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**Assessing the U.S. Counterterrorism Policy during Bush and Obama
Presidencies: Iraq as a Case study**

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Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Anglophone Language,
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Dedication

First of all, I dedicate this modest work to my charming queen the symbol of love, kindness, and tenderness “my mother” and my everlasting support “my father” the source of patience and power.

This work is dedicated to my dear sister Assia and my brothers Aissa, Ismail, Yahia, Imad, Wissem and Firace.

To my grandfather E Zin and to my grandmother Halima may God prolong their lives and protect them.

To my uncles Emara, kheirdin, Farouk, Nasser, Khaled, and special appreciation to the one who helped me to reach this point my uncle Fetei. Without forgetting my aunt Samira and my cousins Nassira, Lobna, Khitam and Ikram.

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List of Figures

Figure.1. Early Organizational Structure of Al-Qaeda.....	13
Figure. 2. Terrorist Attacks per Day on Civilian Targets in Iraq	53

Abstract

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 which were conducted by the terrorist organization of Al Qaeda, the U.S.A. has developed a new counterterrorism policy in order to defeat this newly emerging threat. President Bush found himself forced to react to punish the responsible for the attacks, many procedures had been taken to abolish this organization and stop its growth. Moreover, the new President Obama, declared that he would follow a different counterterrorism policy from Bush policy, and indeed, he was able to kill Ossama Bin Laden the leader of Al Qaeda after ten years of fight. Thus, the aim of this dissertation is to assess the U.S. counterterrorism policy during the presidencies of Bush and Obama. Taking Iraq as one of the countries concerned with U.S. counterterrorism Agenda and one of the countries where terrorism ranks its highest levels would allow to assess the effectiveness and validity of U.S. counterterrorism policy in Iraq from 2003 until 2011.

ملخص

منذ الهجمات الارهابية التي وقعت فى 11 سبتمبر 2001 والتي نفذتها منظمة القاعدة الارهابية، وضعت الولايات المتحدة سياسة جديدة لمكافحة الارهاب من اجل هزيمة هذا التهديد الجديد. في البداية، وجد الرئيس بوش نفسه مجبرا على الرد على معاقبة المسؤولين عن الهجمات، وقد اتخذ العديد من الإجراءات لإلغاء هذه المنظمة ووقف نموها. وعلاوة على ذلك، أعلن الرئيس الجديد أوباما أنه سيتبع سياسة مختلفة لمكافحة الإرهاب عن سياسة بوش، بل إنه كان قادرا على قتل أسامة بن لادن زعيم تنظيم القاعدة بعد عشر سنوات من القتال. وبالتالي، فإن هدف هذه المذكرة هو تقييم سياسة مكافحة الإرهاب الأمريكية خلال رئاستي بوش وأوباما. إن اتخاذ العراق كأحد الدول المعنية بجدول أعمال مكافحة الإرهاب الأمريكي، وأحد البلدان التي يحتل فيها الإرهاب أعلى مستوياته، سيسمح لنا بتوليد وجهة نظر حول فعالية وصحة سياسة مكافحة الإرهاب الأمريكية في العراق من عام 2003 حتى عام 2011.

Résumé

Depuis les attentats terroristes du 11 septembre 2001 qui ont été menés par l'organisation terroriste d'Al-Qaïda, les États-Unis ont mis au point une nouvelle politique de lutte contre le terrorisme afin de vaincre cette nouvelle menace émergente. Au début, le président Bush s'est vu obligé de réagir pour punir les responsables des attaques, de nombreuses procédures ont été prises pour abolir cette organisation et mettre fin à sa croissance. De plus, le nouveau président Obama a déclaré qu'il suivrait une politique antiterroriste différente de la politique de Bush, et en effet, il a pu tuer Ossama Ben Laden le leader d'Al-Qaïda après dix ans de combat. Ainsi, l'objectif de cette dissertation est d'évaluer la politique antiterroriste américaine au cours des présidences de Bush et Obama. Prenant l'Irak comme l'un des pays concernés par le programme de lutte contre le terrorisme américain et l'un des pays où le terrorisme se classe au plus haut niveau nous permettrait de donner une idée de l'efficacité et de la validité de la politique antiterroriste américaine en Irak de 2003 à 2011.

Table of content

Introduction	1
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Chapter One: Al Qaeda before 9/11 Events, A Historical Background

I. 1. Al Qaeda Birth.....	5
I. 1. 1. Ossama Bin Laden Early Life (Biography).....	5
I. 1. 2. Iranian Revolution.....	7
I. 1. 3. Afghanistan Invasion.....	8
I. 1. 4. Kuwait Invasion.....	9
I. 2. Al Qaeda Evolution.....	10
I. 2. 1. Al Qaeda Structure.....	11
I. 2. 2. Strategy.....	14
I. 2. 3. Ideology.....	17
I. 2. 4. Al Qaeda Operations and the Road to 9/11	22

Chapter Two: U.S. Counterterrorism Policy during George W Bush and Obama

Administrations

II. 1. President Bush Counterterrorism Policy.....	26
II. 1. 1. The Declaration of a Global War on Terror.....	28
II. 1. 2. Law Enforcement.....	30
II. 1. 3. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.....	31
II. 1. 4. Operation Iraqi Freedom.....	33

II. 1. 5. Homeland Security and Intelligence.....	35
II. 2. Barak Obama New Strategy for Defeating Terrorism.....	37
II. 2. 1. Military Modifications.....	38
II. 2. 2. The Closure of Guantanamo Bay.....	39
II. 2. 3. Changing the Language of Bush War on Terror.....	40
Chapter Three: Assessing Presidents Bush and Obama Counterterrorism Policy against Al Qaeda taking Iraq as a Case Study	
III. 1. 1 The Bush Administration Achievements in The Counterterrorism policy.....	44
III. 1. 2. The Obama Administration Achievements in The Counterterrorism policy.....	46
III. 1. 3. AL Qaeda after the U.S. responsive Counterterrorism Policy.....	49
III. 2. Al Qaeda in Iraq after the U.S. Invasion of 2003.....	51
Conclusion	57
Biography.....	60

Introduction

The tragic events of September 11th, 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were serious crisis in modern American history. It was more than a murderous attack that cost three thousands lives of innocents and billions of dollars as economic damage. For many Americans, it devastated a decade of peace and prosperity built up after the end of dramatic events and tension of the cold war and marked the beginning of new threat lurking to the world security.

Ossama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda were accused of committing September 11th attacks. Thus, finding and killing the leader Bin Laden was seen as essential to put an end to Al Qaeda. In fact, this terrorist organization grow out of anti-Soviet jihad during the Afghan revolution of 1979 during which Ossama Bin Laden participated in the war to confront the soviet spread in Afghanistan and from this, a global jihad seemed to evolve and Al Qaeda was born.

President Bush came to office with the priorities that would focus on current issues like China-U.S. trade relations, Missile Defense, the collapse of the Middle East peace process, and the Persian Gulf. Al Qaeda was considered as an issue of lesser importance and concern in terms of U.S. foreign and national security policy. However, after September 11th attacks, President Bush found himself faced with a new danger threatening the U.S. national security and a need for an effective counterterrorism policy.

President Bush followed a very aggressive strategy; he made no distinction between the terrorists who committed the attacks, and those who embraced them. Moreover, he involved into two wars: Afghanistan in 2001; was a war waged as a response to the direct threat of Al-Qaeda being contained by Taliban, and Iraq in 2003, which was justified on protective grounds. As continuation, President Barak Obama came to office intending to follow a policy

that would differ from his predecessor's policy wishing to end the seemingly endless terrorism through conducting a counterterrorism campaign that would be more morally acceptable, more focused and more effective in reducing the terrorist threat.

Taking Iraq as one of the countries suspected of having links with Al Qaeda and testing U.S. counterterrorism policy during Bush and Obama presidencies in this region would allow us to assess its validity in achieving its goals. In other words, one would have to go through the counterterrorism agenda of both presidents to know: what was the degree of success and failure in their policies when attempting to contain Al Qaeda in Iraq. Did the U.S. Intervention and presence in Iraq help in eliminating Al Qaeda? Has it been winning the war on terror? Moreover, what are the needed measures to fight Al Qaeda if the U.S. counterterrorism is failing in its war on terror?

The present dissertation is a determined attempt to answer the previous questions with view to analyze the U.S. counterterrorism policy implemented in Iraq during Bush and Obama presidencies, mainly to understand its impact and effect on Al Qaeda growth and the spread of terrorism in world. So, a brief insight on major event and consequences behind Al Qaeda birth will be explored with a focus on its structural, ideological and strategic evolution until the day of committing the terrorist attacks of September 11th, this will be dealt with in the first chapter. Chapter two identifies U.S. counterterrorism policies held by presidents Bush and Obama after the deadly terrorist attacks. In addition, it analyses the different attitudes, perspectives and reactions of both presidents while trying eliminate Al Qaeda.

Chapter three looks for the impact of U.S. counterterrorism policy on Al Qaeda and the spread of terrorism. That is to say, assessing the effectiveness and validity of Bush and Obama strategies in defeating Al Qaeda as a threatening terrorist organization, trying to measure the extent of failure and success while implementing their strategies in Iraq and

evaluating the results of their reactions and decisions taken in this area. The Three Chapters serve to understand the role U.S. counterterrorism policy played in redefining Al Qaeda and the new look of terror emerging around the world. In other words, assessing the strategies followed by U.S.A in its fight against Al Qaeda would allow us to evaluate a decade of efforts shown by Presidents Bush and Obama and recognize its effects on Al Qaeda growth.

Until recently, Al Qaeda and U.S. counterterrorism policy have received much interests and focus from politicians and worldwide media. *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* is one of the most notable works done about Al Qaeda organization, its author Rohan Gunaratna tries to trace the development of this organization before the events of September 11th, 2001 basing his work on more than a 200 interviews with terrorists including Al Qaeda members. Moreover, *Battling Terrorism: Legal Perspectives on the Use of Force and the War on Terror* is another work for Jackson Nyamuya Maogoto, which identifies the initial legal response to international terrorism and provides an evaluation of law enforcements while countering terrorism during Bush administration.

While examining the effect of U.S. counterterrorism policy on Al Qaeda growth. A theoretical part will be devoted to trace Al Qaeda evolution before September 11th events and investigate major policies and procedures taken by presidents Bush and Obama when defeating Al Qaeda. In addition to that, to answer the previous questions, a situational analysis and deep examination of recent events in Iraq will provide us with some realities that can help to enforce the main aim of this research work. Discourse Analysis here also plays a major role because we interpreted presidential speeches to justify our hypothesis. Finally, the MAL style is applied throughout the study

Chapter One: Al Qaeda before 9/11 Events, A Historical Background

Since 1968, the beginning of the new wave of terrorism, Al Qaeda was the first multinational terrorist group of the 21st century that confronted the world with a new kind of a threat. It changed terrorism from a protest and a resistance technique to a global challenging technique to the western influence on the Muslim world (Gunaratna 1). The unparalleled group Al Qaeda has emerged as the first enemy to threaten U.S.A. and the World National Security using new techniques that had never been used before by any other preceding terrorist groups.

Within a span of 15 years, Al Qaeda has evolved from a group of mujahedeen to a formal organization ending up with a transnational terror network scattering its ideological influence around the world. Ossama Bin Laden and other recognized leaders within Al Qaeda organization highly contributed in its strategic and ideological development, supporting many attacks against U.S forces in Middle East and planning for the murderous attacks of 9/11 (Borum and Gelles 467). Since its creation, Al Qaeda had never stopped its terrorist acts against U.S.A. but again had grown to become a transnational terror network threatening the world security.

This first chapter will be divided into two parts. In part one, concerning al Qaeda birth, a focus will be put on Ossama Bin Laden early life (biography) bringing to mind the circumstances and the historical events influencing him and explaining his creation of Al Qaeda organization. The second part will be devoted to describe Al Qaeda evolution from being an organization to an ideological movement; explaining its structural, ideological and strategic progression from its creation until the day of committing 9/11 attacks.

I. 1. Al Qaeda Birth

Shedding light on Ossama Bin Laden's early life would lead to comprehend the history and the circumstances contributing in the development of a peaceful Saudi dissident to America first target. In other words; Culture, beliefs, attitudes and the prevailing system of norms where Ossama Bin Laden grown up as young will allow to discover the events, which may have been unconsciously behind his behavior. As Osama bin Laden did not begin his life with a worldview, one should look back in history to know the world events he witnessed and worldviews influencing him and shaping his personal way of thinking.

