American's Real Propaganda Of Democracy and Freedom In George Packer's Betrayed

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Abstract
George Packer is one of the American celebrated playwrights of contemporary political drama. He is very much influenced by the recent history of Iraq which is reflected and can be recognized in his works, most notably in his opulent 2008 play Betrayed. It is based on a journal article written for The New Yorker Magazine after Packer's last visit to Iraq during America's invasion of 2003. Betrayed argues many political and social issues, but it focuses heavily on the US's alleged democracy and freedom so as to prove (their lying) and reveal their hidden colonial interests. Packer shows the audience how Iraqis' hope turns suddenly into a disappointment as a result of the tragic actions that have happened instead of stabilization and peace. Thus, their dependence upon America's good intentions make them ultimately look for asylum outside Iraq. Hence, this paper aims at investigating America's false claims and phony promises of democracy and liberty. It also explores their betrayal which is accomplished in pillaging, looting, destructing, militias, murdering, sectarian dividing, and bombing.

Keywords: Betrayed, translators, Democracy and Freedom
The American propaganda for freedom and democracy. George Packer, a renowned American playwright, is one of the most influential figures in contemporary drama. He has been deeply affected by the modern history of Iraq, which has been reflected in his work. Packer’s masterpiece is a play that examines the real image of Iraqis’ life after the American war of 2003 and mirrors the alleged claims of freedom and democracy through the eyes of young interpreters. The play reflects his attitude towards such destructive war and invasion. The play opens with Adnan and Laith, two friends from different sects, narrating their experiences to an objective observer (George Packer on stage) in an old-fashioned manner.

TheKWDS: The play discusses many issues of the current study. Packer portrays the American democracy and freedom as a false promise that has been used to justify the war and invasion of Iraq. He depicts the American government’s claims of freedom and democracy as empty promises that have led to the destruction of Iraq and the deaths of its people. The play also explores the consequences of the war, such as the displacement of people and the destruction of their lives and properties.

TheKWDS: The play’s main themes are democracy and freedom. Packer’s work is a reminder that these values should not be used as a means to justify destructive wars and invasions. The play’s message is that freedom and democracy cannot be achieved through violent means and that the true meaning of these values should be based on respect for human rights and the well-being of all people.
hotel room in Baghdad. They discuss some related issues to the hazardous situation of their society after the war along with their position and security as interpreters to the occupiers (Fayadh, 2014, 130).

From the beginning, Packer intends to show the audience two matters, the first is to expose the American politicians' false allegations on the mouth of Adnan who starts the events with the fighting between the American troops and Al Qaeda in Amiriya, the cut off the teacher's head in Adnan's area and leaving it on the sidewalk, and the Mahdi army's (a Shiite militia) riots such as burning Sunni houses. Moreover, the appearance of "alaasa", they are "informers who sit all day in the street and watch for people they consider the enemy". In other words "the ones who chew" (BD, sc.1, 8). The second is to exhibit to the public the imported democracy to Iraq and its resulting conclusions (starting from the spread of armed groups in all Baghdad neighborhoods ending with departing Iraq asking for an asylum).

**ADNAN:** First there was fighting in Amiriya between Americans and Al Qaeda. They beheaded a teacher on my street. Then I got stuck at my sister's in Amel because the Mahdi Army was burning Sunni houses (BD, sc.1, 8). America's invasion on Iraq has awakened many sleeping cases, most remarkably 'sectarianism' (regarded as the first image of claimed freedom) which leads to many ugly disasters and makes both translators obliged to hold forged identities in distinct areas of Baghdad to keep away from death (Ghani, 2016, 55).

**ADNAN:** [...] the first thing everyone wants to know is "Are you Sunni or Shia?" And if you give the wrong answer--(He makes a slashing gesture across his throat.) [...] I have to carry a fake ID for different parts of Baghdad (BD, sc.1, 9).

The two interpreters recollect the arrival of Americans to Iraq in 2003 and how hundreds of people raised their dreams to be fulfilled believing in change, exactly like Adnan who defends their situation at first, but change his mind then due to Americans' hidden reality.

