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Civilization

**The High Cost of Selling Democratic Illusions to Iraq: Assessing the Post-  
Invasion Period.**

**A Research Proposal Submitted to the Department of English  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master Degree in civilization**

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## Dedication

I dedicate this work to myself, to my parents and brothers Loulo, Misou, and YDoudi.

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Above all, I thank Allah the all mighty and most merciful who gave me power and will to finish this work.

My sincere gratitude goes to my parents from whom I received accommodation and help. I thank my brothers who helped me a lot. My special thanks go to the person from whom I received immense help and support. I thank anyone who helped me even through words.

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## Abstract

The main concern of this dissertation is to examine Iraqi situation after U.S. withdrawal since 2011. It deals with the real situation of Iraq and Iraqis after the war on all sides socially, politically and economically. The main conclusion of this dissertation is that U.S. invasion of Iraq started on the basis of bringing democracy and human rights and ended with the violation of those rights, distraction and chaos. To reach this conclusion, the dissertation starts with the examination of the prewar conditions divided on two main periods. On the one hand, the dissertation deals with U.S. foreign policy toward Middle Eastern countries and mainly Iraq before 9/11 attacks. It deals also with U.S. views about Iraq which would contribute in the decision to wage war. On the other hand, the dissertation deals with the abrupt change in U.S. foreign policy toward some countries including Iraq after 9/11 attacks which led to U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003.

## Keywords

U.S. foreign policy, 9/11 attacks, U.S. invasion of Iraq, U.S. withdrawal, Iraqi situation after the war.

## الملخص

يتمثل الهدف الرئيسي لهذه المذكرة في دراسة وضعية العراق بعد انسحاب القوات الأمريكية منه منذ 2011. هذه المذكرة تصف الحالة الحقيقية التي آل إليها العراق بعد الحرب في كافة المجالات الاجتماعية، السياسية و الاقتصادية. الحوصلة الأساسية لهذه المذكرة هي أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بدأت حربها ضد العراق على أسس أخلاقية سامية متمثلة في جلب الديمقراطية و حقوق الإنسان للعراقيين، لكن للأسف انتهت بانتهاك تلك الحقوق كما تسببت بخراب ودمار شامل للعراق. للوصول إلى هذه الحوصلة عمدت هذه المذكرة إلى تحليل الوضع قبيل الحرب علي مستوى فترتين زمنييتين. في البداية درست المذكرة السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية المتعلقة بدول الشرق الأوسط خاصة العراق قبل هجمات الحادي عشر سبتمبر الإرهابية. كما تطرقت المذكرة لأهم الأفكار التي رسمتها الحكومة الأمريكية عن العراق والتي ساهمت لاحقاً في قرار إعلان الحرب على العراق. كمرحلة ثانية قامت المذكرة بدراسة التحول المفاجئ في السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بالنسبة لبعض الدول والتي من ضمنها العراق بعد الهجمات الإرهابية التي أسفرت عن احتلال الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية للعراق في 2003.

## الكلمات المفتاحية

السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، هجمات الحادي عشر سبتمبر، احتلال الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية للعراق، انسحاب القوات الأمريكية، حالة العراق بعد الحرب.

## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<b>AQI</b>	Al-Qaeda in Iraq.
<b>ASPO</b>	Association of the Study of Peak Oil & Gas.
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency.
<b>CPI</b>	Corruption Perception Index.
<b>DIA</b>	Defense Intelligence agency.
<b>EIA</b>	Energy Information Administration.
<b>FBI</b>	Federal Bureau of Investigation.
<b>FFO</b>	False Flag Operation.
<b>GWOT</b>	Global War on Terror.
<b>IBC</b>	Iraqi Body Count.
<b>ICRC</b>	International Committee for the Red Cross.
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced People.
<b>IFM</b>	International Monetary Fund.
<b>INSS</b>	American Institute for National Strategic Studies.
<b>IS</b>	Islamic State.
<b>ISF</b>	Iraqi Security Forces.
<b>ISIL</b>	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.
<b>ISIS</b>	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.
<b>KRG</b>	Kurdistan Regional Government.
<b>MBPD</b>	Million barrels per day.
<b>NCTC</b>	National Counterterrorism Center.
<b>NDP</b>	National Develop Program.

<b>NSC</b>	U.S. National Security Council.
<b>NSS</b>	National Security Strategy.
<b>OIF</b>	Operation Iraqi Freedom.
<b>OPEC</b>	The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.
<b>PATRIOT Act</b>	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism.
<b>PCTEG</b>	Policy Counter Terrorism Evaluation Group.
<b>PNAC</b>	The Project for the New American Century.
<b>SOFA</b>	Status of Forces Agreement.
<b>U.K.</b>	United Kingdom.
<b>U.N.</b>	United Nations.
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Develop Program.
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
<b>UNSCOM</b>	United Nations Special Commission of Disarmament.
<b>USA/ U.S.</b>	United States of America.
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization.
<b>WMD</b>	Weapons of Mass Destruction.
<b>WTC</b>	World Trade Center.

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## Introduction

After the collapse of the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in the 1989, the world power balance changed. USA became the world super power; it shaped its politics and foreign policy according to its interests. On September 11, 2001, USA wrote a new chapter in its book history. According to U.S. government a group of terrorists under Al-Qaeda organization struck USA on its soil. After these bloody events, U.S. foreign policy changed toward many nations. For this reason, USA declared a new type of wars called global war on terrorism (GWOT). In October, 2001, USA declared war on Afghanistan under the pretext of harboring terrorists. In 2003, USA declared another war on Iraq to bring democracy to Iraqis and to topple Saddam Hussein whom it considered as an autocratic ruler who had relations with terrorists and who developed weapons of mass destruction. After 9 years of war, instead of bringing democracy U.S. invasion of Iraq caused huge damage and destruction.

This Master Dissertation entitled: “The High Cost of Selling U.S. Democratic Illusions to Iraq: Assessing the Post-War Period” dealt with U.S. invasion of Iraq reasons and results. It dealt with U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East and mainly Iraq before and after 9/11 attacks. It considered 9/11 attacks as a watershed that enabled USA from waging many wars under the name of GWOT and bringing democracy to reach its hidden intentions. It analyzes the real consequences of the Iraq war on all sides: socially, politically and economically.

After being U.S. best ally in the Gulf region, Iraq turned to be enemy number one because of Saddam’s unprecedented decisions. In 2003, USA invaded Iraq under the pretext of bringing democracy and human rights to Iraqis. USA put regime change as a starting point to reach its intentions. After nearly 9 years of war, Iraq and Iraqis harvested the real outcomes of believing in U.S. democratic illusions.

In this dissertation four main methodologies of research were used. The Qualitative Method which was used to analyze the real situation of Iraq in different aspects socially, politically and economically. The Analytical Method which was used to analyze U.S. foreign policy before and after 9/11 attacks and to analyze the reasons behind U.S. invasion of Iraq. The Descriptive Method which was used to give in-depth description to the situation after war at different levels. The Quantitative Method which was used to analyze numeric data especially when dealing with the degree of destruction and loss.

Apparently dealing with the case of Iraq after war was not that easy matter because, such a recent research required deep analysis in order to have a clear vision. Analyzing the situation of Iraq and Iraqis after war was a concrete moral any nation should take into consideration. Analyzing the case of Iraq after war enables the reader to draw conclusions about U.S. intervention and what is known as war for democracy.

This dissertation raised a number of questions which need an answer, among them here are some: why did USA invade Iraq in 2003? were bringing democracy and human rights the sole cause of invading Iraq in 2003 or were there other hidden causes? how did Iraq and Iraqis benefit from the U.S. invasion? what are the real outcomes of the war? how can invasion really bring democracy, or how can war bring peace?

The first chapter examined U.S. foreign policy before 9/11 attacks toward Middle Eastern countries especially Iraq. On the whole, U.S. relations with the countries of the richest region with oil and gas were good and based on its interests. Furthermore, this chapter dealt with U.S. views about Iraq before 9/11. USA considered Iraq as a nondemocratic country ruled by an autocratic ruler who had the power over the second largest oil reserves in the world. These views turned to be reasons to declare a war against Iraq later. This chapter aimed at being a

base to what is coming in the other chapters. It connected U.S. Iraq history from being best friend to becoming enemies.

The second chapter however, examined 9/11 attacks and its effects on U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle Eastern countries especially Iraq. U.S. foreign policy changed radically toward Iraq and its regime after the terrorist attacks. It considered Iraq's ruler Saddam Hussein as harboring terrorists and developing WMDs which he may share with terrorists. This chapter examined the U.S. reactions to 9/11 attacks both politically {through the set of new strategies it followed} and militarily {through the declaration of global war on terror under which it recruited the world on its side to legitimize its war in Afghanistan and Iraq}.

The second chapter showed 9/11 attacks as the main reason USA used to declare a GWOT and to wage war on Afghanistan in 2001. In addition, this chapter examined the idea of 9/11 attacks as a False Flag Operation, this idea enables the readers to make connections between those attacks and the subsequent events that took place later. The aim from speaking about 9/11 attacks in this chapter was to understand how could USA use any means necessary to reach its interests. This chapter tries to connect history from 9/11 attacks till the current day.

The third chapter was the major important one because it examined Iraq's situation after U.S. withdrawal in 2011. This chapter dealt with the social, political and economic problems the war caused. Nine years of war made Iraq a destructed country that suffered from instability and human rights violations. The war caused the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and displaced nearly 4 million. The war brought diseases to Iraqis because of the lack of drinking water, sanitation and electricity. The war deepened ethno-sectarian tensions and caused a new internal war between Sunni and Shiite Iraqis. Also, it caused in the emergence of a black phantom called Daesh which took innocent Iraqis' lives daily. The war weakened Iraq's economy and made the reconstruction process so slow.