In addition to that, important events occurred during Ossama Bin Laden life, both directly and indirectly, forced him to embrace his new path. First, the Iranian revolution, or the Shia Islamic revolution against the existing secular government which resulted in the establishment of the world's first modern Muslim theocracy and the realization of the political potential of Islam for the first time in the Middle East at the hands of Ayatollah Al Khomeini. Second, the Afghan war was an available opportunity for Ossama Bin Laden to implement and defend his espoused ideologies that resulted in the creation of Al Qaeda with his longtime mentor Dr. Abdullah Azzam's aid. Finally, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 has boosted Ossama Bin Laden to hold an aggressive view toward U.S.A. and other secular regimes in the Islamic community.

I. 1 .1. Ossama Bin Laden Early Life (Biography)

Usāmah bin Muhammad bin 'Awad bin Lādin, known as Osama Bin Laden, born in March 10th, 1957. In Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Ossama Bin Laden childhood environment and early life commitments is integral to understand his impulses and life choices ("Ossama...1"). Indeed, there are many reasons explaining Ossama Bin Laden's aggressive acts. Ossama Bin Laden is the 17th of, a generally put number, 52 children of the prestigious and wealthy Bin Laden

family. His father was from South Yemen, Mohammed Awad Bin Laden came to the Saudi Arabia as a poor laborer ending up as owner of the biggest construction company in the Kingdom, where he built a very close relationship with the Saudi royal family. The father was a fairly devoted Muslim, very modest and generous, he raised his children according to the strict religious and social rules of Islam, and he was very cautious not to show any differences while dealing with his children (Orbach 54).

Ossama's parents divorced soon after he was born. His childhood and status within the Saudi society become more complicated after the death of his father at age of 13, and he married to one of his relatives at the age of 17 ("Ossama...1"). Nonetheless, Ossama Bin Laden grew up as a devout Sunni Muslim. In addition, he had his primary, secondary and university education in Jeddah, and graduated in 1979 as a civil engineer from King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah. Although wealthy, he grew up as a religious man in a conservative society instead of living a playboy life, as his siblings and contemporaries did (Mockaitis 14).

In addition to the general Islamic commitment that he has been raised upon, Ossama Bin Laden during his secondary and university education started to form an Islamic concern through his direct contacts with many senior Islamic scholars and leaders of Muslim movements. Which his father hosted previously during al Haj season, and later by his older brothers ("Al Qaeda...7"). Then, Ossama Bin Laden joined the Saudi affiliate of Muslim Brotherhood, which appeals for the reestablishment of a unified Islamic state where Islam encompasses all aspects of political, social, and economic life. Bin Laden started to view the regimes of the region as corrupt and repressive, and regarded as "un-Islamic", including the Saudi Arabian regime. Moreover, while studying at university he was highly influenced by Sayeed Qutb novels and the speeches delivered by his brother Mohamed Qutb, which was based on the Muslim brotherhood ideology and Sayeed Qutb's total rejection of other religions and aggression against non-believers (Young).

Yet, Ossama Bin Laden early life showed nothing extraordinary, nothing interesting in his personality, and his tendency was rather non-confrontational. Until now, Bin Laden seemed to have no extremist thinking that would lead to any form of danger later. “Osama was perfectly integrated into the family, his sister-in-law wrote in her autobiography. He was not strikingly different from the other brothers, just younger and more religious” (Mockaitis 7). All his family members agreed that Ossama Bin Laden was a normal and a very peaceful man.

I. 1. 2. Iranian Revolution

Also called the Islamic Revolution, it resulted in the creation of an Islamic society that inspired all Muslim around the world and created fears of raising revolutionary Muslims against their secular democratic governments. Indirectly, Ossama Bin Laden was influenced by the revolution. He started generating his own views about the potential of Islam and Shari’a law in governing Islamic countries, and Saudi Arabia regime was considered by him as a corrupt regime as many other repressive regimes in the region (Youth).

The Iranian revolution of 1979 began with the forced removal of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, who seemed to follow the western oriented reforms, his failure to implement his promised political and economic development promoted a massive mobilization against his regime. Domestic unrest led to demonstrations calling for his exclusion. By 1978, it turned to a serious large-scale religious and political opposition led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. After long protests, the shah announced his intentions to leave, and in time, the monarchy was replaced with a theocratic republic guided by Islamic principles under Ayatollah Khomeini leadership (“Iran...4”).

Iran as the other Arab countries supported by U.S.A. has rejected the Western example of democracy that seemed to be non-effective in the Middle East; Ayatollah Khomeini as the supreme leader of the newly formed Islamic Republic has organized a government based on

return to fundamentalism and the rule of Shari'a law. He started to launch his vision of establishing an Islamic caliphate by means of violence (Youth).

Although Ossama Bin Laden's brand of Salafism, Sunni Islam considers Shi'a sect of Islam as invalid, he was very convinced by the power of Islam in ruling the Islamic region instead of secular regimes based on democratic principles of western world. This newly adapted view generated a sense of hatred against U.S.A. in addition to a total refusal of its support to Saudi Arabia and other Middle East leaders.

I. 1. 3. Afghanistan Invasion

Afghanistan war was a turning point in Ossama Bin Laden course of life. His victory over one of the super powers, the Soviet Union, gave him a feeling that nothing would be impossible for him; it is likely that Bin Laden had the feeling that there would be no longer enemies to be afraid of anymore.

Shortly after his graduation, Bin Laden relocated to the December 1987 Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan. He was interested in supporting the Afghan resistance and because of his wealth and power, he was transported by Afghan leaders to Pakistan, the base of Afghan resistance movement to see the refugee camps and meet leaders, some of them, which he used to contact in his father gatherings (Chaliand and Blin 295). Generally, during the war, he did his best lobbying with his brothers and friends of school to support the Afghan resistance and Mujahedeen, he collected a huge amount of money, materials, and volunteers from his father company, and he even visited wounded mujahedeen and compensated families of martyrs. More time has been spent in Afghanistan far from his country, where he had joined actual battles like the successful battle of Ali Khel, in which his role has been mythologized into much larger dimensions ("Al Qaeda...7").

In 1984, Bin Laden and the Palestinian religious scholar Abdullah Azzam structured Maktab al-khidamat (Service Office) in Peshawar (Baitul'ansar), a house supposed to recruit

and fund offices in the Arab world, Europe, and the United States. In other words, it was like a recipient bureau of volunteers sent later to start training to join the Afghan Mujahedeen in their fight against the Soviet Union. Many experts have considered the office as the forerunner organization of Al Qaeda. Within two years, Ossama Bin Laden could build his own camps and his own front through which he led many successful battles, many exchanges of fire and small operations with his own expertise. Most notably, his participation in 1986 battle in Jalalabad, and 1987 frontal assault against the Soviet armor gaining a wide spread respect among Arab-Afghan fighters (Katzman 2).

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Ossama Bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia as the hero who made the precedent of defeating the Soviet Union and getting it out of the Afghan soil. He was praised for his seemingly endless generosity, efforts, and his willingness to face death to defend Islam from aggression.

I. 1. 4. Kuwait Invasion

Because of his participation in 1979 Afghanistan war, Ossama Bin Laden gained the experience of a logistical coordinator and financier of the war against the Soviet Union, and a network of a well-trained Arab and Afghan fighters was created and called later Al Qaeda. At the time, his intentions were to purify the Islamic societies according to the Salafist Islamic reforms and armed resistance in form of defensive jihad against any expected or unexpected aggression. After the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Ossama's intentions and attitudes changed to be more violent and aggressive (Orbach 55).

When Saddam Husayn invaded Kuwait in 1990, immediately, Ossama Bin Laden offered to protect the kingdom from the Iraqi threat. By his offer, Bin Laden saw the opportunity to gain favor with the Saudi royal family and the chance to protect the holy mosques from the invasion. However, Saudi Arabia refused his offer and requested for U.S. help. Eventually,

the kingdom hosted 500,000 U.S.A. combat troops who could expel Iraq from Kuwait in Operation Desert Storm that lasted from January 16th until February 28th, 1991 (Katzman 3).

The refusal of Saudi royal family to accept Ossama Bin Laden offer with his army of mujahedeen enraged him; he saw that the deployment of U.S. forces in the region as a betrayal of the global Islamic community as his mujahedeen could defeat a great power and Muslims were not in a need for superpower's protection. Bin Laden was expelled from Saudi Arabia because of his public critics to Saudi Arabia; the introduction of American military forces in Saudi Arabia was regarded as a humiliating and embarrassing blow to his personal pride and vision of the world (Orbach 55).

As Ossama Bin Laden relocated to Sudan in 1991, and then to Afghanistan in 1996. He transformed his Al Qaeda into an association of factions of radical Islamic groups operating throughout the Muslim region mainly to eliminate secular corrupt regimes and establish Islamic regimes that applies Shari'a, the law of Islam. Moreover, U.S.A. has been viewed as the main source of Islam's misfortune and Al Qaeda becomes a global threat to its national security and safety.

I. 2. Al Qaeda Evolution

Al Qaeda, the product of the holy war in Afghanistan that brought together volunteers and financial contributors from throughout the Islamic world, countries like Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Southeast Asia and beyond. Sharing the same worldview, and creating a cadre of well-trained volunteers who were assumed to return to their native countries to help overthrow apostate Muslim regimes, and establish an Islamic caliphate governed by strict Sharia law. Since the murder of Azzam in November 1982, Ossama found himself alone heading the newly formed organization. He began supporting campaigns against those assumed false Muslim rulers, mainly in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In addition to bearing in mind Muslims of the newly independent republics

victimized by the former Soviet Union regime like Philippine, Kashmir, Bosnia, and Chechnya (Jenkins 3).

Al Qaeda as its name suggests, the base that has been established as an infrastructure and a foundation first to support jihad in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union evolved to become a global movement to all Muslims around the world against their corrupt secular regimes and U.S.A. Here we will trace the progression of al-Qaeda's evolution with a specific focus on the organizational, strategic, ideological and operational changes that occurred from its creation until September 11th events.

I. 2. 1. Al Qaeda Structure

Due to his public critics to the royal family, Ossama Bin Laden has been ousted out from Saudi Arabia. He moved to Sudan, seeking refuge in Khartoum, Hassan Al Turabi, one supporters of militant Islamist organizations and Islamist political movements welcomed him in his country (Chaliand and Blin 318). Generally, Ossama Bin Laden presence in Sudan was mostly devoted to raise the consciousness of Muslims worldwide, call them to resist the western intervention in Muslim affairs and supported Islamist insurgencies in the Philippines, Chechnya, Indonesia, Georgia, Algeria, and elsewhere. Rather, it was an initial phase to al Qaeda evolution into a national organization (Ould Mohamedou 47).

As Egyptian, Saudi and other authorities of the Middle East realized the threat Ossama Bin Laden imposes; they began to pressure Sudan to eject him from the country. In 1996, he moved to Kabul in Afghanistan, where Mullah Omar welcomed him, he was the spiritual leader of Taliban, who was then controlling 80 percent of the country. In 1997, consolidating their ties, the training camps for Arab volunteers were reopened under the leadership of Ayman al-Zawahiri and Ossama Bin Laden financial and logistical support. Ossama Bin Laden was given a position in the Taliban's Council of elders, while Mullah Omar becomes a member in Al Qaeda's Majliss al-Shura (Chaliand and Blin 321).

Soon, al Qaeda developed into a formal organization with a hierarchy of leaders and a series of committees. Ossama Bin Laden as its leader and Ayman Al Zawahiri his deputy, the founders set up five committees to manage the organization; the Islamic Study Committee, assigned to issue fatwa and rulings. The Media Committee worked on publishing newspapers. The Travel Committee that took care of passports, visas and tickets. The Finance Committee, the one charged of raising money. The last one, the Military Committee, focused on training camps that were located in Kabul, khost, Mahavia, Jalalabad, kumar, Tora Bora and Liza. Besides, the Military Committee was charged of coordinating the international cells in East Africa (Tanzania, Kenya), in South East Asia (Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines) and in Europe (German, Italy, Britain), and all the former committees were overseen by the Shura Council or Majliss Al Shura (Ould Mohamedou 47).

According to the work of Randy Borum and Michael Gelles, Al Qaeda developed into a distinct organizational entity, Ossama Bin Laden, as its Emir General, as it is mentioned in figure.1, coordinating directly with members of Shura Majliss. Ayman Zawahiri, although Ossama Bin Laden Deputy, his higher education and sophistication in Islamic matters granted him an important role and a greater influence even more than that of Ossama Bin Laden. Four committees were headed by some trusted figures for example the Military Committee was headed by Mohammed Atef and the financial matters were under the supervision of Shaikh Saiid al-Masri (Borum and Gelles 474).