**LAITH:** [...]Every Iraqi who wanted a job was here. Journalists were here, soldiers were here, everyone mixing freely. It is sad to remember, with all the hopes that we had, and all the dreams, after the invasion--

**ADNAN:** I was totally against the word "invasion". Whenever I went I was defending the Americans and strongly saying America was here to make a change. But now I have my doubts (BD, sc.1, 10).

Scene Two presents other examples of Iraqi people who think that the coalition forces are going to fulfill their purposes. Those figures are embodied in an Old Man (dazed-looking) asking for his four disappeared sons hoping that Americans will find them or catch any news about them. While the second is a black abaya (a long black mantle worn by women as an Iraqi tradition) Woman who seeks a job for her son and wants electricity, water, and above all to get them rid from the gangs that fill Baghdad neighborhoods. The American Soldier ridicules her saying, "Do I look like Superman?" (BD, sc.2, 16). At this point, Packer illustrates that those poor Iraqis are really convinced that America has come to free them and carry out their requirements.

A new Iraqi personage appears on stage called Dishdasha (a long cloth for men) Man who has come seeking for his captured sibling (a banana trader) by American forces and justifies his attitude saying: "his brother didn't do anything, he's just an importer of
bananas." (BD, sc.3, 21), but the American Soldier replies with doubt and interrogates him saying:

SOLDIER: Bananas. That’s just beautiful. So your brother didn’t shoot that RPG at my patrol last week? Didn’t try to blow up Captain Prior's vehicle? He didn’t kill Specialist Hunter? (BD, sc.3, 21)

Laith works temporarily with Jason (an American Soldier) in the Assassins' Gate unit, before his return to his house, he asks Jason to turn off the Assassins' Gate light which reveals his shadow and puts him in danger. Laith believes totally in the ability of Americans who are trustworthy in rescuing and protecting their lives. Packer here, indicates the first mark that epitomized America's betrayal when the serviceman reassures Laith saying do not worry, the sniper watches you till your arrival.

LAITH: […] Sir, there is a problem may be you can fix. This light (he gestures to the spotlight on top of the Assassins' Gate)–when I walk home my shadow shows from a very far distance. It's dangerous. Can you turn it off until I go one hundred meters?

SOLDIER: (caught for a moment) Don’t worry about it, dude, you're on our team. A sniper's got you covered the whole way. Guy could shoot an apple off that blast wall. (BD, sc.3, 23).

Then, the Shiite interpreter has discovered their treason when he saw one of the snipers and thanked him for his bravery in covering him, but the shocking fact is, that his speech is one of the tricking techniques utilized by them as a means to help people orally without action. Hence, Laith realizes the reality that one should trust no one, but merely himself and at the same time blames himself for his naïvety.

LAITH: A few nights later I met one of the snipers, I said, "Thanks for covering me." "What are you talking about?" "When I got out." He started laughing. It was just a story to trick me. […] I was naïve, I believed the Americans wouldn’t lie to us. We were friends, yeah, but they didn’t trust us. That was my first shock–nobody's looking out for you. You're on your own. (BD, sc.4, 24).

At the US embassy in Baghdad, Adnan has an interview with the State Department official, Bill Prescott, in order to get a new job there. Prescott questions Adnan firstly about his former job, he answers a book seller in Al- Mutanabi street. Then, he states his viewpoint about America's invasion which has been a chance for himself and for every Iraqi to forget the miserable past in Saddam's reign, to put an end to the dark prison they were in, and to start living a new life. Meanwhile, the foreign service officer tells Adnan, that what he says means that he observes it as a liberation not as an occupation (Fayadh, 2014, 131-132).

PRESCOTT: So you see it as a liberation? Not an occupation? Because our polling shows a split in Iraqi public opinion.

ADNAN: I see it as a chance. Only that.[…]. We were living in this great prison. (BD, sc.5, 27).