The main aim of this chapter was to examine the real results of the war on all sides and to understand what a war for the so called “democracy” could bring to innocent people who sought only to live in a democratic country which praises human rights.

## Chapter One: The U.S. Foreign Policy toward Iraq Before 9/11 Attacks

### American Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy is a term referring to any nation's policy abroad with other nations including several domains. Therefore, American Foreign Policy is defined as: "Foreign Policy is a broad term, covering many different spheres of policy and action" (McKeever and Davis 357). Any nation has to shape its foreign policy and to identify the instruments it uses in order to reach the goals it wants. A nation's foreign policy should have its specific characteristics through which it creates relationships with other nations according to what current events need. A nation like USA has reached high status in the world through its foreign policy.

U.S. foreign policy is not stable; it changes according to conditions and new events. It is a collection of contradictive concepts and meanings, which formulates one enduring homogenous entity (Glendening and Reeves 329). Relatively, due to its flexibility U.S. foreign policy is adoptable to any condition (Mead 17). In order to meet the world's changeable events and problems wisely, the American foreign policy is like a "Kaleidoscope" hard to be examined or understood (Cakmak 2). USA has no constant foreign policy or even no foreign policy at all.

American foreign policy is based on interests; it changes according to benefits and goals it needs (Aihara 1). In fact, USA employs its flexible and changeable foreign policy to get the maximum benefit from any situation (Cakmak 2). When looking deep in the American foreign and domestic policies the conclusion to be drawn is that almost its policies are flexible. To illustrate, in 1823 President Monroe passed the 'Monroe Doctrine' that called for "isolationism" as U.S. new policy (Dobson and Marsh 6). At first, the aim behind such a doctrine was not visible. Many nations thought that President Monroe wanted to stop European intervention in the western-hemisphere affairs for peace sake (Cakmak 2). However, the doctrine's real aim was to establish a strong prosperous nation to compete with

European countries (Cakmak 2). The flexibility of the American foreign policy represented the key to reach its current high status.

### 1.1. U.S. Foreign Policy toward the Middle East before 9/11 Attacks

The second half of the twentieth century marked a great shift in U.S. foreign policy. Its interests shifted from one region to another due to many new events. In the past, USA had little interests in the Middle East; it was just secondary to Europe and Asia. During the Cold war, USA sought to support Middle Eastern nationalism at the expense of its European allies to nurture its economic interests (Dobson and Marsh 118). After 9/11 Attacks, U.S. foreign policy toward the region changed. It stood at a junction where its interests changed direction from Latin American countries to Middle Eastern ones. As a result, the Middle East became one of U.S. major priorities especially Iraq which lies at the top of U.S. wanted list.

When USA shifted its interests to Middle Eastern countries, it highlighted three main objectives. It wanted to maintain the security of Israel its best friend and ally in the region. In addition, it wanted to contain the Soviet Union and to stop the spread of communism in the Middle East and the world. Moreover, it wanted to secure oil flow as the most important objective in the Middle East the richest region with oil (Aihara 1). Accordingly, William Quant, a Middle East expert who served on the U.S. National Security Council (NSC) pointed that U.S. interests shape its foreign policy in the region (1).

U.S. interests never ended in the region since oil became the first source of energy in the world. All Middle Eastern countries are rich of oil, which is highly demanded by the world super powers in order to control the world markets and economy. Whenever oil is concerned, USA has to follow different policies in order to manage it. Sometimes it supports autocratic regimes such as the House of Saud of Saudi Arabia that is highly supported by U.S. government. USA exercises less pressure on House of Saud that cooperates politically and



economically with this royal family in exchange of support and oil as the most important treasure (Aihara 21).

During the Cold war, USA supported the regime of Saddam Hussein the leader of Iraq. This regime was pro-American; USA helped it to win the Iran-Iraq war so that it could fulfill its hidden intentions in the Gulf region (Bailey et al. 30). Without a direct involvement, both USA and UK considered Saddam Hussein and his regime as a winning card in Arab world (Boaduo 88). However, when Saddam declared a war against Kuwait in 1990; half of the world oil reserves were near to be in his hands (Bailey et al. 33). In this case, USA could no longer back Saddam who threatened its interests in the Gulf region (33). In fact, USA was highly interested in the Iraqi oil as the American Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz stated that it “swims on a sea of oil” (Moore 20). The American foreign policy in the Middle East is flexible and based on interests.

### 1.1.1. American Views about Iraq

By the end of the Cold war, the balance of power changed and USA became the sole super power of the world (Dobson and Marsh 31). In 1990, Iraq declared war against its neighboring country Kuwait (First Gulf War); this was the first post Cold war challenge USA had to deal with as the world super power. Together with international community, USA chose to stop Iraq and its ambitions in the region because such ambitions were at odds with those of USA (Bailey et al. 33). After the first Gulf war, U.S. views about Iraq tangled from a non democratic country ruled by an autocratic regime which killed its people to a country possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) ( ‘Selected Speeches’ 145-146).

#### 1.1.1.1. Second Largest Oil Reserve in the World

Iraq is located in the center of the Middle East it is rich with oil and gas, which represent over 60% of the country’s economic revenues (Stanford 12). Iraq contains the second largest oil reserves in the world and it has a great potential to be the first oil producer in the world

(Renner 19). In the 1950's, Iraqi oil revenues increased, so the government used them to advance other fields in the sector of economy and it used oil incomes to investments and infrastructure development (Stanford 3).

When the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein came to rule, he first nationalized the Iraqi Petroleum Company so that both oil sector and investments became independent (Stanford 9). In 2002, U.S. Information Energy Agency found that Iraqi proven oil reserves reached 112 billion barrels and probable reserves are more than 220 billion barrels (Nordhaus 3). Furthermore, Iraqi oil is near the surface and easy to be excavated from the ground that is why it is low cost production oil (Duffield 118). Iraq has to exploit its treasure wisely in order to get its real benefits.

Under Saddam's regime, a great damage inflicted Iraq's oil infrastructure because of wars against Iran and Kuwait. During the Iran-Iraq war, the deep-water oil terminal at Al-Bakr in the Persian Gulf smashed up (Duffield 118). Consequently, the Iraq oil exports decreased from over 3 million barrels per day (unit of measuring oil production) to less than 1million barrel per day (MBPD) (ibid). In 1981, it could not make oil shipments from the damaged terminal for eight years (118). During Saddam's rule, oil production sharply decreased and marked a sharp decline in economic incomes to reach a range of \$1000 - \$1200 (Nordhaus 4).

Despite all problems Iraqi oil suffered from, it still presents the Iraqi expensive treasure. Iraq presents the second largest oil reserves in the world, this fact make USA competing with time to benefit from it as much as it can. Economically speaking, Iraq contains 10 percent of the total oil reserves this advantage became a disadvantage when a country like USA wanted this oil by any means. Iraqi oil is too important because; if USA gets dominance over the Iraqi strategic large oil reserves it will get more power and influence in the world (Boaduo 90).

Due to the great importance of oil, USA highlighted an 'open policy' about the production of the world's oil reserves during the last 3 decades (Boaduo 88). As revealed in paragraph

seven of the “Carter Doctrine”<sup>1</sup>, USA would consider any attempt to take control over the Persian Gulf by any force; as a direct threat to U.S. fundamental interests in the region (Gendzier 22). Such an attempt would be repelled by any means including military force. American intentions in the Gulf region have long time aiming at taking control over oil resources (Boaduo 89).

The richness of the Gulf region activated the American imperialistic ambitions. USA sought to preserve its benefits in the Gulf region because of its great importance as the largest oil reserves in the world. It keeps its military permanence in the region to insure cheap oil flow and to keep an eye on the region. In 2002, the American Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS) report entitled ‘Beyond Containment: Defending US Interests in the Persian Gulf’ discussed the previous ideas and concluded that oil is the sole American interest in the region that made it compete with any hostile power to get its target (Gendzier 19).

Iraqi economy depends highly on oil revenues that represent a source of great wealth. In 2003, Iraqi oil production was 2.8 MBPD (2.3 for export and 500.000 for domestic consumption) (Sanford 21). So as calculations show if the barrel price is \$22 the annual gross revenues would be 18.5 billion and, if the barrel price is \$28 the annual revenues then would be 23.5 billion (21).

**Table 1**

**Iraqi Oil Production, from 2003 until nearly 2013.**

Time Period	May 2003	Near Term (12 to 24 months)	Within a Decade
Production	700,000	2.3 to 2.8 million	up to 6 million
Capacity	barrels per day	barrels per day	barrels per day or more

Annual Revenue	Domestic Use	\$19 to \$25 billion	\$50 to \$60 billion
Source: Prepared by Jonathan E. Sanford, CRS, based on discussion in text. Sources: DOE, <i>Iraq, More Details</i> , A supplement to EIA, <i>Iraq, Country Analysis Brief. Platts Oil gram Price Report</i> , May 28, 2003. Energy Intelligence			

<http://www.iq.undp.org/>.

The table above presents Iraqi oil production from 2003 until nearly 2013. Iraq oil production rose from only 700,000 barrels per day, which was destined, for domestic use to 2.3 MBPD, which increased the Iraqi annual revenues between \$19 and \$25 billion. Within a decade, the production reached more than 06 MBPD and consequently the annual revenues raised to reach \$50 to \$60 billion. When analyzing this data, Iraqi oil production has the potential to provide Iraq with great wealth. Iraqi oil is a valuable treasure which may make others competing harshly to take control over it.