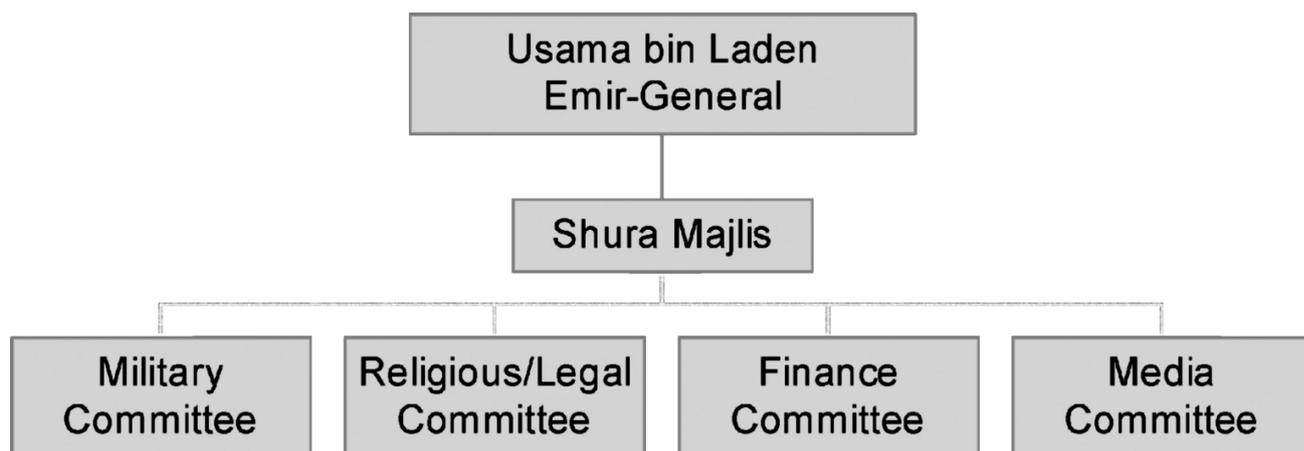


Fig. 1. Early Organizational Structure of Al-Qaeda

Source: Borum Randy and Gelles Michael. "Al-Qaeda's Operational Evolution: Behavioral and Organizational Perspectives". University of South Florida. Jan. 2005.

<https://www.google.fr/?gws_rd=ssl&pli=1#q=Source:+Borum+Randy+and+Gelles+Michael+.+%E2%80%9CAI-+Qaeda%E2%80%99s+Operational+Evolution:+Behavioral+++++++and+Organizational+Perspectives>

An Emir has headed each committee of the organization, and each Emir has a deputy assisting him in taking responsibility of the committee. In addition, each member in the committee was heading specific groups assigned for specific missions (Gunaratna 57). Al Qaeda organization was governed according to a hierarchal system in other words; an Amir governed each committee and each member in the committee is governing a specific group.

In February 1998, Ossama Bin Laden issued a second fatwa calling Muslims to kill Americans, which led to the creation of the World Islamic Front against Jews and Crusaders (Chaliand and Blin 322). A coalition has been built though inking militant Islamists like Abu Sayyaf Group in Philippines, the Islamic Group of Egypt and the Armed Islamic Group, and they constituted Al Ansar Group in Chechnya, and the Bangladeshi Jihad Movement, Harakat Al Jihad. At the time, the organization was a loose coalition of groups each with its own command, objectives and its means to achieve its planned goals (Gunaratna 55- 56- 57). In

late 2000, Ossama Bin Laden imposed no power and authority over the groups, each leader would be free in taking necessary decisions and actions whenever it requires (Chaliand and Blin 325).

In addition, Al Qaeda quickly became a large reservoir of human resources. The glory and the fame that al Qaeda and Ossama Bin Laden have enjoyed increased the number of volunteers attracted by the stories of the great jihadist victory in Afghanistan. Now, it comprises thousands of new recruits in addition to its vast mujahedeen database originally created by Ossama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. Not all volunteers were accepted, they look for specific qualifications, “The most important criteria are that the ones who are chosen should be young, zealous, obedient, and with a weak character that obeys instructions without question” (Mockaitis 56). Then, by 2001, Al Qaeda developed to become a multinational corporation forming of a global network of cells devastated in 76 countries around the world joining a big number of mujahedeen from different nationalities.

I. 2. 2. Strategy

Al Qaeda, as any other organization, had a strategy and a way of conducting and managing its work. Its unique strategy in coordinating financial and logistical resources, formation of professionals, training soldiers and exploiting different means of communication helped its growth to a global organization.

At the beginning, during 1990's, Al Qaeda leaders has focused on establishing a solid foundation and a sophisticated infrastructure, concerned with maintaining, training camps and monitoring the preparations for future operations (Ould Mouhamedou 50). At the time, leaders were interested in building a groundwork of fighters to form a strong base, though the recruitment of new fighters who would be trained later to serve Al Qaeda leaders' intentions and according to their ideological goals.

Al Qaeda future ability to grow and continue its activity depends on its ability to collect new recruits, Al Qaeda targets were those living on the margins of society, lonely souls, seekers of absolute truth or greater meaning in their lives and those with few radical interpretation of faith. Then, the chosen members would endure an intense indoctrination and training in order to be members within Al Qaeda (Jenkins 5). Recruiting the right persons was very crucial to Al Qaeda strength. Specific characters were the basis for choosing good members.

Bin Laden closest aides were responsible of camps, recruits were divided into groups of thirty and so on, trained progressively starting with a basic training then moving to a more specialized training about bombs, electronic devices and other technological instruments. While training, recruits would be sent to accommodations known as reception houses, others would go for religious instruction and some would be chosen for specific operations. By the end of the training, those who had gone through became very effective fighters (Chaliand and Blin 325-326).

Training manuals served as reference to the soldiers, the multi volume of 7000 pages *Encyclopedia of the Afghan Jihad*, was written after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Its primary objective was to share the mujahedeen knowledge and experience with the new generation (Gunaratna 72). The volume covered different aspects of guerilla warfare, also included some techniques of interrogation, surveillance protocol, use of explosives and kamikaze attacks and other training techniques (Ould Mohamedou 48). Another training manual was written in 1993, the *Declaration of Jihad against the Country's Tyrants*. It was based on Egyptian Islamic Group's experience of support and terrorist operations (Gunaratna 72). Indeed, those manuals were very useful for fighters self-training.

Another important thing was that, relying on Ossama Bin Laden personal wealth was not enough to finance the organization. Leaders were supposed to think about ways versifying its

income sources. Bin Laden started to establish legitimate companies in Sudan and numerous accounts in different countries. In addition to that, the infiltration of Muslim banks and charities helped much in verifying its sources of income until the September 11th attacks (Wilson 80).

It was obvious that, being in Saudi Arabia and Sudan, Osama Bin Laden had just attempted to influence and change the state practice. While his presence in Afghanistan was very devoted for consolidating links with Taliban. His approach clearly shifted from a local defensive approach to an international offensive approach (Ould Mouhamedou 49). In Afghanistan, Al Qaeda leaders concentrated on raising the amount of attacks and developing a new type of operations against U.S.A. and its allies. Bin Laden explained in a November 24th, 1996 interview with the editor-in-chief of the London-based Arabic daily newspaper, Al Qods Al Arabi, Abdel Bari Atwan: "Preparations for major operations take a certain amount of time, unlike minor operations. If we wanted small actions, the matter would have been carried out easily ... The nature of the battle calls for operations of a specific type that will make an impact on the enemy and this calls for excellent preparations" (Ould Mouhamedou 49). In addition, Al Qaeda highly stressed the role of psychological education to its fighters, it is considered more important than battlefield combat training (Gunaratna 73). Indeed, brain washing would make it easier to convince volunteers undergo martyrdom and sacrifice themselves dying for Allah.

The war on U.S.A. was first declared on 23rd August, 1996. Bin Laden and other leaders issued a declaration of war against America occupying the land of the two holy places to liberate the Holy Mosque and Al Aqsa Mosque. Second, on February 23rd 1998, a declaration stated the killing of all Americans and its allies' civilian or military as every Muslim duty (Chaliand and Blin 322). In 1996, Osama Bin Laden message was very critical to U.S.

occupation of the land of the two holy places, two years later, his critics developed to a hatred and a message calling for the killing of all Americans.

Moreover, Al Qaeda leaders started to make al Qaeda activity and war against U.S.A. a public case. In April 1997, Ossama Bin Laden granted his first interview with the CNN journalist Peter Bergen, and he declared:

We believe the United States is responsible directly for those who were killed in Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq. This American government abandoned humanitarian feelings by these hideous crimes. It transgressed all bounds and behaved in a way not witnessed before by any power or any imperialist power in the world. The United States today has set a double standard, calling whoever goes against its injustice a terrorist. It wants to occupy our countries, steal our resources, impose on us agents to rule us ... and wants us to agree to all this. If we refuse to do so, it will say, You are terrorists (qtd in Ould Mouhamedou 51).

In late 2000, Al Qaeda leaders held a series of meetings in which they decided that each leader would be able to take decisions about operations and attacks and undertake responsibility whenever necessary (Chaliand and Blin 325). Here, Al Qaeda leaders reached a decision that every group would be responsible of his leader who would be able to take personal decisions in order to continue the group's existence and activity. By this, the organization has developed network of numerous groups with its own leadership.

I. 2. 3. Ideology

Al Qaeda became an international armed group claiming a legitimate war against U.S.A. and its allies, using violence against its civilians, or those who accepted and embraced its method of warfare in Muslim world. Al Qaeda viewed U.S. policies in Middle East as invalid and the war was waged to take control of Middle East policies, which should be based only on Shari'a law. Ossama Bin Laden in his 1989 interview with ABC said:

What they ought to do is change their governments, which attack our countries. The hostility that America continues to express against the Muslim people has given rise to feelings of animosity on the part of Muslims against America and against the West in general. Those feelings of animosity have produced a change in the behavior of some crushed and subdued groups who, instead of fighting the Americans inside the Muslim countries, went on to fight them inside the United States of America itself (qtd in Ould Mouhamedou 40).

Ossama Bin Laden rejected the western model dominating Muslim governments.

According to him, a sense of hate has been raised resulted in the creation of groups holding anti American and western model of life and government. Moreover, its resistance has gone abroad Muslim countries to reach America homeland. Al Qaeda ideology can be traced back to the 19th century founders of modernist reform in Sunnism, a religious sect of Islam. This reform movement has been called Salafism, and it has been considered the core and the chief front of Al Qaeda (Henzel 70-71). By tracing the movement ideological development, it becomes clear why Al Qaeda leaders have espoused their present ideology.

Ibn-Taymiyyah and Mohammed Abdel Wahabb² have been the major source behind framing Al Qaeda ideological base and greater influence on Ossama Bin Laden concept of restoring Islam glory through the reestablishment of the caliphate by means of jihad (Wilson 2). Ibn-Taymiyyah¹ and Mohammed Abdel Wahabb² are the basis of Al Qaeda ideology, which looks for the revival of the old Islamic caliphate through the reconsolidation of Muslim countries under the banner of Shari'a law. Revolutionary Salafists mentioned Ibn Taymiyya as a reference for their arguments that contemporary Muslim rulers are apostates if they failed to impose Shari'a law in modern societies, and jihad should be waged against them (Henzel 71). In addition, salafists had placed a greater emphasis on the way everyday life was

conducted; they rejected participation in political activities and believed that Shari'a law should govern society rather than modern Islamic themed politics.

Besides, the wahhabism's movement believed that the only source of Allah true word comes directly from the Koran (Wilson 3-4). Salafi and wahhabi movements argued for the importance of implying Sharia law in preserving Islamic glory within modern time. According to them jihad would be the only way to remove those who failed to imply Sharia law and follow the word of Allah. Moreover, Ossama Bin Laden was directly influenced by Sayyid Qutb writings, the next bearer of the revolutionary Salafist flame. He was an Egyptian member of the Muslim brotherhood, he focused on the removal of Jahilyaa traces, ignorance and barbarism, from Muslim societies to purify Islam from non-Muslim and western influence through jihad (Wilson 5). It is mentioned in Henzel work *The Origins of Al Qaeda's Ideology: Implications for US Strategy* that Sayyed Qutb argued for struggle against secular regimes of Muslim world, even this meant killing Muslims (Henzel 74).