Adnan, on his way to try the polygraph test with the Regional Security Officer, has seen Intisar (his old classmate in Baghdad University) who also comes looking for a job in the embassy. The RSO asks both of them to keep calm and avoid lying because lie detector machine measures anxiety. The Regional Security Officer does not trust Iraqis whether they are translators or others, he considers them as assassins and informers from the Red Zone (every other place outside the Green Zone). This is why, his most significant question to
interpreters is, whether they are engaged or planning for any conspiracy that will hurt any American's life or if they have any relations with insurgents. Throughout this dialogue, RSO represents as a colonizer rather than liberator, cares for Americans and neglecting the country who must free it:

RSO: Have you ever been involved in a plot on the life of any Americans in Iraq?
ADNAN: Never.
RSO: Ever had contact with insurgents of any kind?
ADNAN: They live on my street, but I do not talk to them. (*BD*, sc.6, 32-33)

Intisar is the last and only female interpreter who is a strong-willed woman with a kind of independency (Chou and Bleiker, 2010, 565). She talks with Prescott and informs him (in front of the audience) that she is in the eyes of her neighborhood an outcast and a woman out of her customs and traditions, she does not wear hijab and puts make up with bold clothes in such critical times, so, they hate her and threat her frequently:

INTISAR: No, And there are people on my street who look at me with hate in their eyes. One of them said, "This is our area and our rules must be followed." I don’t care. I don’t care anymore. (*BD*, sc.6, 33).

Despite their menace, Intisar (as a rebellious lady and non-belonger) announces that she does not pay attention to them or their rules and clarifies that it is enough for her to be obliged in Saddam's era to do many things against her will:

INTISAR: I don’t want to do anything that someone obliges me to do. I hate that. I won't do it. I was forced to do many things in Saddam's regime. I don’t want to do that anymore. (*BD*, sc.6, 33).

Scene Seven displays Packer's irony in Laith's situation when he told Adnan about his first going with the Alpha Unit in a patrol to his neighborhood, Sadr City. Although the translators are the initial bolsters of the American's invasion, they are the first to figure out their wrong allegations.

The Americans do not care for interpreters' safety or the danger that they have been in, even do not give them a body armor in anticipation of any emergency, only a cheap vest which protects from nothing. For this cause, Laith is forced to wear bandanna to hide his face and keep in safe. The reason lies, as it is mentioned earlier that Iraqis in general and interpreters in particular, for Americans, are no more than objects utilized only for their own concerns.

LAITH: [...], they never gave me the good body armor when we went on a raid, just some cheap vest that doesn’t protect you against an AK. Or they took me out on patrol in my own neighborhood, even after I told them it was dangerous for me. I started wearing a bandanna over my face. (*BD*, sc.7, 35)

Adnan, Intisar, and Laith get the job and were granted yellow badges which permit them to enter the embassy only. As they listen to RSO's security briefing, the Regional Security Officer directly refers to them as Potential threats, even when they are in his side, he still suspects them, "Anyone coming in here from the Red Zone should be treated as a potential threat" (*BD*, sc.8, 38). He adds that all the opponents of the American presence either insurgents or others are enemies. The RSO reveals his hatred and grudge towards Iraqis by using the word 'enemy':

RSO: [...] The enemy is trying every day and every way to penetrate the Green Zone perimeter, and he only has to succeed once. (*BD*, sc.8, 38).

The Regional Security Officer iterates the phrase of Green and Red Zones many times, Intisar questions him:

INTISAR: What is the Red Zone?
RSO: The Red Zone... It's what's outside the Green Zone.
Hence, Iraq has turned to a Red Zone with the arrival of American troops, not only this, but became a grave and an uninhabitable place for them and for Iraqis as well (Fayadh, 2014, 133).

M. Fayadh elucidates that whatever the interpreters do, still there is no axis of understanding between the Americans who are the colonizers and Iraqis, the colonized people (2014, 133). This is explicated by Intisar in the concluding words of scene nine when she explained the threats that received from everywhere, in particular her neighborhood:

**INTISAR:** [. . .] Bill Prescott? He is a very nice man, but no, he doesn't understand all these things. He encourages us, he says be patient, things will get better soon. But Americans cannot have the feeling what it is to take these risks. They cannot understand *(BD, sc.9, 42).*