Industrial countries are bidding over oil resources in order to insure the wanted production and revenues. A country like America, the world's superpower and one of the largest countries without any doubt needs large amounts of oil to produce energy. U.S. consumption for oil reached 40% as Business Week oil accounted (Gendzier 19). To be more specific, it imported 51.6% of its oil needs and relied on OPEC <sup>2</sup>for about half of it that is to say, about 26% of total consumption (ibid). USA relied heavily on OPEC countries to import almost its oil needs.

According to U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), the world oil consumption would grow from 77.1 MBPD in 2001 to 118.8 MBPD by 2025, a further increase of more than 41 MBPD equal to 54% (Duffield 124). In 2001, USA consumed over 25% of the world oil production, which represented about 52% of its total oil consumption. Yet, USA would

import 90% of its oil by 2020 (Clark 20). In short, U.S. growing need to oil would make it dependent on oil producing countries so, it was necessary for the government to find new sources of energy in the future.

According to U.S. geologists, the concept of 'Global Peak Oil' is a serious issue to be raised. When, the world reaches a Peak Oil both oil and energy supplies would start an irreversible decline. As a result, oil and its derivatives' prices would increase simultaneously and industrial countries would suffer from production shortage (Clark 20). In May 2001, Vice President Cheney released an energy plan in which he introduced U.S. need to manipulate the Caspian Sea oil as the only solution before 2020 (Clark 20). Relatively, Matthew Simmons a key advisor to the Bush Administration, and participator on Vice President Cheney's 2001 Energy Task Force claimed that:

I think basically that now, that peaking of oil will never be accurately predicted until after the fact. But the event will occur, and my analysis is leaning me more by the month, the worry that, peaking is at hand; not years away. If it turns out I'm wrong, then I'm wrong. But if I'm right, the unforeseen consequences are devastating. But unfortunately the world has no Plan B if I'm right. The facts are too serious to ignore. Sadly the pessimist-optimist debate started too late (qtd. in Clark 21).

The world is dependent on oil as sole source of energy; this fact would make it suffer from a Global Peak Oil. The world cannot disregard this issue because it represents a serious problem that would lead the world to unwanted consequences. In such case, the world should have plan 'B' in order not to suffer from harsh shortage.

Oil producing countries will suffer from the Global Oil Peak in different times according to the amount of oil it produces and the reserves it has. On one hand, several studies showed that U.S. reached its Oil Peak in 1970 and since then American oil production is in a constant decrease. On the other hand, Middle East countries reached it in 1980 and 2000 but they still

produce and export oil due to the huge reserves the region contains. The figure below shows Oil and Gas production of several countries from 1930 till 2050.

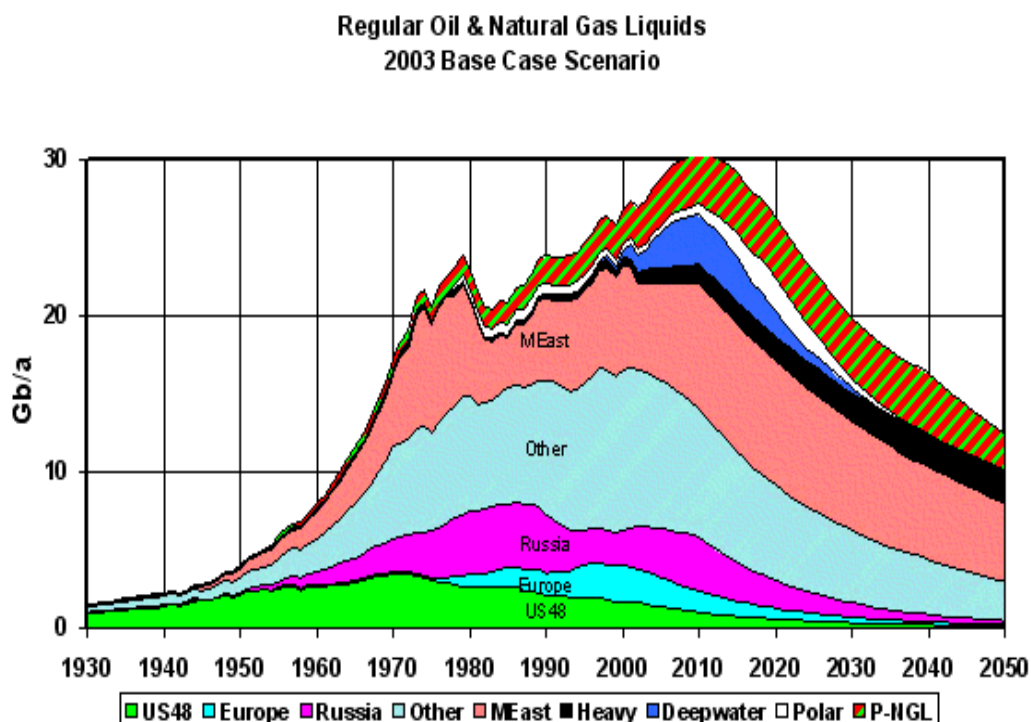


Fig. 1

Source: [https://www.google.dz/search?q=regular+oil+and+natural+gas+liquids+2003+base+case+scenarios+CHARTS&biw=1351&bih=614&noj=1&source=.](https://www.google.dz/search?q=regular+oil+and+natural+gas+liquids+2003+base+case+scenarios+CHARTS&biw=1351&bih=614&noj=1&source=)

Fig. 1. Oil and Gas production between 1930 and 2050.

U.S production reached its peak in 1970. Between 2010 and 2030, its production will nearly decline. Middle East production reached a peak by 1980 and 2000. With the years of 2010,20,30,40, and 2050 its production would decrease but not decline. Therefore, U.S reserves would finish one day but Middle Eastern ones would carry on producing (Clark 21).

In 2000, President Saddam switched oil sales from Dollar to Euro as a response of U.S. policy toward Iraq since the first Gulf war (Clark 4). The decision made by Saddam Hussein had great impact on both Iraqi and U.S. budgets. This sudden shift made Euro gain almost 25% against the dollar. Analysts claimed that the surprising decision of the Iraqi leader would

make Iraq lose approximately \$270 million in oil revenue in contrast it benefited from this drop handsomely (ibid).

#### 1.1.1.2. Non-Democratic Country

Democracy is not easy to be defined or understood. It presents variety of conceptions to variety of people (Bassiouni et al. 2). The Universal Declaration on Democracy gave several definitions to democracy along with its principles. One possible definition may be, 'democracy' is a universal principle and a focal target; it is based on shared standards throughout the world community regardless the cultural, political, social and economic differences (2). Furthermore, it includes basic conditions under which it can be exercised such as freedom, equality, transparency and responsibility, with due respect for the plurality of views (7). Democracy represents the basic right of citizens.

Democracy is and should be one main principle in democratic states where human rights are preserved and no one is above the law. In addition, democracy should have international dimensions as the Declaration stated. Accordingly, U.S. government considered itself as responsible number one for advocating democracy all over the globe. In this concern, Secretary of state Condoleezza Rice stated that one of the major goals of America in the new millennium is to construct democratic regimes that could answer its people's needs ("Supporting Human Rights" 1).

Democracy is one of the major points in U.S. policy agenda. American diplomacy is changeable and seeks to bring democracy to people of the world in order to guarantee its stability. USA diplomatic tools are of a wide range, each country has its own characteristics, which require special type of treatment ("Supporting Human Rights" 4). In his second inaugural address, President George W. Bush stated that America put democracy promotion on its top goals; through supporting democratic states and trying to stop non-democratic

regimes that violate human rights (“Selected Speeches” 271). USA put democracy promotion as one of its major goals.

From a U.S. point of view, almost Middle Eastern countries are considered as non-democratic countries in which human rights are infringed. The Iraqi case is no better because USA considered Saddam as an autocratic ruler. When Saddam took control over Iraq in 1979, his first action as a president was to make sure that Iraqi people see the terrifying televised trial of the ex- leading Ba’athist (the party he came from) cadres. The result was horrible and 21 of them were executed later (Abdullah 32). Presidents all over the world make inaugurals to address their people and to strengthen ties with them, but Saddam chose a new type of inaugurals.

When coming to office, Saddam’s policies were unprecedented; he focused on maintaining a best image for himself. He was the leader of his party ‘Baath’ and in a report of the party in 1982, Saddam was reported as: “a leader of special type who emerged and developed in unique circumstances” (Abdullah 34). Moreover, Saddam used media to draw a special picture as the leader, protector of all Arabs and the symbol for courage and manhood. With his unique personality, Saddam dominated Iraqis everyday life.

Saddam ruled Iraq over two decades in addition to a long experience in politics. In this long period, Iraq passed through many events both nationally and internationally. Iraq was a smooth mixture of tribes that share the Iraqi nationality but differ in many other aspects. The largest tribes are Arab Shiite that represents 80 percent of the population, Arab Sunni with 20 percent and Kurds Sunni with 20 percent of the Iraqi population in addition to other ethnic groups (Abdullah 13). Saddam’s own tribe is Arab Sunni from Takrit. This fact, made him preferring his own tribe members giving them high ranks in the government and neglecting other tribes. The Arab Shiite as the largest tribe in Iraq and the Kurds as the non-Arab largest minority were second ranked (Abdullah 33).



In 1988, the Iraqi regime declared a different type of wars against Iraqi Kurds. It violated international laws through using biological weapons to cleanse them under the pretext of betraying the nation through helping Iran in the Iran-Iraq war (Abdullah 42). Even though, Kurds are Iraqis; Saddam treated them as internal enemies. In the city of Halabja under the name of 'Anfel'; the genocidal campaign seized around 5.000 Kurdish lives immediately and about 12.000 died after suffering from untold pain due to the biological weapons the government used against them (41). This campaign proved to the world the harshness and oppression of the Iraqi regime at that time.