The combination of salafism and wahhabism beliefs in addition to the direct influence of Sayyid Qutb on Ossama Bin Laden advocated a violent and militant effort to restore past Muslim glory and rebuilt the Islamic caliphate from Morocco to the Philippine (Wilson 6). Indeed, Osaama Bin Laden and the other leaders viewed jihad as the only mean of reuniting the Muslim community to form a single religious entity.

Saudi Arabia rejection of Ossama Bin Laden's offer to help liberating Kuwait from Saddam Hussein seemed to sharpen his ideas about jihad against apostate regimes like the one of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, which were called by him the near enemy supported by U.S.A, the far enemy. And defeating apostate regimes would consequently derive U.S. influence from Muslim lands (Mockaitis 70). In 1996, following his exile to Sudan and Afghanistan Ossama Bin Laden issued his first Fatwa, the Declaration of Jihad, in which he described his enemy as the alliance of Jews, Christians, and their agents, the agents are those who served U.S. desires

by following its way of warfare. In the Fatwa, he condemned U.S military presence in Saudi Arabia and voiced his opposition to its support for Israel. In this Fatwa Ossama Bin Laden was highly critical to Saudi Arabia regime considering it as the agent of the alliance of Jews and Christians.

“As an activist as much as an ideologue” Ossama Bin Laden has globalized the appeal of Al Qaeda’s ideology worldwide. Through the process of Al Qaeda evolution, he created a movement with the effective contribution of his subsequent mentors. For instance, Azzam stressed the idea of creating a multi-national organization uniting all vanguard of believers regardless of their geographic origins. In addition, calling for a multi-ethnic nature of Afghan jihad was an idea of Hasan Al Turabi who inspired Bin Laden when he was trying to build a pan-Islamic movement from Sudan. Definitely, Al Qaeda has attracted a wide range of political and radical Islamic supporters because of its opposition to U.S.A and Israel (Gunaratna 86-87).

In 1998, Osama Bin Laden and Ayman Al Zawahiri issued a second fatwa in the name of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders. Calling Muslim to kill Americans civilians and military. In addition, Ossama Bin Laden described U.S. presence on Muslim lands as a catastrophe. He states: “since God laid down the Arabian peninsula, created its desert, and surrounded it with its seas, no calamity has ever be fallen it like these Crusader hosts that have spread in it like locusts, crowing its soil, eating its fruits, and destroying its verdure” (qtd in Orbach 57). At this period, Ossama Bin Laden grievances toward U.S. presence in Muslim lands were higher than previous times, he declared according to him a legitimate war to protect Muslim property.

At this point, Ossama Bin Laden is no longer afraid of using and justifying terror as an instrument. Now he is a self-acknowledged terrorist, unlike early times, he claimed no responsibility for major attacks. Referring to his fight against U.S.A. In Saudi Arabia, he states:

Terrorizing you while you are carrying arms on our land is a legitimate and morally demanded duty. It is a legitimate right well known to all humans and other creatures. [...] It is a duty now on every tribe in the Arabian Peninsula to fight, jihad, in the cause of Allah and to cleanse the land from those occupiers. Allah knows that their blood is permitted [to be spilled] and their wealth is a booty; their wealth is a booty to those who kill them. [...] These youths know that if one is not to be killed one will die [anyway] and the most honorable death is to be killed in the way of Allah. (qtd in Gunaratna 91)

From a detailed analysis of Ossama Bin Laden written documents and interviews, it is clear that his ideology has changed. Since 1992, Ossama Bin Laden had focused mainly on criticizing Saudi Arabia regime and its relations with U.S. forces. Whereas, in his second Fatwa, he was more global in his focus, he claims that U.S.A. was responsible for Muslim misfortune. This was evident in his March 1997 interview with CNN, when he was asked about the targets of jihad he answered that only soldiers of the country of the holy places are his targets. And this is contrast to what he stated in his second fatwa when he said that every American, civil or military are all targets and should be killed until they depart from all land of Islam (Orbach 59-60).

I. 2. 4. Al Qaeda Operations and the Road to 9/11

At the operational level, Al Qaeda leaders have focused on attacking U.S. symbols that existed in the Muslim community. It was clear that most of Al Qaeda attacks were directed toward U.S. forces aiming to drive them out and eliminate the regimes it supported. The congressional research service has traced Al Qaeda attacks before the 9/11 events. According to it, Al Qaeda has committed several attacks: in 1992, three bombings targeted U.S. troops in Yemen and in 1993, it has shut down U.S. helicopter and killed U.S. service member in Somalia. Until now, attacks have just been targeting military members, but in 1998, Al Qaeda has conducted the bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Tanzania killing 301 person and more than 5000 injuries. In 1998, Al Qaeda has conducted another attack targeting the USS Cole in the port of Yemen, killing 19 U.S. Navy members and injuring another 39 one . It was clear that Al Qaeda most attacks were targeting U.S. forces within the land of Middle East and Africa.

Al Qaeda attacks were organized into three phases. Intelligence team is supposed to collect basic information about targets, basing on the target obtained intelligence; a team is chosen to rehearse inside Al Qaeda camps, and then it would be sent to the area of the attack provided with the need weapons and explosives to commit the attack in heart of the target structure (Gunaratna 77). Conducting an attack was not a random operation; intense inspection was needed in order avoid miss calculations. In addition, well training, instruction and support for the attacker would guarantee the success of the operation.

Al Qaeda network was composed of individuals of different nationalities sharing the same resolve. Ramzi Yussif, a Pakistani raised in Kuwait has attempted but never succeeded in assassinating both Pope John Paul 2, and President Clinton. He also planned to distinct twelve international civil transport aircraft. On December 24th, 1994, he was responsible for bombing a Philippine Airlines aircraft from Manila to Tokyo killing one person (Chaliand and Blin

324). Ossama bin Laden as leader of Al Qaeda had claimed any responsibility about the attacks conducted, but praised the acts saying, "I have the greatest respect for those who committed that act. It is a great honor that I cannot claim for myself" (Chaliand and Blin 323).

However, Al Qaeda training manuals were designed to create self-contained groups acting with its own support and intelligence. Members when sent to conduct a mission, they are thought and trained to find a safe house without taking police and security intention, they not supposed to take weapons with him but to produce it using commercial product (Gunaratna, 82). Indeed, Al Qaeda could effectively plan its operations with a high level of security avoiding arrest and disrupting its internal structure.

Al Qaeda objective in forcing U.S. forces out of the Middle East would be useful if attacking it in its home and own land. Khalid sheikh Mohamed, of a Kuwaiti origin has been the one indicted for the planning the 9/11 attacks. He first met Bin Laden in 1996, and proposed the idea of seizing airlines and flew them into buildings killing thousands of people (Kiger). Ossama bin Laden had never envisioned the idea of hijacking building using aircrafts, for him it seemed a good idea to heat U.S.A. in its home.

In 1999, Bin Laden decided to go ahead with the planning for the plot which Al Qaeda called "the planes operation". By July 2001, the preparations are in their final stage. Ossama Bin Laden and the hijackers decided to target the World Trade Center with two airplanes, another airplane was tasked to destroy the Pentagon and the last one intended to strike the white house (Kiger). Three years of preparations, Ossama Bin Laden could finally make a plan for the intended attacks on U.S. central buildings.

In September 11th, 2001, as it was planned, two airplane flights crashed into the north and west tower of New York World Trade Center, another one crashed into the Pentagon, the last one instead of striking the White House, it fell into the ground in Pennsylvania country (Chaliand and Blin 327-328). Finally, the promised attacks were committed as it has been

already planned, except for the plane intended to strike the white house, and which changed its direction to in Pennsylvania country.

Both towers of the World Trade Center were collapsed as well as other five neighboring buildings were completely distracted. The aircraft that hit the Pentagon crashed into part of the building causing the killing of 200 people in addition to all of those on the plane. However, fires continued for days, and reconstruction costs were subsequently estimated at \$500 million. Yet, the greater impact was on that part of Pentagon, which was occupying U.S. navy personals (Rogers 156). The attacks were the first aggressive acts conducted against U.S.A. costing it a huge number of civil victims and terrible damage to its buildings

In short, Al Qaeda has evolved from a group to an organization to a global network within a span of 15 years. It expanded its areas and mode of operations by acting through a network of affiliate organizations in many parts around the world. Its espoused ideology has changed to be a global call for the killing of every American. In addition, many modifications concerning the structure, strategy, leadership system, and recruitment and training methods had occurred (Borum and Gelles 481). Indeed, many modifications and new methods aided Al Qaeda to grow more and to expand its influence around the world.

Terrorism was never really the primary focus of the Reagan administration or successor administrations; it was hardly ignored in U.S.A. (Richelson and Evans). However, Ossama Bin Laden, the founder and the leader of Al Qaeda, and the one accused of committing the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, sooner became the first target in U.S.A. counterterrorism agenda. Moreover, military, law enforcement, diplomatic and intelligence communities regarded Al Qaeda as being the foremost threat to the world security and safety that should be quickly defeated (Jones).

After the 9/11 attacks, attention will be placed on Bush administration, its first reaction towards the abortive attacks of 9/11 and terrorism on general, what procedures President Bush

took when the attacks first occurred. In addition, one would be so curious about the strategies that would be implemented to combat Al Qaeda and to counter its evolving threat during the terms of both Presidents Bush and Obama, and the effect it had on Al Qaeda and its members.

Chapter Two: U.S. Counterterrorism Policy during George W. Bush and Obama Administrations

“Global terrorism had finally come of age” after the horror of 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon which presented the most horrible day in U.S. history. Al Qaeda terrorist network came to show the world that it is a serious and a real threat to the international peace and security (N. Jackson 111). After reaching the U.S. lands and committing the unprecedented attacks, Al Qaeda has become the most threatening enemy to U.S. homeland security and international peace.

The terrific attacks were the first and the huge in U.S history in terms of damages and victims, and U.S.A is not willing to let those responsible for the assault without punishment (Jenkins and Godges 15). U.S.A. and for the first time took a serious determination to fight the ignored danger of Al Qaeda that could reach the heart of U.S. property. Therefore, the attacks made America recognize the grave threat Al Qaeda pose on its security and international peace.

Consequently, the follow chapter will identify the first reaction taken by President Bush to face the new threat from the day of the Attacks until the end of his term in 2008; his interpretation of the attacks, in addition to the decisions and procedures taken by his administration. Second, another focus will be put on the next U.S. President Barack Obama’s new counterterrorism policy, his own understanding of the attacks and terrorism, and the procedures had taken to fight terrorists and Al Qaeda organization.

II. 1. President Bush Counterterrorism Policy

Shortly after the terrorist attacks, the Bush administration initiated an offensive international military campaign known as war on terror with allied countries’ aid and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization assistance. Also, the Security Council of the United Nations responded by passing resolutions condemning the attacks, considering the use of

force as a legal right of self-defense (N. Jackson 112). Declaring a global war was the first step taken by President Bush after the attack. And, resolutions passed by the Security Council of the United Nations provided a legal safeguard to his actions.

Bush administration immediately declared a war against the enemy of Al Qaeda enjoying the protection of the Taliban regime rolling in Afghanistan. The administration focused on removing the Taliban regime so that they can smash Al Qaeda network and capture key leaders and individuals responsible for the terrorist attacks. Indeed, Al Qaeda was accused of committing the attacks, a military campaign on Afghanistan was regarded as the right decision to eliminate Al Qaeda and capture the responsible for the attacks. Soon, without the national and the Security Council approval, another military campaign has been conducted against Iraq, it was suspected of sponsoring Al Qaeda and proliferating weapons of mass destruction (N. Jackson 116). President Bush in his counterterrorism campaign was willing to eliminate the terrorist organization of Al Qaeda and every element or state supposed of supporting it even without taking United Nations or public agreement if necessary.

The administration also concentrated on homeland security, a defensive counterterrorism campaign was waged overseas to prevent the global terrorist threat from targeting homeland again. The defense of U.S.A became the primary mission of the Defense Department through preventing potential attacks and working to eliminate any consequences leading to any further attacks (Nardulli 3). In addition to the offensive operations conducted, Bush administration had never neglected the importance of securing homeland and the lives of U.S. people.

II. 1. 1. The Declaration of a Global War on Terror

The day of September 11th, 2001, President Bush was preparing to address a class at Emma E. Booker Elementary school in Sarasota when he heard that a plane had crashed the North Tower of the World Trade in New York. He first thought that a plane had lost its control, but minutes later, he was informed that another plane had crashed the Southern

Tower. He immediately recognized that his country had been under attack and a war was waged (Walsh). Indeed, President Bush was astonished and he quickly recognized that his country is facing a real danger.