Scene Ten discloses its contradiction with scene two in which the suggested equality between Americans and Iraqis has revealed its reality through Jason's treatment of Adnan and Laith. The two Iraqi interpreters are waiting in a queue to enter the Green Zone. Laith gets an unknown call, he answers in Arabic and breached one of the Green Zone's instructions which prevents the utilization of cell phones, when the American soldier sees him, he begins whooping and taking his mobile phone immediately, despite their friendship as AL and Jassim (Aaltonen, 2011, 18-19). Thereafter, Laith realizes that such supposed relationship and equality are fake:

**SOLDIER:** Hey, dickhead! What does it say right there in two fucking languages? *(He shoves Laith, grabs his phone, and begins to disassemble it).*

**LAITH:** Sir that's an embassy phone! I'm an FSN! I have a yellow badge! *(BD, sc.10, 45-46)*

As a result, M. Fayadh elucidates that:

"the relationship between the Americans and Iraqis is not that of equality but one that is between dominants and subjects. The purpose of the invasion is not to establish democracy and reconstruct a country destroyed by long-term economic sanctions, but to control it and subject its citizens" (Fayadh, 2014, 131).

Intisar (in a flashback) complains on stage how each look from her neighborhood is a threat for her. The last threat has been from Abo Abbas (The Eggplant Face) who informs her that for Iraqis, the lady who gets out without scarf is a whore and there are rules that must be followed.

**EGGPLANT FACE:** There are rules here. The defenders of this area will not allow a woman to look like a prostitute. *(BD, sc.11, 49)*

In the next scene, Packer aims to show the audience America's reality and failure in providing Iraqis with the required protection. Prescott comes with unpleasant news concerning the horrible death of Intisar and how they tortured her psychologically before shooting her. Americans are responsible for Intisar's death who as M. I. Fayadh (2014, 133) maintains that their carelessness to their Iraqi allies leads to Intisar's homicide at the military militia 's hands.

**PRESCOTT:** I'm sorry. It's bad news[. . .] Intisar was picked up on her way home last night.[. . .] They drove her around Mansour and they shaved off her hair and then they shot her and dumped her on the street.[. . .] We believe she was still alive, because a taxi driver came and got her. It appears he was working with them.
because he drove all over Karkh until she bled to death in his backseat. \(BD\), sc.12, 53

Packer illustrates the Americans' central aim behind employing translators in the US ambassador's speech when he reports them forthrightly that they are "the eyes and ears of the embassy. We could not do our work without you" \(BD\), sc.13, 54. However, America did not trust the Iraqis from the beginning and it will not. This is shown in RSO's eyes and speech when Adnan and Laith ask for their right in protection and to change the badges from yellow to green to avert peril, he rejects to upgrade their badges.

The reason lies in the postcolonial tenet of 'us and them'. For the Regional Security Officer (Iraqis/them) are merely collaborators no more than that, he grants them the yellow badges to prevent them from carrying weapons and it is possible for them to commit a murder crime or anything else. The RSO supposes that if he gives them the green, they will put the embassy in danger, "Embassy security is my number one priority. I won't do anything to jeopardize it" \(BD\), sc.13, 56. Whereas the green and blue ones are for (Americans/us) only who are able to carry weapons and do anything they want. In other words, as M. Ismail Fayadh (2014) outlines the RSO's rejection in two points: the first "is that the interpreters would be equally treated like Americans and the second, they are going to be trusted and such trust may lead to the destruction of the embassy one day" (133).

**ADNAN:** We work at the embassy, We come here every day. We are FSNs. We are easily identified--our colleague was killed.