Due to Saddam's successive wars and violence with his neighbors and his people, U.N. and USA considered Iraq as a nondemocratic country that infringed human rights both nationally and internationally (Bailey et al. 33). This was one of the major reasons USA emphasized when deciding to invade Iraq.

#### 1.1.1.3. A Country Possessing Weapons of Mass Destruction

Comparable to, Middle Eastern countries Iraq has a large surface and number of population. The Iraqi president made a genocidal campaign against Kurds the ethnicity representing 20 percent of the whole population (Gunderson 18). During the Iran-Iraq war, the world turned a blind eye on the Iraqi regime that used internationally banned chemical and biological weapons against Iran soldiers (Abdullah 40). In 1988, Iraqi regime believed that Kurds gave assistance to Iran thus; they received bombardments using chemical and biological weapons, which caused thousands of deaths (40-41). Since then, Iraq turned to be a country possessing weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

WMD are weapons, like nuclear bombs, which cause a lot of damage and kill many people (Cambridge). In the case of Iraq, after getting office the Baath party started to develop a program to establish Chemical, nuclear, and biological weapons to stop the Iranian threat. While Saddam was developing WMD, the West and the Arab world did no serious action but

turning a blind eye. Iraqi nuclear weapons included VX, Sarin, Tabun, Anthrax and mustard gas as well as developing crude atomic weapons. The Iraqi regime considered such a program as one way to protect Iraq from Iran, to be the leader of the Arabs and to pose dominance in Iraq and even in the world (Abdullah 52).

USA considered that Iraq under Saddam Hussein possessed WMD and used them in several times. During the war against Iran, the Iraqi president used chemical and biological weapons. Also, during 1988-1989, he used those weapons against Iraqi Kurds. Under the famous campaign 'Anfal', Iraqi forces destroyed over three thousand Kurdish villages, killed more than two hundred thousand Kurds through using 'poison gas', and displaced over one million (McDowall 754-755). Consequently, the United States, Britain, France, Australia, the Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey established "no-fly zones" in the north of Iraq over the thirty-eighth parallel and in the south below the thirty-third parallel to prevent the Iraqi armed forces under Saddam from continuing their violence (Bailey et al. 35).

Saddam believed that he had several enemies including USA, some Arab countries, and Israel as enemy number one. President Saddam openly declared that Iraq had WMD, as he said in his speech of 1989 when he threatened that he can "burn half" of Israel if he really wants (Abdullah 52). He said: "if Israel attacks any Arab country [including Iraq's nuclear reactors ...] we have the means to burn half of Israel" (ibid). When the president said so, USA and the world feared from some other irresponsible actions which may lead the world to another Cold War. On September 26, 2002, President Bush said that: "the Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons. The Iraqi regime is building the facilities necessary to make more biological and chemical weapons" ("Selected Speeches" 142-143). In brief, Iraq got WMD only because the world preferred to be both deaf and blind during the Iran-Iraq war.

During the Gulf War, the world doubted the existence of nuclear weapons in Iraq. But, USA Central Intelligence Agency declared that it discovered stores of chemical weapons and an advanced nuclear weapons program (Byman 496). U.N sent a mission under the name UNSCOM (United Nations Special Commission of Disarmament) to find out those weapons (biological, chemical, and nuclear) inside Iraq then to destroy them (Bailey et al 37). Under the pretext of WMDs, U.N imposed harsh economic sanctions on the Iraqi regime so that it cannot sell oil to earn hard currency, and to limit its imports.

## 1.2. President Bush Junior's Ambitions toward Iraq before 9/11 Attacks

During President Saddam's rule, Iraq was a best ally of USA in the Gulf region then, things changed after the Iraqi declaration of war on Kuwait. In 1990, Iraq declared a war on Kuwait, for this U.N. posed harsh sanctions to stop Iraqi colonial ambitions. USA supported the sanctions highly and President George W.H Bush called for sanctions to stop Saddam but not an invasion that may cost the world harsh results. In 2001, George W. Bush became a president but he was not satisfied with his father's decision toward Iraq. Alternatively, Bush junior decided to be different so that history would not blame him, as he believed.

### 1.2.1. The First Bush Administration

President George W. Bush became the president of USA on January 20, 2001. When Bush Junior held office, he was welcomed in the Oval Office where the ex- and the current presidents meet and exchange words and good wishes in what is known as 'exit interview' as the American presidential traditions require (Moore 16). In a moment of advice in the Oval Office, President Clinton wanted to share some of his experience with President Bush Junior; he stated the five priorities Bush should take into consideration in his office. President Clinton put Osama bin Laden as the top priority, Israeli- Palestinian conflict as a second priority, North Korea and its questionable leaders as a third priority, Pakistan and India as a fourth

priority than at last Saddam Hussein. Yet, President Bush Junior showed his ambitions toward Iraq right from the begging through putting Saddam at the top of his list (17).

President Bush and his advisors put Saddam on their wanted list before Bush became a president (Moore 17). In 1993, when President George W.H. Bush visited Kuwait Saddam Hussein plotted to assassinate him (19). Bush Junior never said this openly but he felt it always. In 2002, a *Time* magazine article stated that Bush could not hide his emotions when three Senators and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice raised the issue of whether to use U.N or Middle Eastern allies to deal with the Iraqi president in a meeting conducted by Rice. Bush said: "...Saddam we're taking him out" (qtd. in Moore 19). This speech can only show the seriousness of the issue, Bush can never close his eyes on Saddam.

### 1.2.2. The American White House and Policy Making during Bush

The White House is the official Washington home of the American President, or the American government itself (Cambridge Dictionary). The White House office is so large and complex that a systematic process of policy evaluation is essential in order to provide the president with a range of options on all important policy decisions (Pffifner "Policy Making" 1). Bush's White House staff<sup>4</sup> dominated policymaking and the cabinet secretaries played a supporting and implementing role for the president (1). Almost Bush's White House staff was neo-conservatives<sup>5</sup>.

Decision-Making in President Bush administration was not taken through clear organized patterns as Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill said: "It was a broken process . . . or rather no process at all" (Suskind 97). American White House during Bush's Administration was an exception with all what the word really means; John Dilulio who worked in the Bush White House on faith-based initiatives for the first eight months pointed that there were a total 'lack of policy apparatus' and decisions are based on no real policy making process (Pffifner "Policy Making" 4). In Bush's administration the concept of 'decision making' is not a well

designed process based on specific criteria which may help in forming logical calculated decisions that would represent America in a good picture.

When trying to analyze U.S. foreign policy from the past to the present, no exact explanation is formulated. USA has a unique foreign policy based on interests, it changes according to what suits its benefits. After the Cold war, USA turned to be the world ultimate power and since then interests and goals changed. USA put eye on the Gulf region, because of its richness with oil that America needed to develop its economy.

More specifically, Iraq represents a treasure with its huge oil reserves. USA wanted to control it to avoid any Iraqi oil monopoly especially with Saddam Hussein strategies to raise oil prices. Under Saddam's rule, USA considered Iraq as non-democratic country that needed American help to be a democratic country.

Moreover, USA claimed that Saddam possessed WMDs and would share them with terrorists who would threaten American security and the world. In brief, America showed imperialistic ambitions in Iraq since the end of the Cold war and with the Bush administration, those ambitions reached apex especially after 9/11 terrorist attacks. After 9/11 Attacks, USA changed its foreign policy toward the Middle East especially Iraq which it considered as harboring terrorists. In 2003, USA declared a war on Iraq and started its freedom operation as it called.

## Chapter Two: U.S Foreign Policy after 9/11 Terrorist Attacks

After 9 September 2001, U.S. foreign policy has changed toward the world and mainly toward the Arab world. In October 2001, USA declared war on Afghanistan under the pretext of war on terrorism. Declaring war on Afghanistan was not the only response to 9/11 terrorist attacks. In 2002, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice pointed that 9/11 attacks could shift the “tectonic plates” of the world politics (Collier 715). When threat reached its mainland, USA shifted its foreign policy and its means to use military intervention.

### a) What are 9/11 Attacks?

Unlike the date 1945, when an army plane crashed the Empire State Building of Manhattan city in a dense foggy day; on September 11, 2001 a normal autumn sunny Tuesday in New York turned to become a historical date for USA and the world (Bailey et al. 1). At 8:46, an American airplane flight number 11 struck the northern tower of the World Trade Center (WTC) in Manhattan New York. While Americans get their breakfast they watched the event live thinking it was just an accident. After about 15 minutes at 9:03 another plane (flight 175) hit the southern tower of WTC; at this moment, fear and shock snuck into Americans and they started questioning (Bailey et al. 1).

The third strike was by flight 93 which collided Pentagon at about 9:37 a clock in the same day. These strikes resulted in the collapse of the southern 110 floors WTC tower just before ten and the northern 110 floors WTC tower half an hour later. The attacks caused the death of thousands of innocent people in a very short time. While the WTC two towers and the Pentagon building get a physical strike Americans and even the world’s people suffered from a direct psychological hit (Bailey et al. 1- 2).

## b) U.S. Government Official Accounts about 9/11 Attacks

On September 11, 2001, President Bush was in a visit to Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Sarasota, Florida (Bamford 14). The President went to meet a class of second-graders; his presidential press secretary Ari Fleischer accompanied him. When Bush and his crew arrived to the school, Fleischer told him that two American airplanes smashed the two towers of the World Trade Center of Manhattan. The President thought it was just an accident as almost Americans thought it was at first (14). While the President was still at the school, Bush knew that USA was under attack. At that time, the President spoke to the nation in a one-minute comment telling that: "Terrorism against our nation will not stand." and here the word "terrorism" has first appeared (qtd. in Baily and Immerman et al. 82).