Just one day after the attacks, the United Nations Security Council stressed the need for an immediate response. The United Nation General Assembly had adopted resolution 56/1 without a vote calling urgently for international cooperation to fight terrorism and punish those who were responsible for attacks (N. Jackson 115). The U.S.A. then was shocked, it had never expected such kind of attacks on its land, and it was not prepared to fight this new serious danger. So, cooperating with other nations was seen as an immediate and an effective solution to end the threat of terrorism in a short period.

In a speech delivered after the attacks, President Bush has changed the direction of his foreign policy, in which he made defeating the terrorist group of Al Qaeda as his first goal. He said, "Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated" (qtd in N. Jackson 115). Moreover, President Bush called for a global war on terror arguing that terrorism is a common enemy to all nations' security, they should support U.S.A. and fight hand in hand to crash Al Qaeda, its leaders and every group linked to it (Taddeo 28). Indeed, President Bush was required to respond quickly and cooperate with allies to defeat terror.

In fact, the attacks has triggered the most rapid and dramatic change in U.S. foreign policy and homeland security. In his speech, President Bush said, "We will direct every resource at our command-- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the destruction and to the defeat of the global terror network" (qtd in Jones). President Obama had declared that his country was ready to fight terror. All means and methods are going to be used in order to crash Al Qaeda.

The U.S.A. and the entire world responded with unprecedented coalition against this international threat. The Bush administration extensively focused on America's homeland security and built a worldwide coalition aiming to destroy Al Qaeda ("The global..."). According to President Bush, calling all nations to wage a global war on Al Qaeda was the right solution to stop its danger before other attacks could happen. Also, if all countries were with the U.S.A. then there would be no support for Al Qaeda, leading to its weakness and disappear.

Furthermore, the terrorist attacks paved the way for the establishment of Bush doctrine, aiming to spread freedom instead of terrorism. It made no distinction between terrorists or those who supported them (Parraguez Kobek 83). The Bush administration defined the enemy as more than the core organization of Al Qaeda, but an organization surrounded with two circles. Groups with similar ideological and religious view like the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, which formed the first circle, the second circle, represented governments and countries provided protection to Al Qaeda (Ganor 347). The Bush doctrine also had allowed no neutrality in its war on terror (H. Lee 32). All nations have to choose either to support the U.S.A. or to side the terrorists, any nation does not show its support to U.S.A. it is unquestionably a hostile country and an enemy to U.S.A.

II. 1. 2. Law Enforcement

"Actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression" Officially and for the first time, the United Nation's Security Council responded after the 9/11 attacks interpreting Article 51 of the United Nations' Charter to threats from non-states actors (Heisbourg 11). The Bush administration had to punish those responsible for the murderous attacks. President Bush at the time lacked the legal permission to intervene military in Afghanistan and Iraq. So, the United Nation' Security Council quickly become the locus of

action and considered the attacks as acts of aggression and a threat to the World National Security.

Seven days after the attacks, a Global War on Terror was passed into legislation. On September 18th, president Bush had signed the Public Law 107-40, which gave him a constitutional power to use force against those responsible for the attacks (Parraguez Kobek 83). Indeed, this law has authorized the use of necessary offensive means could be implemented in combating terrorism and securing homeland from any future attacks. In other words, the war against terrorist became a legal war in which U.S.A. has the complete right of utilizing all kinds of military force that could be used to fight terror.

The United Nation' Security Council regarded terrorism as a threat to the international peace and security which required an immediate reaction. On this matter, resolution 748 was passed directly after the September 11th events condemning the attacks. Another resolution passed on Afghanistan expressing the right of self-defense by means of force (N. Jackson 112). With the law enforcement provided by the Security Council, U.S.A. was ready to defend itself legally through engaging military where Al Qaeda existed.

Indeed, the United Nations council passed resolution 1368, which condemned and considered the attacks as unlawful reaffirming the U.S. right of self-defense (Irogbe 5). The military leadership coined the war on Afghanistan as operation-enduring freedom, which was a war waged against the eminent threat of Al Qaeda being harbored by Taliban the ruling power in Afghanistan made it the first target of Bush administration foreign policy. Thus, with the resolution, President Bush was then able to react against Al Qaeda. He built a coalition with other western courtiers and he became ready to attack the terrorist organization responsible for the September 11th attacks.

II. 1. 3. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan

Afghanistan became the first major battlefield of a global war on terror when the Taliban regime refused the Bush administration to deliver Ossama Bin Laden and other terrorists hiding in Afghanistan (H. Lee 33). Furthermore the Taliban regime provided a safe haven to Ossama Bin Laden and his training camps (Irogbe 5). The Bush administration regarded Taliban regime as a hostile regime supporting the terrorists, and a war has to be launched on Afghanistan. Another resolution was passed, resolution 1373, it affirmed U.S.A. right of self-defense after the bloody attacks of 9/11. It also reaffirmed “the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts” (qtd in N. Jackson 120). Indeed, the resolution made it lawful to engage military in Afghanistan or in any other place where Al Qaeda could have links.

“For or against terrorism”, President Bush demanded from countries like Pakistan, India, China, Russia, Persian Gulf States and the newly independent Central Asian countries to choose the side they would support (Jones). President Bush wanted all countries to choose their positive or negative side. All bordering countries of Afghanistan have to decide whether to fight terrorist or being its enemy. Pakistan was the first to offer help to U.S.A. it provided valuable flight corridors, access to stage U.S. search and rescue forces at facilities in the Pakistani military airfield near Jacobabad. It also offered backstopping for U.S. operations against Al Qaeda and Taliban to prevent them fleeing across the borders (Jones). Indeed, Pakistan one of Afghanistan neighbors choose to be an ally instead of being an enemy to U.S.A.

In October, the Bush administration started extensive and intensive air strikes against Taliban and Al Qaeda (Irogbe 5). Using U.S. army special forces and central intelligence agency paramilitary operatives (“The War...”). Providing a group of anti-Taliban Afghans to

the Northern Alliance that has been fighting Taliban years before (Irogbe 6). Operation enduring freedom in Afghanistan officially began as a direct response to the true international threat of Al Qaeda and its supporter Taliban.

In the battlefield, U.S.A, supplied with weapons of new generation and tactical aircraft could perform successfully, and thanks to the Northern Alliance aided by U.S. Special Forces that forced Taliban and Al Qaeda members to shelter in mountains of Eastern Afghanistan During the war, approximately 1000 missions were launched and more than 3000 bombs and missiles were used (Taddeo 29). Indeed, the U.S. first campaign on Afghanistan went effectively. In a period of two months, it could overthrow Taliban government and Al Qaeda' members who escaped to Afghanistan' mountains.

As 2001 ended, victory was declared, and President Bush's focus began to shift from Afghanistan (Parraguez Kobek 86). The administration next step was to establish a new government under the former deputy foreign minister Hamid Karzi who led small militia of fighters during the military campaign against Taliban and Al Qaeda (Stewart 3). However, the U.S. reconstruction efforts were seemingly hard to succeed. Bad economic conditions, religious divisions and ethnic differences made it possible for any improvements.

II. 1. 4. Operation Iraqi Freedom

Iraq was on the top of the list of countries linked to the September 11th attacks and where military intervention was intended (N. Jackson 117). The attacks of September 11th were strongly condemned internationally. Iraq as well as other Islamic fundamentalist groups declared that the U.S.A. got what it deserved because of its military presence in Saudi Arabia and its support to Israel (Irogbe 4). Iraq and its President Saddam Hussein were on the top of President Bush list of assumed threatening countries, but there was no evidence that Iraq had contacts with Al Qaeda. Iraq was a highly suspected country for its support to Al Qaeda because of its direct and clear critics to U.S.A.

President Bush threatened to attack Iraq, Iran and North Korea if they did not abandon their nuclear programs (Jenkins and Godges 16). U.S.A. convinced the United Nations council to pass resolution 1441, which declared the possibility to consider Iraq case into account if it did not conform to the world security orders (N. Jackson 117). However, U.S.A was highly convinced that Iraq possessed large stocks of chemical and biological weapons and might be working to acquire a nuclear capability. The U.S.A. was afraid that Iraq was working to obtain a nuclear power that would threaten its security and supply Al Qaeda with nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile its presence in Afghanistan, U.S.A. initiated plans to invade Iraq and remove Saddam Hussein from power. U.S.A. faced a strong opposition in Europe; France, Russia and Germany opposed the use of force and military intervention in Iraq. This made it possible for the United Nations Security Council to pass another resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq (“The War...”). The Security Council has not the power to pass a new resolution as many European countries and others were totally against the invasion of Iraq.

Despite International and national skepticism, U.S. forces invaded Iraq in March 2003. President Bush arguments were that Iraq had nuclear materials and it would soon produce atomic bombs. Thus, the invasion was on the bases of preventing Saddam Hussein from supplying terrorists with nuclear weapons (Jones). Indeed, U.S.A. could justify its raid on Iraq by extending its right of self-defense to take a pre-emptive form (N. Jackson 119). Preventing a future threat presented by Iraq was seen as a legal right for U.S.A. to defend its homeland from any further terrorist attacks.

Iraq invasion began with air strikes followed a ground invasion led by American and British forces and supported by small groups from several other countries. On May 1st, 2003, Saddam Hussein government had been dissolved month after the capital of Baghdad has

fallen, and President Bush could finally announce the end of Iraqi fight (Jones). In a short period, U.S.A. could invade and end the rule of Saddam Hussein, which was considered as a threatening leader possessing weapons of mass destruction.

As a next step, U.S.A. transferred its focus to securing and reconstructing Iraq. It started building a democratic government that would guarantee the liberty and the freedom of Iraqi people. Nonetheless, with the beginning of 2003, an insurgency started to rise around the country (Parraguez Kobek 89). No nuclear weapons in Iraq and President Bush found no evidence about President Saddam Hussein relation with Al Qaeda, people and international worldview started to recognize that U.S.A has rushed in its military campaign against Iraq.

U.S. forces could capture President Saddam Hussein in December 2003 and executed him three years later. In 2004, the insurgency went seriously. In response, the Bush administration chosen to follow a new operation Iraqi freedom based upon new counter-insurgency theories and tactics. The Iraqi insurgency and the seemingly endless conflict in this country has made security and reconstruction efforts hopeless. Security situation was deteriorating alarmingly. Thus, President Bush ordered a surge of additional troops in Iraq to calm the situation (Jenkins and Godges 18). As a result, the situation in Iraq was getting worse and more complicated than earlier. Bush administration efforts were harming instead of healing the situation there.

II. 1. 5. Homeland Security and Intelligence

In 2002, a new Department of Homeland Security was established. It was designed to coordinate fight against domestic terrorist attacks (“ The War...”). The security of U.S.A. become also the mission of defense department, where army can support homeland security for instance maintaining weapons of mass destruction, providing civil support teams and responding to potential emergencies (Nardulli 15). The Bush administration focused very

much on its homeland security. It created a new department working on preventing terrorist attacks and minimizing its possibilities to occur.

Additionally, the Bush administration responded by authorizing a number of policies that some considered went beyond the bounds of traditional law enforcement. It widened the use of wiretapping on telephone calls and emails (Patman 980). Presidential orders gave the National Security Agency the authority to monitor the international telephone calls and email messages of hundreds and thousands of people inside the United States without warrants looking for possible numbers connected to Al Qaeda.

As a result, 650 of Al Qaeda and Taliban' suspected members have been held in late 2001 at the military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, without trial, charge or access to lawyers. In addition, the Bush administration considered them as enemy combatants having no rights under the Geneva Convention (Patman 981). Members of Al Qaeda and other suspects held at Guantanamo Bay were harshly punished; they were almost sentenced with indefinite detention without trial.

Guantanamo Bay is a hidden global internment network for secret detention and interrogation set up by the Central Intelligence Agency under authority granted by President Bush on September 17th, 2001. In addition, according to a memorandum written by Deputy Director of the Office of Legal Council and signed by Assistant Attorney General in august 2002 considered torture as a legal procedure for interrogation (Rested 13). The illegal Detainment and torture of prisoners were given a legal safeguard. Guantanamo bay was a center where human rights and liberties were abused.

Abu Ghraib center was another humiliation center located in Iraq. It was described as a place where U.S. army regulations and Geneva Convention rights were violated (Restad 15). Many reports and evidences showed that prisoners were harshly treated by army personals in

order to get information and intelligence. Generally, Abu Ghraib was another center that had witnessed Bush administration' violation of human rights and liberties.