**RSO:** You live in the Red Zone, right? That means you're under continuous threat. Someone finds out where you work, they could force you to smuggle something in here. It's happened. That's why we have these procedures. \(BD\), sc.13, 55-56

In Scene Fourteen, Adnan, Laith, and Prescott are seen in a restaurant in Baghdad talking about America's negative impacts on Iraq which transforms it into a place full of armed groups, insurgents, and religious extremists (Al Mahdi Army, Al Qaeda, and Alaasa etc.) instead of a democratic country. In other words, Adnan apprises Prescott about the change that happened in their Sunni area and how Al Qaeda as a small-minded and strict group enforced people to follow their stringent rules and beliefs. One can notice throughout Adnan's speech how America affects Iraq and makes it reach at this level of extremism:

**ADNAN:** [...] And in my neighborhood, al Qaeda is becoming very strong and bringing their strict rules.

**PRESCOTT:** What rules? Give me details. What do they do to people.

**ADNAN:** No jeans, no shirts, no ladies driving. They threaten you if you have a spare tire in your car because this means you do not trust in God's help. They killed a man who always sold ice next to the vegetable market--he was a very poor man, everyone in the neighborhood liked him--because they said there was no ice in the time of the prophet. This is their religion \(BD\), sc.14, 62

On the other hand, Laith reports about the JAM (Jaish Al Mahdi) which dominates his Shiite neighborhood, how they seek for their enemy (Sunni, Americans, and those who work for Americans) in order to slay them down.
LAITH: In my area JAM has total control. They stop cars in the street to look for their enemies. That's why I leave my jacket and tie at the embassy (BD, sc.14, 63)

In addition to that, Laith sheds light on the infrastructure devastation particularly the problem of electricity and the diffusion of corruption that menaces to smash all dreams and wishes of reconstructing Iraq and improving its people's lives. Al-Sadr city is a good instance to materialize such failure whether of Americans or the new formed governments after 2003, Laith informs B. Prescott that reconstruction they claim to do in Iraq was just a lie (Ghani, 2016, 56):

LAITH: Bill, people in Sadr City were looking for any tangible project. At the embassy I hear numbers of budget, amounts of money, this sewer system is going to be repaired, such and such schools are being rebuilt. But in the streets in my area there is not a tangible project. (BD, sc.14, 63)

Finally, Adnan perceives Americans' truth that they are coming for their own interests only not for Iraqis or their freedom. Moreover they are themselves who made Iraq bleed and Iraqis die.

ADNAN: [...] They don’t care about the simple Iraqi people. They only care about their interests. (BD, sc.14, 66)

Packer highlights another apparent phenomenon that existed in Iraq after 2003 besides murder and sectarianism; it is kidnapping. It is presented in Scene Fifteen when Adnan narrates the story of his brother, Ahmed in a flashback (standing alone in a circle of light) who is kidnapped by unperceived groups. They call Adnan asking him how he wants his brother to be slaughtered. Adnan pleads them to leave him alone, but those men ask him what is his exact sect that he belongs to Sunni or Shia. He answers Shia then Sunni, but it does not matter, they cut Adnan's brother into pieces and feed the dogs with his corpse:

Voice-over: How do you want us to kill him? Shall we cut him into pieces and feed him to the dogs?

ADNAN: No, no! Please don’t hurt him, he's still a boy. Just tell me, tell me what you want.

Voice-over: Are You Sunni or Shia?

ADNAN: Me? My family? We are—we are Shia

Voice-over: Rejectionist infidels! You all deserve to die.

[...]

ADNAN: Sunni! We are Sunni! Don't hurt my brother. I told you Shia because I thought you were Mahdi Army. We are Sunni. I can prove it. Let me prove it.

ADNAN: [...] the man said, "We are going to cut him into pieces and feed him to dogs." (BD, sc.15, 71-72)

One more picture of distrust is depicted in the conversation between The Regional Security Officer and Laith when he goes to try the polygraph test (Fayadh, 2014, 135). The RSO accuses Laith of being a spy and exploiting his position to serve the insurgents. He attempts to justify his situation, although it was Prescott's request to maintain the channels open, but it is useless, he is fired.

RSO: You're the guy who wanted the green badges, right?

LAITH: for our security.

RSO: Green would have gotten you past the outer checkpoint without a search
RSO: Why did you send the email?
LAITH: Because my contact asked me to do him a favor
RSO: You use your job here to do favors for the enemy.

[...]

RSO: So you're using your official position to do favors for friends? Enemies, friends, doesn’t matter just so long as they're Iraqis? (BD, sc.17, 84-85)

Adnan, the only survivor interpreter informs in a desperate and forlorn tone that the trauma is Iraqis work with them and sacrifice their lives, but all that was in vain. Americans never trust them instead they are terrorists in their sights.