In the evening of 9/11 attacks, after regretting the huge number of innocents died in the attacks, President Bush delivered an address to the nation in which he discussed the danger of terrorist attacks on America ("Selected Speeches" 57). President Bush claimed that 9/11 attacks were not a normal accident but it was a planned terrorist attacks prepared by a group of Islamic terrorists hijacked American airplanes (Bollyn 14). The attacks targeted the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, causing the complete destruction and crush of two 110-story towers and a 47-story building in Manhattan (ibid). This was the official account that the government stuck in.

A state of confusion doomed the country because no one really knew what happened exactly and so far, the federal government declared that an organization called Al- Qaeda was the main responsible for the attacks. From the day of 9/11, President George W. Bush told the world that Al Qaeda destroyed the WTC and attacked the Pentagon because it hated America's democratic freedoms (qtd. in Bollyn 236). According to Bush's administration and the controlled media, an anti-democratic Islamic band from poor lands committed the 9/11

crime in order to start a war between the Islamic world and the western democracies, headed by the United States (236).

According to the official story of 9/11 the attacks, Al Qaeda is the responsible number one along with other secondary participants. Al Qaeda or the base is an organization founded in 1988 by Osama bin Laden a wealthy Saudi young man and an Egyptian doctor named Ayman al-Zawahiri. It was devoted to global jihad (to fight for the sake of God) (Bailey et al. 25). Its members saw that jihad would be the appropriate action against infidel aggressors and Muslim regimes that were improperly Islamic. In Islam Jihad is the duty of any capable man, when an imminent attack from non-Muslims is on their next doors (26).

Originally, Al Qaeda started as a group of young Muslim men from different countries who went to Afghanistan to fight the Soviet aggressors (Bailey et al. 28). From 1979 until 1989, USA supported this group of men called 'mujahedeen' and considered them as freedom fighters (26). Those Afghan mujahedeen lacked arms and equipment then they got international support from a network of countries like the United States, Pakistan, China, Egypt, and the Gulf Arab states (ibid). Because of the high aids 'mujahedeen' acquired, they won the war against the Soviet Union; one powerful pole that dominated half of the world for decades.

When USA and its allies both western and Middle Eastern declared the Gulf war of 1990 against Iraq, USA fixed its military bases in the Saudi soil. USA did this step purposely to prevent any Iraqi attack. Consequently, bin Laden lost faith in his homeland leaders who made the west involved in Arab conflicts. In 1996, bin Laden and Al Qaeda members declared war on USA (Bailey et al. 82). Before 9/11, President Bush received strings of briefings from the U.S. Intelligence Community about the proximity of a terrorist attack, as the Presidential Daily Brief was headed "Bin Laden Determined to Strike in the U.S." from spring of 2001 till August 6<sup>th</sup> 2001 (qtd. in Bailey et al. 82).



According to the American official accounts and media, a group of Islamic Terrorists made the attacks because they hated America and its democracy. They were 19 young Muslim men under bin Laden's guidance hijacked American airplanes number: 11, 77,175, and 93, then directed them toward WTC towers in New York, Pentagon in Washington D.C and Pennsylvania (Bollyn 20). Surprisingly, official accounts did not give one story to people but several stories that made them doubt the correctness of those accounts.

### c) The Untold Story of 9/11 Attacks: a False Flag Operation<sup>6</sup>

American government appointed a commission called "9/11 Commission" to write a well-detailed report about what happened exactly in the date of the attacks (Griffin 19). The commission's report put that, the hijacked planes' crash into the WTC caused its collapse due to the fires caused by the explosion of the planes' fuel (14-16). When trying to analyze this account many scientists and physicists gave other explanations toward the consequences of those attacks.

Many writers tried to depict the real story and to find out the hidden unknown reasons behind the tragedy. Non-official stories considered 9/11 attacks as "False Flag Operation" (FFO) planned by the Bush administrations (Griffin 4). In fact, diversity in governmental official stories casted suspicion on the truth of 9/11 Attacks (7). Scientists claimed that one possible reason made WTC twin towers and WTC 7 collapse was the "controlled demolition"<sup>7</sup> known as 'implosion' (8).

When scientists applied scientific evidence in the case of 9/11 attacks, results contrasted the official stories. Unlike the official accounts, scientists said that high buildings as WTC and WTC7 consisted mainly of metal and glass are open buildings. In such buildings, the heat of fire caused by fuel cannot reach above 1700° F even if there was an ideal mixture of fuel and oxygen (Griffin 9). Indeed, explosion of hydrocarbons such as Kerosene (fuel of the

plane) can never reach this degree. Moreover, the steel of those buildings can melt only if the fire's heat reached 2800° F which can be only in factories in specific conditions (9).

Analysis by several scientists contrasted official accounts. In a report composed of 571 pages, the 9/11 Commission did not get into deep analysis (Griffin 11). Some American experts said that U.S. military has the best 'radar' in the world (Bollyn 97). The American Pentagon is the best-defended building in the planet with all-restricted zone. In brief, when collecting the different evidences, as 9/11 Attacks were sad events they were also questionable.

## 2.1. U.S. Reactions to 9/11 Attacks

The terrorist attacks on the American soil made the Bush government react both politically and militarily. At the time of the attacks, President Bush addressed the nation saying that terrorists could not stand for long time. The world's superpower reacted actively on the attacks so that; it can gain wide support both nationally and internationally. Immediately after the attacks, the Bush administration declared a global war on terror, passed the American Patriot Act and made the 9/11 Commission. Additionally, Bush passed a new Doctrine and formed a National Security Strategy. Later on, USA declared wars on regimes that it thought supported terrorism like Afghanistan and Iraq.

### 2.1.1. Political Reactions

The American government followed new political strategies in response to the terrorist attacks. Unlike the Cold War, war on terrorism is a new type of war with different enemy. Policies used during the Cold War as containment and deterrence are no longer working in a new world that suffers new problems. In 2003, President Bush delivered a speech arguing that America changed its vision and policies since 9/11 Attacks because; the new threat is different in nature and style ("Selected Speeches" 68). Terrorism, however, does not belong to

one specific nation and it has no clear army to be fought against. It is everywhere using whatever it can to get more power.

#### 2.1.1.1. The Bush Doctrine

The 9/11 Attacks were a turning point that changed the world's geopolitics. Significantly, American foreign policy changed a lot especially toward the Arab-Islamic world and the Middle East. The Bush administration came with new strategies based on neo-conservatives' vision that developed in the 1990's. It is based on four main points. First, preemption or preemptive strikes, the doctrine gave the right to U.S. military forces to attack any nation which may represent a threat to U.S. peace. Second, regime change, before 9/11 Attacks USA supported many autocratic countries in the Middle East but after those attacks it concluded that regime change in some countries was of a great importance even via military forces. Third, unilateralism, according to the doctrine USA had the right to act unilaterally when it is under threat regardless to restrictions or reactions. Finally, U.S. primacy, the doctrine gave a great importance to American international status in all domains especially the military one (McKeever and Davies 356)

The tectonic plates of the world's politics changed since 9/11 Attacks as Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said in 2002 (Collier 715). The American government started a new different doctrine named after President Bush. The Bush Doctrine was the main aspect of the American policy related 9/11 Attacks which called for preemptive strikes. USA used Article 51 of the U.N. Charter that permits preemptive self-defense when a nation is under an eminent, direct and grave threat by another nation to legitimize its imperialistic ambitions. U.N Charter was clear about the nature of the threat, no nation could attack another just because it feels it threatens it. The threat however, should be serious and the international

community should be aware of it (Görener 34). If justifications meet high standards of truth, the threatened country has the right to strike the aggressor before it strikes it.

#### 2.1.1.2. The PATRIOT Act

On October 26, 2001, The PATRIOT act was signed by President Bush to be a law as another reaction to 9/11 Attacks. It is an acronym of “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism” Act of 2001. This Act offered federal officials greater authority in capturing and intercepting communications, both for lawful purposes and foreign intelligence gathering (McKeever and Davies 357).

Its main aim is to close the American borders to foreign terrorists, detain then remove those within the American borders. Moreover, it enables both FBI and CIA (Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency respectively) to establish new procedural techniques to use against domestic and international terrorists .So, even though this act came as a rejection to terrorist attacks it restricts human liberties and rights. Notably, the act appeared to stop terrorism but in fact, it restricted one minority above all other minorities in America. This act restricted the Arab Americans and the Muslim Americans as well as Arabs and Muslims in the world (PATRIOT Act).

#### 2.1.1.3. The National Security Strategy

Another political reaction to the terrorist attacks is that, the formulation of the National Security Strategy (NSS) of September 2002, in which USA put three main objectives of Global War on Terror. This strategy emphasized the global security, supported democracy and called for human rights. In addition, the NSS stressed the maintenance of the American position in the world through shaping the international environment via several means such as militarily, diplomatic and economic ones. In brief, after the terrorist attacks the American

government tried to codify its broad foreign policy approach in one document (National Security Strategy).

#### 2.1.1.4. Commission of 9/11

In the late 2002, the Bush government created the 9/11 Commission which is known as “The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States”. USA formed the commission to prepare a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the terrorist attacks. The American government authorized it to provide proposals designed to guard against future attacks. After nearly a couple of years, the Commission released its 571 pages public report on July 22, 2004, which provided a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. It provided suggestions for possible immediate response to the attacks. Finally, the Commission closed on August 21, 2004 (9/11 Commission Report).

#### 2.1.2. Military action

As mentioned before U.S. global foreign policy changed since 9/11 Attacks. As terrorists attacked America in its homeland, it wanted to make them suffering destruction and fear in their motherlands too. In particular, USA declared a Global War on Terror (GWOT) with the wide support of almost the countries of the world. A week after 9/11 Attacks, Bush addressed the world asking all nations to take a clear position whether to be a part of this worldwide campaign against the world terrorism or not. This new type of wars requires tactic and a well preparation, such a war is important for America to show to the world its power and to maintain its military primacy.