It is clear that the Bush administration has not hesitated in declaring a war against Al Qaeda and other states using military force in order to punish the responsible for the attacks, thus, many violations on law and human rights distinguished Bush administration, which was regarded as following a very aggressive strategy in its war on terror. However, the war on terror is continuing with the next U.S. President Obama.

II. 2. Barak Obama New Strategy for Defeating Terrorism

Coming to office, president Obama wanted to continue the war on terror. He adapted a similar point of view with the Bush administration in terms of interpreting the attacks of September 11th. In which he considered terror as a clear and direct threat to U.S.A. and all nations' security (Telatar 4). No doubts, President Obama was aware about the threat menacing U.S. security. According to him, terror is a vital threat targeting U.S.A. and it should be defeated smartly as proven by his pursuit and elimination of Al Qaeda leader Ossama Bin Laden.

President Obama promised to follow a strategy that would differ from his predecessor administration, a whole change on U.S. counterterrorism policy was expected, as he clearly criticized Bush administration' construction of the global war on terror (McCrisken 1). President Obama was very critical to Bush administration' violation of law and distraction of Iraq. This is why he decided that new decisions on U.S. Military engagements would be taken in addition to further changes on acts passed by Bush administration that is considered to be exceeding the law.

According to President Obama, an affective counterterrorism policy must be based on partnership and coalitions (Fearon 1). The unlawful actions of Bush administration served to

harm U.S. relation with other nations especially Muslims. Hence, Obama administration first step was to regain nations trust and build strong relations with Muslims through changing the language used by Bush administration during his war on terror.

II. 2. 1. Military Modifications

In March 27th, 2009, just two months after his election, President Obama declared the strategy to follow in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. In this strategy, Obama focused on “to disrupt, dismantle and to defeat Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan and to ensure that it will not return to these countries ever” (qtd in Telatar 46). The deteriorating situation of Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan borders that resulted after Bush campaigns on required a new effective strategy to secure the region and limit the spread of Al Qaeda influence.

In his election campaign, President Obama stated that Iraq was not the center of his new strategy but the uncontrolled border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan (Hoffman 362). The Iraqi invasion committed by the Bush administration received much condemnation both at home and abroad, it resulted in the killing of more than one million Iraqis and caused about 4 million to leave homes (Iroge 14). President Obama was aware of the Iraqi predicament. He wanted to fix the terrible situation there focusing on the same time more on terrorists rolling on Afghan-Pakistani borders.

During the past five years, a series of terrorist attacks has been conducted, including the July 2005 London transport suicide bombings and the 2006 plot to blow up American and Canadian airplanes. All the attacks were believed to be linked to Al Qaeda command and camps in Pakistan (Hoffman 362). While President Bush was occupied in constructing democratic governments in Afghanistan and Iraq, Al Qaeda exploited the opportunity to reestablish itself again in Pakistan borders and conducted other attacks.

Taliban and the Afghan people have a great history with wars; Afghanistan has been known as graveyard of empires, the British Empire and the former Soviet Union. The Afghans showed a high level of patience, resilience, and obedience to rulers. The nature of people of Afghanistan helped Taliban to keep up a stiff resistance against the U.S existence in their country (Irogbe 7-8). The mission of President Bush in Afghanistan was not an easy one; people were ready to sacrifice themselves defending their country from western aggression. This is why the situation there was not comfortable for the U.S.A. in the future.

The weakness of Karzai's government made President Obama afraid from external support to Taliban. This pushed him to shore up the regime through the dispatch of extra troops to counter Taliban (Guelke 9). President Obama ordered to deploy additional 17, 000 more troops to join the previous 294, 000 troops deployed previously in Afghanistan during Bush administration (Irogbe 8). President Obama was intending to face the insurgent Taliban and end the future terrorism emanating from Afghanistan by increasing the number of troops there in order to deteriorate Taliban.

In his new counterterrorism policy, President Obama insisted that he would follow a more transparent strategy than the one of Bush administration, also a strategy in which he will cooperate with allies and respect the democratic ideals of American people and U.S. congress (McCrisken 783). Indeed, President Obama started his new strategy by ramping up the necessary diplomatic surge to put an end to the civil war in Iraq ("Barack...") President Obama's first priority as the next U.S. President was to get out quickly from Iraq and work to regain the public and the diplomatic trust.

II. 2. 2. The Closure of Guantanamo Bay

The situation in Guantanamo bay has received serious critics both within the U.S. population and abroad since it has been against the U.S. law and human rights promoted by

U.S.A. (Telatar 48). In addition, throughout the Muslim world, it has generated a considerable condemnation that has become a relaying cry for terrorist recruitment and stimulation for future anti U.S. violence (Hoffman 361). The situation inside Guantanamo bay center has received much denunciation and international blame. Moreover, the humiliation and the bad treatment of Muslims generated a hatred and an encouragement to join groups of anti-American voices.

According to the New York Times and National Public Radio's, five men had died at Guantanamo detention center by the time President Bush left office (Restad 25). Within his first week, President Obama took serious intentions to review the detention policies and interrogation techniques used by Bush administration. President Obama recognized the bad situation inside the center and the bad reputation it raised. Many acts of aggression and violations against human rights and law had been committed and an immediate reaction had to be taken.

On January 22nd, 2009, president Obama ordered the closure of the military prison camp of Guantanamo bay. Besides, he nullified the earlier legal memoranda signed on August 2002 during Bush administration which considered torture as a legal procedure for interrogation. In addition, he granted all prisoners the right of being protected under the Geneva Convention through repealing President Bush's executive order 13440 (Restad 27). President Obama administration made an overall change on counterterrorism policy followed previously. Keen modifications have been endorsed in order to fight terror adhering in the same time to the U.S. core moral values and principles.

II. 2. 3. Changing the Language of Bush War on Terror

In addition to challenging the disagreeable aspects of Bush's examination of the war on terror by ending the war in Iraq, closing Guantanamo bay center and forbidding the use of

torture as an interrogation process, President Obama declared that he would affect ideological change (McCrisken 782). This means that President Obama was not satisfied with the language used by President Bush, but rather he would reconstruct an appropriate narrative for war on terror without worsening the situation and encouraging more extremism and violence or in other words; exploiting the language to attract friends and followers to help U.S.A. in its war on terror.

On June 2010 in Cairo, President Obama denoted an important speech addressing the Muslim world in which he set out his vision and policy for the war on terror. He said that he is intending to build strong relations with Muslims around the world, adding, “Islam is not part of the problem in combating violent extremism—it is an important part of promoting peace” explaining that our targets are “violent extremists who pose a grave threat to our security” (Ganor 483-349). According to President Obama, the Islamic religion has no connection to extremism and Muslims’ support was important to alienate extremists and to help fight terror.

Still, the term global war on terror was no longer appropriate according to President Obama, in major speeches there were no reference to this term or even a war on terrorism. Hence, the new administration provided the expression of “contingency operations” as an alternative description to America’s engagement in its two wars (Guelke 7). Indeed, in March 2009 Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated that the administration has stopped using the phrase of war on terror (McCrisken 782). Without a doubt, president Obama was cautious in his use of language and choice of words that would serve his policy aims.

Through taking a general look and an objective view about U.S counterterrorism policy followed by Presidents Bush and Obama, one can see that each president has a different view about the suitable way of fighting terrorism and Al Qaeda. However, they both have the same

goals, which are eliminating al Qaeda, stopping the spread of terror and protecting U.S. people and interests inside America and abroad.

During Bush years, the U.S. picture was extremely damaged. Between the invasion of Iraq, Guantanamo bay and the horrors of Abu Ghraib detention center. The U.S. found itself repeatedly accused of acting against law. This cost U.S. the loss of allies and partners during its engagement into two wars. Furthermore, being perceived as a lawbreaker hurt the image of America when gaining minds and hearts was an important issue to its security (Feldman 1). Acting lonely and unlawfully was the dominant and the distinctive feature of Bush administration.

President Obama came into office willing to end the war on terror. He declared that his new administration would step back from the rhetoric and procedure of Bush administration (McCrisken 781). Moreover, he pledged that his policy would be more nimble, more transparent, and more ethical than President Bush's policy (Stern, "Obama... 1"). President Obama goals were very clear, he wanted to restore America values and focus more on its security; this was evident in his decisions of ending the war in Iraq and closing Guantanamo bay and Abu Ghraib detention centers.

After identifying the two different strategies, ideologies and efforts done by both presidents to eliminate Al Qaeda, its leader Ossama Bin Laden, and all acts of terror around the world. One would wonder about the validity of U.S. counterterrorism policy to achieve its planned goals. In doing so, one should recognize its impact on Al Qaeda growth, whether it could abolish Al Qaeda organization, and to what extent it could end the spread of terrorism around the world.

Chapter Three: Assessing Presidents Bush and Obama Counterterrorism

Policy against Al Qaeda taking Iraq as a Case Study

September 11th attacks were a turning point in U.S. counterterrorism policy. It turned its focus towards the elimination of Al Qaeda leader Ossama Bin Laden and other members. Thus, the United Nations first reaction was to wage a global war against Al Qaeda organization, its violent extremists and those who provided them support. Furthermore, the U.S.A. used every instrument to destroy Al Qaeda in order to avoid another attack and protect its security (“9/11 five...1”). By waging a global war on those responsible for the attacks, U.S.A. was expecting a quick abolition of Al Qaeda and its members and ending terror issue in a short time.

However, sixteen years of a global struggle, terrorism and counterterrorism became the major issue of 21st century U.S. and the world history. Years after September 11th attacks, the BBC reported that, “jihadist attacks killed more than 5000 people in just one month [November]” (Stohl 3). In addition to Al Qaeda existence in Iraq and the current military insurgency represented by ISIS (Stohl 15). Despite U.S. responsive policies, it seems that terrorism still exist and spread its influence and horror as many attacks have been conducted taking innocent people’s lives away.

This is why the following chapter will tackle the fiercely debated question among authors and media, the question of whether the U.S.A. is winning the war against terrorism or losing it. In other words, was the U.S. counterterrorism policy effective in ending Al Qaeda existence and influence or no? In doing so, an assessment of the policies followed by Presidents Bush and Obama since September 11th attacks would help to measure to which extent does the U.S. counterterrorism policy achieved its goals of ending terror threat.

III. 1. 1 The Bush Administration Achievements in the Counterterrorism Policy

President Bush in his counterterrorism policy was first seeking to destroy Al Qaeda and its affiliates using law enforcement and intelligence services, he strictly opposed states supporting Al Qaeda and Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which has been considered as an uncooperative regime that should be toppled. Second, preventing terrorists from acquiring weapons of mass destruction was another goal in his policy, and third, significant efforts were needed to promote democracy in the Middle East (Byman 69). Bush administration goals were very clear: eliminating Al Qaeda and those harboring it, preventing the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by terrorists and finally advancing effective democracy in Muslim countries.

Quickly after the attacks, President Bush reacted first with a coalition of allies in Afghanistan. Al Qaeda training camps were destroyed and the Taliban regime which refused to deliver Al Qaeda leader to the U.S.A. was removed by the U.S. military (President...1). In addition to that, the capture and killing of some of the terrorist organization's worst actors during the Bush administration (Cutler 63). Indeed, operation-enduring freedom in Afghanistan was successfully accomplished. The Taliban regime harboring Al Qaeda was eliminated, most of Al Qaeda members were caught, the leader Ossama Bin Laden and other surviving members fled to the mountains.

During the first years, the U.S. government identified that it has killed or captured two-thirds of the Al-Qaeda's leadership and by September 2004 it had charged 350 individuals and convicted other 185 one of terrorism charges. Moreover, it has disrupted alleged terrorist cells in New York, Washington, Oregon, North Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida and it has frozen over 200 million of terrorist financing (Spencer 182-183). In its efforts, the U.S.

Security Service captured a big number of suspects and many cells connected to Al Qaeda were dislocated. Which proves the effectiveness of Bush administration in its war against Al Qaeda.

Again, the Bush administration affirmed that it was succeeding in its war on terror. At the start of operation Iraqi freedom, President Bush in his address to the nation declared the following, “we will accept no outcome but victory in Iraq”. He said that U.S. troops are achieving success in Iraq stressing that, “The surge has opened the door to a major strategic victory in the broader war on terror” (Schmid and Singh 41). In addition to the successful eradication of Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, President Bush was sure of his next triumph in Iraq, he clearly stated that the military operations there were going well without mentioning any difficulties.