ADNAN: All the sacrifices, all the work, all the devotion mean nothing to you. We are still terrorists in your eyes. (BD, sc.17, 88)

Hence, the imported democracy and liberty force Iraqis eventually to ask for asylum in order to survive. A good instance is Laith who after his expulsion from the embassy receives a threat from an anonymous group who thought that it is either from Al Qaeda or Al Mahdi Army, written on a piece of paper beside his house door telling that his head will be beheaded and thrown into the trash, "I found a piece of paper lying by the door. It was in Arabic. It said, "We will cut off the heads and throw them in the garbage." (BD, sc.18, 91). This leads Laith to search for a safe place outside Iraq to resort to. This consolidates George Packer's claim in his prelude when he said that:

"Normal existence in their homeland was impossible, and it would remain impossible for years–maybe for the rest of their lives. These Iraqis were as hunted and helpless as European Jews in the early 1940s." (qtd. in Packer, 2008, viii).

This is emphasized by Majeed Ismail Fayadh who mentions in his paper that one of the major missions assumed by the US forces and for which they occupied Iraq is to free Iraqis from Saddam's dictator regime and make them live peacefully in their country. The conversation between Prescott and the ambassador exposes the reverse that hundreds of Iraqis choose and prefer expatriation and asylum instead of living in Iraq (2014, 135).

AMBASSADOR: A mass exodus from the Green Zone? What would be the optics of that? It would mean game over, we're on our way out.
PRESCOTT: I agree we would need procedures so we don’t encourage people to become refugees. But once they make the decision to leave, I believe, with all due respect, that we have an obligation.
AMBASSADOR: An obligation based on what?
PRESCOTT: Because we're Americans, sir. Do you remember what Ford said about letting in the Vietnamese? "To do less would have added moral shame to humiliation." This is just the same.

AMBASSADOR: [...] In Iraq the president has declared his determination to win. How can we resettle large numbers of Iraqis here when we are still in the fight there? (BD, sc.22, 102-103)
Consequently, this reveals Americans' failure in their alleged project in Iraq which aims at turning Iraq into a notable peaceful and democratic country in the middle east, but the fact that they are unable to get their Iraqi allies (translators) visas to leave their country (Fayadh, 2014, 135).

In the closing scene Adnan is alone on stage with the anonymous reporter who feels that he is the last person in Baghdad especially after the migration of Laith, return of Prescott to America, and the death of Intisar, he misses all of them.

In brief, he realizes that Iraqis' life is over in the destroyed Iraq and they have to start an entire new life abroad as newborn babies, new lifestyle, new language, new work, and new people. Adnan thinks that, "It is strange to think of becoming Swedish. I will have to be like a small child again and learn a new language" (BD, sc.23, 107).

Adnan's speech proves and demonstrates the truth of the US invasion of Iraq which becomes apparent to the whole world that Americans were colonizers not liberators and their coming of the alleged democracy and freedom was no more than a plea to fulfill their own endeavors and pursuits, furthermore, to demolish Iraq so as to eliminate the power that threatens America's superiority and authority.

Conclusion
Packer's Betrayed explores America's (Bush and his administration) false allegations of democracy and freedom throughout the translators' eyes (Adnan, Intisar, and Laith) whose hopes and dreams turn into disillusionment because they themselves discover America's betrayal. Their goal of liberating Iraqis from Saddam's dictatorship and reconstructing a peaceful and democratic country was merely a pretext employed to destroy Iraq and destabilized it. Packer shows the audience the reality of democracy in Iraq by shedding light on the murder, chaos, kidnapping, sectarian divisions, gang groups, violence, and explosions (car bombs). Eventually, America's betrayal and her cunning is so prominent in the play. The one who believes, that Americans as the politicians proclaim came as rescuers and liberators, the text disclosed the opposite, they were vandals and devastators, they change Iraq into bleeding country till the present day. Betrayed showed clearly how Iraqis were baits of such aggressive occupation which led them nowhere, but to abyss as a result of the forged claims of freedom and democracy.

References