##### 2.1.2.1. The Declaration of a Global War on Terror

In particular, declaring war first on Afghanistan in October 2001 then Iraq in March 2003 was another questionable decision U.S. President did. In the evening of the attacks, Bush addressed the nation saying that America does not make any distinction between terrorists and

those who helped them (Bailey et al. 3). The American Government declared that defeating Al-Qaeda would be the starting point of GWOT but not the end. As previously said, Al-Qaeda started in Afghanistan as a freedom military front, so the first nation considered as harboring terrorism was Afghanistan. Consequently, the American military along with its allies mainly Britain launched combat operations in Afghanistan to force the Taliban government (considered as aide number one to Al-Qaeda) deliver members of Al-Qaeda (3).

The case of Iraq was similar to Afghanistan. On March 19, 2003, USA launched Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) as a part of GWOT under the pretext of harboring terrorists (Bailey et al. 7). Despite being one of the richest countries with oil, after the first Gulf war and U.N. sanctions, Iraq entered a new age of sufferance and misery, innocent people died because of hunger and poor healthcare. After the declaration of war on Kuwait, USA turned to consider Iraq as enemy. The Bush administration started its preemptive war on Iraq claiming that, Saddam harbored terrorists and would provide them with chemical weapons.

#### 2.1.2.2. War on Afghanistan

Just after the 9/11 Attacks, USA declared a war against Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. America gained a worldwide support because the world believed that Afghanistan harbored terrorists responsible for the attacks (“Selected Speeches” 76). The Bush administration was sure that bin Laden was in Afghanistan so; it wanted him alive or dead. However, the Taliban government refused the American demand and became enemy number one who harbored terrorists (Bailey et al. 45). USA launched an Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) to destroy terrorist camps (57). The American war against Afghanistan was easy to be waged and gained because it was seen as a noble mission and a war to secure America and the world from terrorists.

### 2.1.2.3. War on Iraq

After invading Afghanistan, USA started to blame the Iraqi President Saddam on his actions toward his people and neighboring countries. Following the 9/11 attacks, U.S. government put Saddam on its top issues because it considered him as harboring terrorists with weapons. Based on CIA reports on Iraqi WMDs, the Bush administration feared that Saddam would provide terrorists with those weapons that may abruptly change the world forever. In general, USA explained its invasion on Iraq with such reasons but analysts stated many other hidden reasons behind this war.

#### 2.1.2.3.1. Alleged Reasons to Wage War on Iraq

Before declaring war on Iraq in 2003, the Bush administration stated many reasons that may lead America to wage a war on Iraq. As a first reason, America assumed that the Iraqi president had relations with 9/11 Attacks and Al- Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. This reason gave it national and international support. In addition, USA declared that Saddam developed a nuclear program and WMDs that he would use against America and its allies through providing the terrorist groups with those weapons. As another reason, the American government deplored the Iraqi and mainly the Kurdish situation under Saddam whom it considered as autocratic ruler. For these reasons, USA declared war on Iraq on March 19, 2003.

##### 2.1.2.3.1.1. Saddam Hussein Relations with Al-Qaeda

Before the Gulf war on Kuwait in 1990, the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had good relations with USA for this it supported and helped him in his war against Iran. However, when Saddam ambitions threatened the U.S. interests in the Middle East; Saddam turned to be a tyrant and even a terrorist according to American accounts. To legitimize its war against a nation that had no direct threat to America, the Bush administration declared that Saddam had

relations with Al-Qaeda and its leader bin Laden and that he participated in 9/11 Attacks in one way or another (“Selected Speeches” 107).

According to the Bush doctrine, regime change was one important goal. American accounts believed that Saddam was a dictator who developed WMDs, so regime change would be the best solution to get rid of him both for Iraqis who suffered from tyranny and for neighboring threatened countries. USA would benefit when Saddam loose his authority because he started to threat U.S. interests in the Gulf region since his war on Kuwait. To change this regime U.S. government declared that Hussein had strong ties with Al-Qaeda and bin Laden.

Since 9/11 attacks, theories about bin Laden and Hussein ties formulated. The director of intelligence agency James Woolsey was the first one who came with the idea that Saddam and bin Laden had relations (qtd. in Bailey et al. 84). Another point is that, Rumsfeld created the PCTEG (Policy Counter Terrorism Evaluation Group) which depended on both CIA and DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) files to prove the well- built ties between Iraq president and Al-Qaeda leader (84). Although, Bush never related Saddam to bin Laden and 9/11 Attacks but through his rhetoric any one can clearly understand the president’s intentions (Gershkoff and Kushner 525). The U.S. government purposely tied Saddam and bin Laden to gain national and international support in its war on Iraq even with no strong evidence.

Since 9/11 Attacks, the American rhetoric was full of accusations in relation to Iraq and its president. In his speech to the U.N on September 12, 2002, President Bush explicitly declared that Al- Qaeda terrorists escaped from Afghanistan to Iraq after 9/11 because the Iraqi government praised the attacks (“Selected Speeches” 140). Overall, the Bush administration tried hardly to collect confirming evidence that Al-Qaeda leader and Iraq president had relations but its attempts did not bring any hard evidence.



### 2.1.2.3.1.2. Saddam as an Autocratic Ruler who Developed WMD

The American government did its best to make the world believe that the Iraqi president is involved in 9/11 Attacks and that he developed WMDs. As well, he used chemical weapons against his own people, neighbors and tried to provide terrorists with those weapons to threaten the security of America. The American CIA did many researches to prove the different charges the government gave to Iraq and its president. After aiding Saddam in his eight-year war against its neighbor Iran, America became enemy number one when its interests in the region threatened.

America started to apply its new doctrine of preemption in Afghanistan in 2001, and wanted to re-apply it in Iraq to preserve its status and primacy. In 2002, just after four months from 9/11 Attacks President Bush declared that Iraq started its nuclear program over a decade in which it plotted to develop very dangerous nuclear products like Antrax and nerve gas (Bailey et al. 64). Accordingly, U.S. president referred to Iraq as one of the 'axis of evil' for its development of WMDs, which it may use in favor of the terrorists hostile to America (64).

In 1980, Iraq waged war against Iran and carried the burden many Arab countries could not. Relatively, Iraq got support and finance from USA, Soviet Union, and several Arab countries to stop the consequences of the Islamic revolution of Iran (Bailey and Immerman et al. 31). The Iraqi president believed that, Iraq would be a powerful pillar in the Arab world and mainly in the Gulf region after this war. Therefore, Saddam used the necessary means to defeat Iran and win the war. Indeed, he used chemical weapons and targeted Tehran with ballistic missiles (31). Another point is that, Iraqi missiles placed not only on Iraq- Iran borders but also on other neighboring countries' borders such as Saudi Arabia. After closing eyes on the Iraqi use of outlawed weapons, many countries understood the Iraqi near doors threat.

In 1988, Saddam signed a peace treaty with Iran to end the long lasted destructive war; but he started another war against his own people whom he believed supported Iran in the Iran-Iraq war. The Iraqi military targeted the Kurds and made large campaigns to displace and kill them. Notably, the government ordered the military to be sure that the campaigns were harsh so that the Kurds would recognize the power of the government (Abdullah 51). As a result, of the bombardments and the use of chemical weapons, around 180,000 killed and 4,000 villages destroyed while over 100,000 escaped to Turkey and more than tens of thousands went to Iran to flee the massacres (51).

#### 2.1.2.3.1.3. American Noble mission: Bringing Democracy to Iraq

After the Cold war, USA became world power number one; this helped it to have relations with almost countries in the world. In order to protect its interests, USA started to spread its principles and way of life. Before 9/11 Attacks, the American foreign policy was based on interests it changed according to needs and goals. In this concern, USA had friendly relations with Middle Eastern countries as they represent the largest oil reserves in the world. Indeed, as oil presented a focal target for the American government it supported autocratic regimes in the region to maintain its interest (Cook 71).

Abruptly, after 9/11 Attacks U.S. foreign policy changed drastically vis-à-vis the Islamic world and especially the Middle Eastern countries (Halabi 98). In fact, the American government started to believe that supporting autocratic regimes in the region created an Anti-American feeling among the Arab world. This new feeling posed a great threat on the American security and interests; and made it target number one to terrorist attacks (71). As a result, the Bush administration decided to go on through a new policy toward the Middle Eastern countries based fundamentally on 'prompting democracy'.

Democracy is one of the American core values; the promotion of democracy and human rights is the third objective of the American National Security Strategy (National Security

Strategy). In fact, USA wanted to spread its democratic values worldwide to protect its interests. After 9/11 Attacks, America gave more attention to Middle Eastern countries especially which represent a threat to American interests in the region. In the National Security Strategy of 1998, it called for prompting democracy in the Middle East as major target through increasing political participation, enhancing the quality of governance and challenging several governments in the region to improve their human rights records (Halabi 54).

In its war against Iraq, the American government kept emphasizing on one reason that is the promotion of democracy. In 2002, in the State of Union address President Bush stated that Iraq is among the “axis of evil” which had an autocratic leader who made it a rogue state (qtd. in Halabi 109). In particular, Bush put it clear that democratization process would be the best solution to eliminate terrorism (109). The American government believed that democracy would bring on the one hand, freedom and prosperity to Middle Eastern people and on the other hand; security to America and Americans (110). In brief, such reason made the invasion a noble one for noble reasons for this it gained a worldwide support.