Furthermore, the other goal of the Bush counterterrorism policy was the advancement of freedom and human dignity through democracy in both Afghanistan and Iraq. On this matter, 50 million of people voted in open transparent elections. Also, many in other Muslim countries were able to vote in democratic elections including Indonesia, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, and the West Bank/Gaza (“9/11 five... 2”). Another goal was achieved by the Bush administration. Spreading democratic principles in the Muslim countries were regarded as essential for the prevention of terrorism.

In general, before September 11th attacks, Al Qaeda was in Afghanistan training thousands of terrorists, today Al Qaeda training camps are destroyed. Iraq was designated state sponsor of terrorism but now it is no longer included in the states sponsor list. Moreover, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are standing with U.S.A. as key allies in its war against Al Qaeda (Schmid and Singh 36). It is clear that U.S.A. is achieving success in its global fight against terrorists.

Gaining the support of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan is by itself an achievement that would be beneficial in the war on terror.

Unfortunately, despite the achievements reached during the Bush presidency, in many speeches and statements made by President Bush and other prominent figures in the U.S. government success remains unclear when Al Qaeda attacks continue to threaten the U.S. and world security (Schmid and Singh 42-43). Al Qaeda organization was dismantled and many terrorists were captured but terrorist attacks still being conducted. One would be uncertain about the effectiveness of President Bush's counterterrorism policy.

III. 1. 2. The Obama Administration Achievements in The Counterterrorism policy

In 2007 speech, President Barack Obama spelled out his pre-presidential version of foreign policy in which he said:

It is time to turn the page. It is time to write a new chapter in our response to 9/11. . . . When I am president; we will wage the war that has to be won; with a comprehensive strategy with five elements: getting out of Iraq and on to the right battlefield in Afghanistan and Pakistan, developing the capabilities and partnerships we need to take out the terrorists and the world's most deadly weapons, engaging the world to dry up support for terror and extremism, restoring our values, and securing a more resilient homeland (qtd in "Barack...").

Before his election as U.S. president, Barack Obama stated out the clear goals of his Counterterrorism policy, in which he emphasized the importance of winning the war against terror. Later, the election of Barack Obama to the United States presidency generated a tremendous optimism about the positive change that could be made on U.S. counterterrorism policy. At the beginning, the number of announcements and initiatives in addition to the

Nobel Peace prize to President Obama seemed to assert a sense of hopefulness (R. Jackson 390). Initially, President Obama's strategy was what the United States needed after President Bush's harsh policy. In some ways, President Obama strategy seemed to promote some necessary adjustments on failures committed by the previous administration.

President Obama sought to restore America reputation after the damage done by reports on Guantanamo bay detention camp and Abu Ghrib prison in Iraq. Furthermore, he wanted to give a longer role to diplomacy and negotiations in the conduct of American foreign policy instead of Bush unilateralism and reliance on military force (Guelke 9). His initiative towards the closure of both detention centers marked his good intentions to restore America image and recognized values and to open doors of negotiations with other Nations especially Middle East nations.

The first visible shift was in Obama rhetoric in which he determined to reengage with Muslim world. His first interview as President was given to the Arab Satellite Station al Arabiya. He pointed out that his first goal was to redefine the United Nation relation with Muslims and doing so again in his Cairo speech months later (Bettiza and Phillips 11). In many occasions, President Obama had never wasted the opportunity to address Muslims with a message of respect and a greater hope to rebuilt alliances and engage with the rest of the world.

President Obama ended the war in Iraq and the last U.S. troops withdrawal from Iraq was in December 2011. "I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years. And much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq. So let me be clear: No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation by any other" (qtd in Pasternak 3). In President Barak Obama's address at Cairo University June 4th, 2009, he clearly identified his intentions to end the war in Iraq, his intentions soon became a reality

when he got his troops out of Iraq completely with the end of 2011. A good move, which has been considered as an attempt to encourage democracy there and regain the public trust towards U.S. policy.

The war on terror and the way it should be fought was taken into consideration by Obama administration, in his inaugural speech, the focus has shifted to a counter insurgency campaign in Afghanistan rather than pursuing an open ended war against terrorism (Bettiza and Phillips 12). While sending his troops to fight Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, President Obama fulfilled his promise by killing the leader of Al Qaeda Osama Bin Laden in operation Geronimo in 2011 (Pasternak 3). President Obama said during a campaign rally in Green Bay, Wisconsin November 1st, 2012. "Bin Laden is dead. So we've made real progress these past four years" (J. Lee 18). The killing of Osama Bin Laden was one of the greatest achievements realized by Obama administration. The head of the most terrifying terrorist organization was killed finally.

National Director of Intelligence James Clapper said, "With Osama bin Laden's death, the global jihadist movement lost its most iconic and inspirational leader...and the death or capture of prominent al-Qaeda figures has shrunk the group's top leadership layer" And Defense Secretary Leon Panetta revealed, "I'm convinced that we're within reach of strategically defeating al Qaeda" (J. Lee 18). All political figures agreed that the death of Osama Bin Laden was a certain success for U.S.A. against Al Qaeda.

Despite Obama administration attempts to end the war on terror, people found themselves living in a world plagued with more terrorism than it was before. Civil wars, sectarian tensions and states failures in Middle East where Islamist terrorism could spread its influence, most notably the emergence of self-proclaimed Islamic state of ISIS in Iraq and Syria (Stern,

Terrorism 1). Regardless of Obama promises and accomplishments, it seems that the war is not over, but more terrorism and threat was spreading around the world.

III. 1. 3. AL Qaeda after the U.S. responsive Counterterrorism Policy

Although, Al Qaeda camps in Afghanistan were destroyed, Taliban regime was overthrown, its ideological and logistical leader Ossama Bin Laden was killed in addition to the continuous U.S. extreme fight for terrorists, Al Qaeda danger still exist and lurk to the world security. In other words, regardless of President Bush and Obama's successes and achievements against Al Qaeda, terrorist acts still being committed and threatening the lives of innocent people around the world.

The loss of the training camps and financial resources that caused the collapse of Al Qaeda infrastructure, the formally organized global terrorist organization supposed to incorporate terrorist groups around the world turned into its traditional form of international jihad movement. Groups acting by themselves without any support from the top but groups following the same methodology and ideology of Al Qaeda without direct links to it (J. Lee 18) Al Qaeda base was dismantled, but its activity still alive thanks to groups remaining solid contacts to Al Qaeda and acting by their own command in different countries around the world.

On September 27th, 2013, Bruce Reidel, the director of the Intelligence Project at the Brookings Institution wrote that the earliest attacks committed in Kenya, Algeria and the ongoing growth of Al Qaeda franchise in Syria all proves Al Qaeda consistent ability to grow, attract volunteers from across the world, and survive the U.S. counterterrorism policy (Ibrahim 8). Also, in 2013, it was mentioned that according to statistics released by the State Department, terrorist attacks rose 43% worldwide and the global security has been deteriorated by terrorism, insurgency and sectarian violence in Iraq, Syria, Pakistan and Afghanistan (J. Lee 20). Indeed, the terrorist still enduring, nothing has changed and this

raises some doubts about the effectiveness of the U.S. counterterrorism policy and its validity in limiting the threat of terrorism.

The killing and the capture of major Al Qaeda leaders, and the loss of its safe haven in Afghanistan forced Al Qaeda to rely on other terrorist groups and affiliates to plan and conduct attacks by their own command (Rabasa, Beyond 40). In other word, the success achieved by the U.S. government had some effects on Al Qaeda structure; it became a more decentralized organization with a cellular form. Cells inspired by Al Qaeda but having no connections with it, each operate by its own leadership.

Furthermore, the death of Ossama Bin Laden had a positive effect on Al Qaeda. The break of Al Qaeda authority led by its affiliates in Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, and the Islamic Maghreb to expand its areas of activities by their owns. Moreover, the decentralization of affiliates make Al Qaeda stronger than it was before (Zimmerman 1). After the death of Bin Laden, it seems that Al Qaeda network has not been weakened, but affiliate-to-affiliate relationship made Al Qaeda core unable to be dislocated. In other way, Al Qaeda threat has not been ended, it appears to grow by the emergence of these newly independent groups following strictly the same methodology of Al Qaeda.

Disregarding the countless achievements of both Bush and Obama Presidents and their declaration of the end of the war on terror, Al Qaeda horror is not yet terminated. Although Al Qaeda foundation was damaged, its influence on other groups seems to be uncontrollable. These newly emerged groups are following Al Qaeda path causing more fear and terror around the world, in fact, the U.S. policy was not successful in limiting Al Qaeda effect but triggered the encouragement of more terrorist groups.

III. 2. Al Qaeda in Iraq after the U.S. Invasion of 2003

The emergence of Al Qaeda in Iraq can be traced back to its founder Abu Musab al Zarqawi. His first exposure to Al Qaeda was during his participation in the Soviet Afghan

conflict. When he returned to his country Jordan, he started plotting for the Hashemite monarchy where he created his Bayat al Imam group. Because of his public critics to King Hussein's regime and his treaty with Israel, he was arrested and sentenced for 15 years. When released in 1999, he went to Afghanistan and he met the leader Ossama Bin Laden himself (Kirdar 2- 3).

Beginning in early 2000, and with the financial help of Ossama Bin Laden, Zaqawi turned his small group into a mobile army ready to take action anywhere in the world. Following the U.S. air strikes in Afghanistan, he spent his next month moving between Iran, Syria, Lebanon, and the Kurdish controlled areas in Iraq expanding his network and growing his cadre of fighters. Few months, he reached Iraq and established solid bases there, where he became the default Emir of Islamic terrorists in Iraq (Kirdar 3). Backed by Ossama Bin Laden, Zarqawi with his group of fighters landed in Iraq and established an affiliation known by Al Qaeda in Iraq(AQI). An affiliation deemed to be ideologically linked to Al Qaeda mother.

Secretary of State Powell said that Iraq was harboring a terrorist network headed by Abu Musab al Zarqawi, an assistant and collaborator of Osama Bin Laden and his Al Qaeda. And for sure, from his terrorist network, Zarqawi can direct his network in the Middle East and beyond (Katzman 8). Indeed, Musab al Zarqawi and Ossama Bin Laden had built connections with each other's, this is why The U.S. Government was wary of Al Zarqawi's activities in Iraq and afraid of the spread of his influence and threat in the area and abroad.

In the broader post September 11th, Iraq became the central front in U.S. counterterrorism policy. thus, defeating AQI in its home would be better than allow it to grow elsewhere in the region and conduct plots inside the United States itself (Katzman 9). Whether suspicion of Saddam Hussein links to September 11th attacks, or debts about building a nuclear power or possessing weapons of mass destruction, the Bush administration was certain of its decision to

invade Iraq, according to the Bush administration, it was the necessary solution to eliminate Al Qaeda in Iraq and stop the spread of terrorism.

With the U.S. occupation of Iraq, many of 250,000 members of the scattered Iraqi Security Services formed the Iraqi insurgency, adding to that a stream of foreign fighters who were attracted by calls of Muslim leaders to join the defensive jihad against U.S.A. The most notable was Zarqawi's hard work within the Iraqi insurgency that reached its peak with 2007 (Kirdar 4). Furthermore, al Zarqawi the leader of Al Qaeda in Iraq attracted many groups like Ansar Tawhid and the Islamic Jihad Movement, which joined forces with it, and the Islamic State of Iraq was declared (Gompert, Security 15). As reaction to the U.S. invasion on Iraq, an insurgency was born in which Zarqawi played a major role in the fight, it was like an opportunity for him to show his faithfulness to Ossama Bin Laden and follow the same trail of Al Qaeda in defending Iraq from the U.S. raid. Moreover, because of his raised fame many groups joined ending up by forming the Islamic State of Iraq.

It was anticipated that there would be no more save heaven for terrorists in Iraq after the U.S. operation enduring freedom. Nevertheless, against all expectations, terrorism within Iraq did not end. At the first twelve months, there were 78 terrorist attacks raising to reach 302 attacks months later (Stern, Terrorism 1). And this is what is clearly mentioned in the following diagram.

