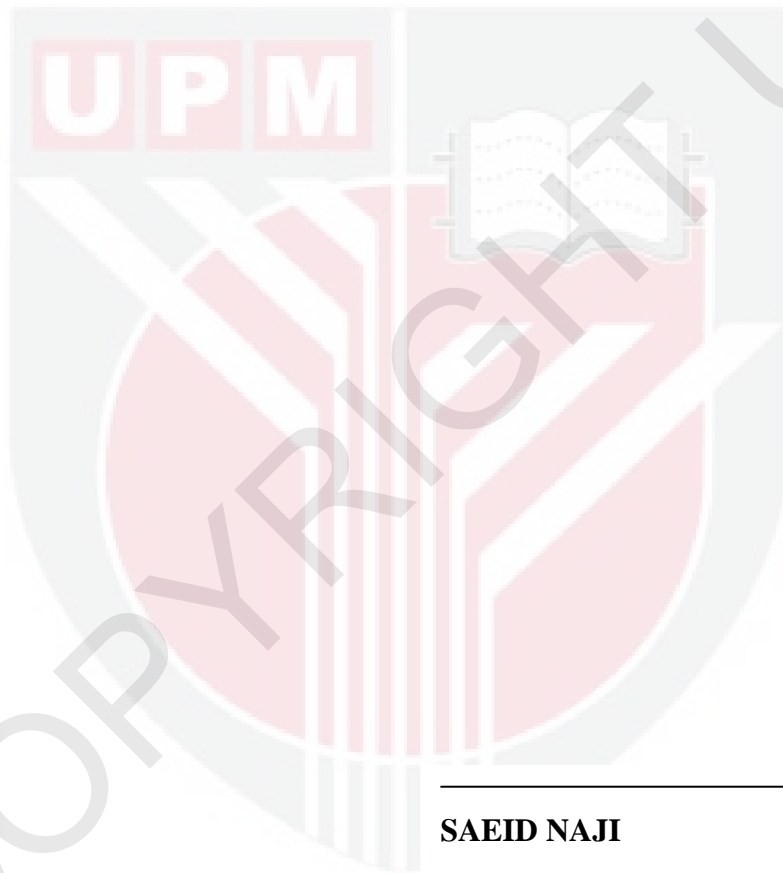
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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis is my original work, except for quotations and citations, which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously, and is not concurrently, submitted for any other degree at Universiti Putra Malaysia or at any other institution.



SAEID NAJI

Date: 16 August 2012

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