According to American accounts, under Saddam Iraq suffered tyranny and oppression. A long period of ruling over the second largest oil reserves, made Saddam Hussein willing to dominate the Gulf region and to be the leader of all Arabs (Abdullah 32). As previously mentioned, President Saddam committed war crimes during his war against Iran (1980-88) and against his own people 1988 (40-41). Ruling over a highly diverse country like Iraq, made Saddam clearly preferring the Sunni tribe he came from over other tribes (Bailey and Immerman et al. 35). Notably, under Saddam, the Shiite tribe (55% of the Iraqi population) is neglected to a second-class status and the Kurd tribe (20%) is rarely considered as real Iraqis (35).

Relying on the previous facts, the Bush administration found it easy to declare a war against the Iraqi president whom it considered as a tyrant. On August 14, 2002, in the National Security Presidential Directive the Bush administration declared that USA went to war against Iraq to liberate its people from tyranny, and to assist them in creating a society based on pluralism, modernism, and democracy (qtd. in Hybel and Kaufman 86).

Furthermore, President Bush referred to democracy as ‘God’s gift’ to America and to the world (Woodward 86).. Moreover, he stated that America has the duty to bring democracy to the world; he said: “we have a duty to free people” (86). Indeed, Bush wanted the world to see America as a ‘liberator’ not as an ‘invader’ (86). In brief, America used the noble reason of ‘democracy’ to get the world’s support and to legitimize its intervention that had hidden real reasons.

#### 2.1.2.2. Real Reasons to Wage War on Iraq

Under President Bush junior, the American government showed interest in Iraq. After the 9/11 Attacks, American foreign policy changed radically toward many nations especially Iraq. America considered the Iraqi president as harboring terrorists, developing WMDs and even killing his own people, for these reasons the Bush administration declared a war against Iraq in 2003. Far from such reasons, analysts provided the world with other reasons based on facts and deep analyses that may be the real reasons for which a nation like America wages a war.

As mentioned before, Iraq presents the second largest oil reserve in the world and it had a powerful military which Saddam used to win the war against Iran and to wage war against Kuwait. President Saddam symbolized power and harshness, many nations feared and respected him especially the Arab countries. After being U.S. good boy, Saddam turned to be an anti-American leader consequently; USA wanted to stop him before the situation reaches a worst-case scenario.

### 2.1.2.2.1. War for the Sake of Oil

Prior to the Gulf war, America and Iraq had friendly relations based on mutual interests. Specifically, Iraq needed to import goods and weapons from USA and in return, Iraq provided it with low price oil. For such reason, USA turned deaf ears when Saddam used poisoned gas in the Iran- Iraq war (Renner 21). A country like USA that bases its production and economy highly on oil prefers it to be cheaper. In such case, Iraqi oil was of a great importance for American companies that get cheap oil of a good quality. In spite of, the good relation USA and Iraq had, America turned to be enemy number one after the Iraq invasion of Kuwait. Saddam threatened the neighboring countries like Iran and Kuwait and nearly Saudi Arabia for the sake of oil (Duffield 112).

When Saddam declared war on Kuwait in 1990, USA recognized the Iraqi threat to the Gulf region oil, from which it gets its low cost, good quality and adequate oil. The Middle Eastern countries represent  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the world proven oil reserves and about 44, 5% of the world oil exports as the French petroleum expert Nicolas Sarkis identified (qtd. in Gendezier 20). Accordingly, America represents a huge consumer of oil in the world that suffers from a great depletion in its oil resources so it has to find new cheap recourses (Boadau 89). As previously stated, in the Carter Doctrine USA openly considered any attempt by any outside force to take control over Persian region is a direct assault of U.S. interests in the region (Gendezier 22). In other words, when Saddam declared war on Kuwait he threatened the American ambitions and interests in the region and this made him enemy number one.

### 2.1.1.2.2.2. The American Grand Strategy

After the Cold war USA became the world power number one so, it decided to put on its shoulders the burden of maintaining peace and democracy in the world. Relatively, America set its objectives right from the beginning in the preamble of its constitution "...provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to

ourselves and our Posterity..."(The U.S. Constitution). Accordingly, a nation that has such objectives wanted to make them universal in order to spread its way of life, principles and to make the world serving its interests.

Any nation seeks to secure its territory and its people interests through the different strategies even through using power and armed forces. The American major goal is to maintain the prosperity and well-being of its people, so it developed strategies that may help reaching its target. The American Grand Strategy represents the different strategies whether political, economic or military used by the American government to arrive at its main objectives (Kennedy 7). It is not a new one but it started as the republic founded, it aims at pursuing the nation's ultimate goals inside and outside. Simply, it is any process a nation does in order to reach security through matching means with ends (Layne 8). In short, it is all about security.

Since the foundation of the American republic, the founding fathers put unchangeable core values. In the same concern, the American Grand Strategy stated its basic objectives that successive American governments worked and still work to reach those targets. Indeed, security of the homeland and the safety of the American population were always vital national interests (Biddle 3). The core objectives never changed but new events in the American history made it decide about other objectives according to its interests.

The Attacks of 9/11 were a watershed that changed the American foreign policy toward many nations. In addition, those events made America vary its strategies in some nations in order not to lose its status and interests in those nations. As a part of the American Grand Strategy, the Bush government declared a global war on terror and invaded both Afghanistan and Iraq. This reaction came to show to the world and especially to terrorist groups that no one could threaten the American security or interests without getting harsh punishment.

America invaded Iraq for the reason of terrorism and the protection of Iraqi people whom suffered from tyranny; this was the declared reason by the American government. In fact, the American interest in Iraq had a long history consequently; President Bush considered Iraq among “axis of evil” when Saddam Hussein threatened the American interests and status in the Gulf region. Indeed, the American Grand Strategy included strategies to contain and coerce Iraq when America understood the great threat Saddam posed. In October 1998, the American National Security Strategy considered Iraq among the states that threatened the sovereignty of its neighbors, the American security, and oppressed its own people. Additionally, it believed that Iraq threatened its interests in the region especially its interests in the Gulf region oil (“National Security Strategy” 6). In brief, Iraq was always a threat to American interests in the Persian Gulf because of its ambitions that contrast the American ones for this America chose to invade it to save its interests.

#### 2.1.2.2.3. The Project for the New American Century (PNAC)

In the spring of 1997, a group of neoconservatives founded a think tank whose main goal was to enter in a new century and to prompt the American leadership. The Project for the New American Century or the PNAC started as a non-profit educational organization by the neoconservatives William Kristol and Robert Kagan (Neocons’ Project). As Energy and arms industries fully funded the project, they funded President George W. Bush campaign of 2000 too. Accordingly, President Bush appointed signatories of PNAC at top ranks in the White House and the Pentagon. In general, neoconservatives of the PNAC highly influenced the Bush administration especially in relation to military and foreign policy (The Project for the American New Century).

The PNAC had a great role in shaping the American foreign policy; it called for the American hegemony and the full spectrum dominance. The group who founded this project drafted its principles on June 3, 1997. They wanted to shape the global security system

according to U.S. interests. In addition, they extensively focused on the use of military power to dominate the world. In fact, the PNAC had a vital role in invading Iraq. The founders of this project were all neoconservatives who had high ranks in the Bush administration (The Project for the New American Century).

After 9/11 terrorist attacks, U.S. foreign policy changed toward some countries including Afghanistan and Iraq. U.S. government declared that a group of terrorist belonging to Al-Qaeda international terrorist organization hijacked U.S. airplanes and struck WTC twin towers and pentagon. USA reacted both politically and militarily to those attacks.

USA responded politically through a set of strategies. President Bush passed a new doctrine under his name which is based on four major principles: preemptive strikes, Regime change, Unilateralism, and U.S. primacy. In 2001, President Bush passed a new law under the acronym PATRIOT act that enables both FBI and CIA to establish new procedural techniques to use against domestic and international terrorists. Also, it aimed at closing U.S. borders to stop foreign terrorists from entering and to detain and remove those within its borders. In 2002, the government appointed a commission to prepare a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the terrorist attacks. In September 2002, the Bush administration formulated the National Security Strategy which emphasized the global security, supported democracy and called for human rights.

The military reaction was represented mainly in the declaration of a global war on terror (GWOT) under the slogan “either you are with us or you are with the terrorists”. In October 2001, USA declared a war on Afghanistan under the pretext of harboring terrorists. In 2003, USA declared another war on Iraq. The Bush administration justified its war on Iraq by illustrating Saddam as an autocratic ruler who had relations with Al-Qaeda and who developed WMDs. Furthermore, it stated that USA has a noble mission of bringing democracy in the region. However, these reasons proved to be alleged after the invasion. The



real reasons behind U.S. invasion of Iraq were mainly oil, the American Grand Strategy and the PNAC influence.

After U.S. withdrawal, the major features of Iraq post war are destruction and chaos. The war caused the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and displaced nearly 4 million Iraqis both internally and externally. The war lasted for 9 years and caused great damage on all sides.

## Chapter Tree: Reality after U.S. Invasion

America invaded Iraq to bring democracy and to topple Saddam's regime which it considered as a tyrant who had relations with the Al-Qaeda. After the U.S. troops entered Iraq, the international community recognized the reality of the Iraqi WMDs and the supposed relation between Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein after the war. The report of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace concluded that; the Iraqi government stopped its nuclear program before the Iraq- Kuwait war. Moreover, U.N. destroyed or disarmed large scale of chemical and nuclear weapons. The allied intelligences failed to find hard evidence that connects Saddam with bin Laden or Iraq with Al-Qaeda attacks. In addition, the report reached the fact that the Bush administration officials misrepresented the CIA's information. Indeed, the American government misled the world to invade a country that had no imminent threat on the American security (Hinnebush 11).