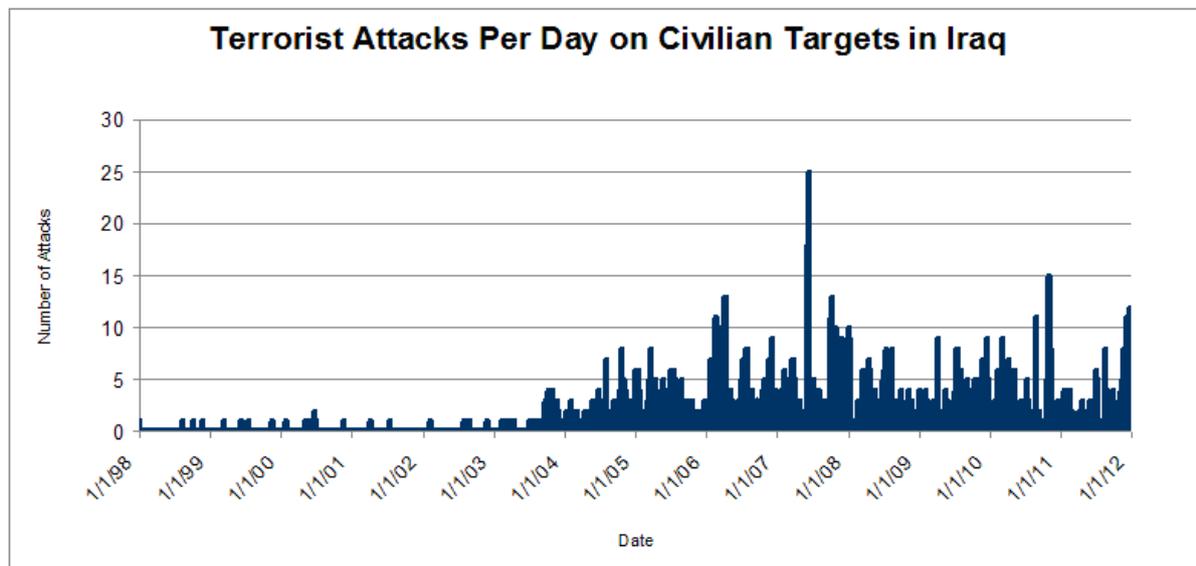


Fig. 2. Terrorist Attacks Per Day on Civilian Targets in Iraq

Source: Stern, Jessica. "Terrorism after the 2003 Invasion of Iraq". Web. 22 May 2017.

<https://www.google.fr/?gws_rd=ssl&pli=1#q=Source:+Stern,+Jessica.+%E2%80%9CTerrorism+after+the+2003+Invasion+of+Iraq%E2%80%9D++>

The diagram shows the number of terrorist attacks per day before and after the invasion of Iraq in 2003. As it is mentioned, before the year of 2003, the number of terrorist attacks was a very small number when comparing it to the number of attacks after the same year. Terrorist attacks reached the peak of 25 attacks per day within the year of 2007.

However, Zarqawi high profile of aggressive procedures and willingness to dominate the insurgency brought him to a public resentment resulting in his loss of strategic alliances with other elements of the insurgency (Kirdar 4). Al Qaeda in Iraq targets were Iraqi government forces, most of which Shi'a and U.S. and other coalition forces (Katzman 14). Zarqawi goals were at odds with the national aims of the insurgency. His intentions to fire a civil war between Sunni and Shi'a in order to establish a Sunni Islamic State went beyond the goal of liberating Iraq from the U.S. invasion, resulting in growing dissatisfactions about his actions.

As a reaction to growing threat in 2007, U.S.A. added more than 20, 000 troops to help stabilize the depraved situation in Iraq, by early 2008, 2, 400 of Al Qaeda members in Iraq

were killed and 8, 800 were captured while the flow of foreign fighters to Iraq has been diminished to its lowest level since years (Kirdar 5). Iraq now is more secure than it was before. The main political factions of Sunni, Shi'a and kurd favored peace instead of fights and agreed to counter terror besides the U.S. efforts (Gompert, Security xi- xii). After the military surge of U.S. troops in Iraq and the killing of most Al Qaeda members, it is believed that the threat is over now, and this was reaffirmed by the willingness of the political groups to join efforts in order to stabilize the country and fight terror.

The assumed Iraqi internal stability was one reason behind President Obama's choice of military withdrawal from Iraq. According to him, the deployment of U.S. troops in Iraq is no longer required. Iraq now has the opportunity to show its ability to maintain peace and security (Gompert, Security xii). However, turning back to the previous diagram, it is obvious that the number of attacks were rising to reach 15 attacks per day during the days of Obama administration. In other words, one would think that the decision of removing troops from Iraq was behind the rise of terror again in the region.

The failure of Iraqi government to maintain stability and security generated the motivation and encouragement for terrorist groups to reestablish themselves again (Stern 5). By 2011, when the U.S. troops withdrawal from Iraq was completed, the Islamic state of Iraq was run by Abu Bakr al Baghdadi who took Zarqawi tactics and supercharged them. In addition to the Shiites as his first targets, police, military offices, checkpoints and recruiting centers became his next targets. His group was given an air of an army because a majority of its members were commanders and soldiers within Saddam's military (Ghosh 3). The removal of U.S. troops from Iraq served as an opportunity to the rebirth of the Islamic State under Abu Bakr al Baghdadi leadership.

The flow of foreign fighters into Iraq is continuing until 2014 and 2015. New estimates suggest that a number of 7, 000 new recruits arrived with the beginning of 2015 and the

attraction of jihadist groups is remaining high, in which 21% of recruiters are foreign fighters and 50% of them are fighters from Middle East and African countries (“Global 3”). Years before the U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, a notable increase in the number of recruiters joining the Islamic State in Iraq, which proves the consistent ability of such group to attract new members.

According to the global index of terrorism, Iraq is ranked to be the highest country harmed by terrorism in the world. It is also considered to be the country hosting the most deadly terrorist groups in the entire world. Al Baghdadi group was the most terrifying group causing the killing of 6073 people in 2014 (“Global 14”). Despite U.S. counterterrorism policy and efforts done by President Obama to lower the threat in Iraq, Abu Bakr al Baghdadi could open a second front in Syria against Shiite during the Arab spring and then his group became known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (Ghosh 3). Indeed, the Islamic state is gaining power more and more, exceeding the borders, and claiming Syria as another territory under its influence.

The Bush administration Goals represented in the capture of those responsible of the murderous attacks of September 11th and the elimination of Al Qaeda organization and every state or element harboring it were almost achieved. Al Qaeda infrastructure in Afghanistan was dismantled, most camps there were destroyed and a big number of Al Qaeda members were killed or captured. Afghanistan is no longer a safe haven for its activity, Ossama Bin Laden and surviving members fled to the mountains of Afghanistan hiding themselves in order not to be caught by U.S. troops. Adding to that, President Bush successfully could eliminate Saddam Hussein regime, which was supposed to have links with Al Qaeda.

As continuation to the Bush administration’ achievements, many other accomplishments were realized during the Obama administration. Gaining the support of Muslim world was a good move in his counterterrorism policy, in which many Islamic states were providing help

to U.S.A. in its fight against terrorists. Moreover, ending the distraction in Iraq by withdrawing U.S. troops and encouraging democracy in the region was another success for President Obama. Furthermore, the most important triumph during his days was the killing of Al Qaeda leader Ossama Bin Laden during operation Geronimo in 2011, which marked according to many the complete distraction of Al Qaeda organization.

Despite the claimed successful counterterrorism policy of both Presidents Bush and Obama and the damages done to Al Qaeda organization, it seems to emerge with the form of a global international terrorist network spreading its influence and threat around the world. It is very clear that the amount of terrorist attacks was raising, attacks committed by new terrorist groups holding the same ideology of Al Qaeda and following its methodology, but acting with their own command, in another way, groups linked ideologically to Al Qaeda but each group has its own leader managing for the group operations.

The Islamic State of Iraq, its roots goes back to its founder Abu Musab Al Zarqawi, who was supported by Ossama Bin Laden to establish his group in Iraq. During the Iraqi insurgency, which has arisen after President Bush's invasion of 2003, Zarqawi's terrorist activities reached its peak. Although diminished after the U.S. troops surge and his subsequent death, the group activity was revived by its new leader Abu Bakr al Baghdadi during the Obama administration. Al Baghdadi extended the roots of the group to reach Syria to become known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

Conclusion

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11th on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, terrorism and counter terrorism become a major issue in modern history. It marked the beginning of a new type of terrorism presented by Al Qaeda organization targeting the U.S.A. which by itself responded by creating a counterterrorism policy in order to punish Al Qaeda for its deeds and prevent another September 11th attack.

Al Qaeda organization founded by its leader Ossama Bin Laden, from a Saudi Arabian descent, a son of a very wealthy family and a very normal person living with his large family in a devout Sunni Muslim society. However, the influencing events of 1979 were considered to change the mind of Ossama Bin Laden, first the Iranian revolution gave him an idea about the potential of Islam in ruling a Muslim country. Second, the Afghanistan revolution, which was a real turning point in his life, while participating in the revolution, he created his own camps of Arab fighter and led the war against the Soviet Union, winning the war against one of the superpowers gave him a sense of a hero. Likewise, the Kuwait revolution created in him the feeling of hatred against U.S.A. and generated critics towards Saudi Arabia' regime.

The development of Al Qaeda as a formal organization started when Ossama Bin Laden declared his second fatwa the declaration of Jihad against Jews and Crusaders, many groups joined him creating an organization by its own specific structure, ideology and strategy of achieving its goals. Al Qaeda became a huge reservoir of well-trained fighters allowing it to grow more and more. Many attacks had been conducted against U.S. symbols in the Middle East. Little attention was paid to Ossama Bin Laden activities; this is why he was able to commit such murderous attacks at the heart of U.S.A. home, causing it the loss of thousands of lives of innocent people in addition to the damage of its main central buildings.

The response of Bush administration was quick; President Bush immediately declared a global war against Al Qaeda, in which all nations have to support the U.S.A. in its fight against the extremist terrorists. The Security Council passed resolution permitting the use of force in order to punish the responsible for the attacks. This gave President Bush the right to interfere military in Afghanistan and topple Taliban the first sponsor of Al Qaeda. Also, another war was waged on Iraq and its ruler Saddam Hussein, who was suspected of possessing weapons of mass destruction. Other procedures were taken like the creation of Homeland Security Department and allowing harsh interrogation techniques in the detainee centers.

President Obama came to office with the same aim of the previous administration, which is the elimination of Al Qaeda organization and the stop of its growth. However, President Obama wanted to follow a more ethical counterterrorism policy. In which ending Iraq' destruction and gaining the public and Muslim support again were his major goals. In addition to overcoming the situation and making peace with terrorists, he decided to close the Guantanamo Bay detention center and Abu Ghrib prison in Iraq with intense revision to law considered to violating the human rights like the interrogation techniques used inside the detainee centers against those suspected of terrorism.

Many achievements had been accomplished during the Bush and Obama administrations. As a result to operation enduring freedom in Afghanistan, Al Qaeda organization has been dismantled, its training camps were seized by U.S. troops and all most its members were killed and captured, the Taliban regime was toppled and Saddam Hussein regime was eliminated in a short period during operation Iraqi freedom. In addition to the victory reached by President Bush, President Obama was also successful in murdering Ossama Bin Laden in 2011. Indeed, the killing of the leader of this terrorist organization would mean the definite and rapid collapse of Al Qaeda. Although the U.S. counterterrorism policy was successful in

dislocating Al Qaeda infrastructure and killing its logistical leader, it seems that its influence has not yet ended. Al Qaeda appears as a global ideological movement associating and inspiring a big number of jihadist groups spreading around the world and following the same path of Al Qaeda.

Iraq as a region concerned with the U.S. counterterrorism policy had underwent major changes since the U.S. first invasion in 2003. An insurgency has arisen, during which the terrorist group of Al Qaeda in Iraq headed by Abu Musab al Zarqawi could establish his group there, which would be named later the Islamic State of Iraq when consolidating his efforts with other groups. Iraq became the center of terror, reaching a high level of committed terrorist attacks. In 2007, the troops surge during Bush administration helped to reduce the threat to a minimum level, but again it has raised again after the removal of U.S. troops from Iraq. Iraq now is ranked to be the first deteriorated country with terrorism.

As a conclusion, although U.S. counterterrorism policy has achieved a significant success in distracting Al Qaeda foundation, it helped in a way to reshape Al Qaeda from being a formal organization to an ideological movement; it became a global network of disconnected loyal terrorist groups acting around the world. In other words, major policies taken by the U.S.A. were behind the emergence of new groups like the Islamic State in Iraq, the most threatening terrorist group that was previously backed by Ossama Bin Laden. The group now is getting stronger because of the bad security situation in Iraq and the Arab spring that allowed it to spread its power to Syria.

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