### 3.1.U.S. Withdrawal

The American war against Iraq lasted for about 9 years; it started in 2003 and ended in 2011. Indeed, America planned for long time to withdraw its military forces from Iraq (Katzman and Humud 10). On 27 November 2008, the Iraqi parliament ratified the new U.S.-Iraq Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) and a Strategic Framework Agreement. The SOFA was the first formal document to codify relations between the Iraqi government and USA since the invasion (Kitchen 17). In March 2008, the US government sent a large team of lawyers to Baghdad to begin the negotiations. After long negotiations, the Iraqi government could at last have unambiguous timetable for the U.S. troops withdrawal. Article 24 of the agreement states that: "All the United States Forces shall withdraw from all Iraqi territory no later than December 31, 2011" (SOFA Agreement 15).

In 2007, the Bush administration took the decision to withdraw from Iraq (Kam 87). On February 27, 2009, President Obama announced that the American troops in Iraq would

decline from 138,000 in early 2009 to 50,000 by September 2010 (Katzman and Humud 10). According to SOFA agreement, the American government agreed on Article 24 and applied it by 18<sup>th</sup> December 2011.

### 3.2. Costs of the War

The American invasion of Iraq had cost both sides heavily. The long lasted war made Iraqis lost their families, homes, jobs and lives. It made them leaving under the lines of poverty, having no clean water and no other necessities. A war in a country with huge diversity like Iraq can only cause a huge damage in all sectors socially, economically, and politically. Instead of becoming a model of democracy and freedom to other countries, Iraq becomes a dark model of death and instability.

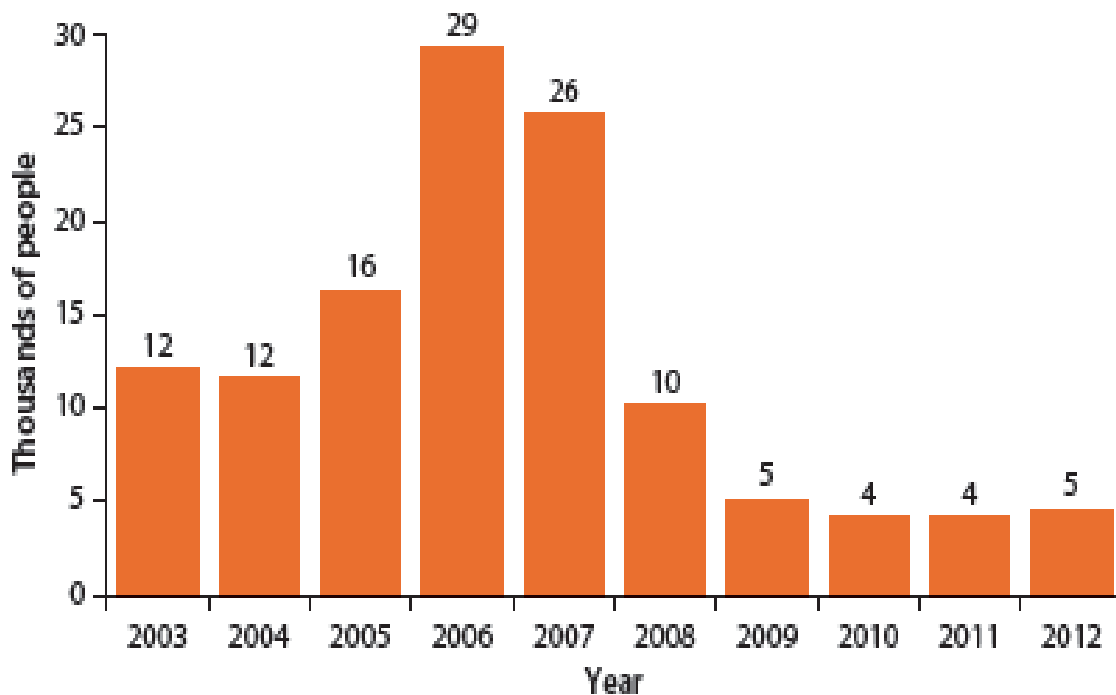
#### 3.2.1. Humanitarian Costs

When the Bush administration decided to wage a war against Iraq, it put two basic targets to legitimize its intervention. Particularly, toppling Saddam Hussein whom it considered a tyrant, and bringing democracy to Iraqis made the world support USA to accomplish the mission. As Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said, President Bush made the world believe that U.S. armed forces would make all possible efforts to avoid harming innocent civilians (Crawford 1). In fact, war in a diverse country like Iraq can only cause huge number of casualties especially in a war of long period. After two years of war, President Bush declared that about 30,000 Iraqis died (2). This result is obvious, but the coming results made the world fill the seriousness and high costs of this war.

The war was harsh on all sides; it caused high number of casualties, destroyed infrastructures Iraqis used over decades and displaced millions. The war of 2003 started with hope and ended with losing this hope, a hope to become a democratic country turned to be

just a hope to live in safety. To start with the Iraqi side, the occupation caused hundreds of thousands of deaths and injuries in the country. According to the Iraqi Body Count (IBC), the organization that attempted to document the violent deaths caused by the war, about 134,000 (14,781 of them were killed by coalition forces, equal to 13%) civilians were killed between 2003 and 2011. But, this number is not exact because the IBC noted several times that the real number of deaths may be twice the previous number (IBC).

The humanitarian results of the war are not only represented in dead people but also in injuries and other types such as orphans, widows, and displaced. Weapons and methods of injuring to killing ratio may vary from suicide bombs to assassinations and other means. When trying to assess the number of Iraqi injured, the number would be much higher than the deaths number. Between 2003 and 2011, the number of Iraqi injured by suicide bombs reached 250% of the number of deaths according to IBC (Crawford 16). The number of the Iraqi injured arrived at a number of 110,000 between 2004 and 2010 as the U.S. National Counterterrorism Center declared (NCTC). This center focuses only on terrorist events regardless to the number of wounded due to other factors such as displacement and coalition forces.



Source: Iraq Body Count ([www.iraqbodycount.org](http://www.iraqbodycount.org)).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1596/978-1-4648-0294-2>.

**Fig. 2: The number of Iraqi deaths from 2003 until 2012.**

The total number of civilian deaths from 2003 till 2012 reached a total of 123,000 according to IBC statistics. In the three early years of the war, the number of civilians died due to war violence reached 30,000. In 2006 and 2007, the number exceeded 56,000 civilian deaths and this number is the highest since the early days of war because of the sectarian Shiite-Sunni civil war of 2006. From 2008 until the American withdrawal, the number of war casualties decreased from 10,000 to 4,000. After the withdrawal, the number of deaths reached 5,000 due to other factors like sectarian civil war and insurgent groups.

Throughout the nine years of the war, Iraqis have not only suffered from direct death or injury but also from indirect death or what is known as ‘collateral damage’; as it is called in the Pentagon’s term (Crawford 5). The number of deaths caused by Coalition forces and other groups reached 536,000 deaths between 2003 and 2011. This high number is due to the direct or indirect targeting of Iraqi infrastructures such as hospitals, schools, mosques, water

treatment facilities and electricity for refrigeration of food and medicine to hurt civilians working with insurgents and to cut aids on them (13). Significantly, the destruction of such infrastructures led to countless problems because they lacked food, clean drinking water and sanitation. Moreover, Iraqis suffered illnesses and diseases they never witnessed before the invasion like cholera because of lack of clear water and non-functional sewerage (13).

Another humanitarian cost of the war was the problem of refugees. On 17 April 2007, the International Conference on Addressing the Humanitarian Needs of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons inside Iraq and in neighboring Countries in Geneva; discussed the problem of nearly 2 million internally displaced Iraqis and about 2, 2 million Iraqi refugees (Guterres 4). Relatively, about 4 million Iraqis fled the country and left their properties to the unknown.

As the Iraqi side, the war cost the coalition forces large number of deaths and injuries. The American military forces lost over 45,000 soldiers, among them 160 died in the invasion of Iraq. In addition, the number of the American wounded soldiers exceeded 32,000 soldiers. In this war, not only American soldiers lost their lives but also other coalition soldiers mainly British with 300 deaths (Kam 88).

### 3.2.2. Non-Humanitarian Costs

As the war caused deaths, injuries and displaced people it destroyed Iraq infrastructures and caused damage to almost sectors. The war was harsher with infrastructure buildings than with people; it destroyed almost buildings that had great importance in every day Iraqis' daily lives. The war did not make a clear cut between innocent people (children, women and aged), soldiers, insurgents, or even infrastructures. Indeed, non-humanitarian costs have contributed highly in the huge number of deaths and displaced people. In Iraq, the war made a great destruction in economic, educational, health, cultural and artistic infrastructures which made reconstruction a very difficult challenge.

In 2003, Donald Rumsfeld estimated the war with Iraq would cost \$60 billion. After just 5 years, the war costs reached over 10 times the estimated costs. By the end of the war, costs exceeded U.S. \$3 trillion as a total operational cost (Owens et al.). The war costs included U.S. \$800 billion in direct appropriations for the war as the U.S. Congress approved and some other hidden costs and additional long-term expenditures (“Iraq after the U.S. Withdrawal: Staring” 1). The war smashed the Iraqi economy and caused severe damage. During the war, the coalition forces and even Iraqi insurgent groups targeted oil buildings infrastructure which made the Iraqi gross domestic production per capita fall in rank 158 in the world (Kam 88).

### 3.3. The Iraqi Conditions after U.S. Withdrawal

Before the invasion, Iraqi people and the world hoped that America would kick the tyrant and establish a democratic country instead (“Fault Lines- Iraq after Americans I”). In 2011, president Obama said that the Iraqi war made Americans deduce that the nation they have to build is their home (“Fault Lines- Iraq after Americans I”). After nearly a decade of tough war, American troops withdrew from Iraq in 2011 letting it confronting reality. U.S. troops left Iraq as a fragile, deep-divided country with countless problems (“Iraq after U.S. Withdrawal: Staring” 1). Every aspect of Iraqis’ lives changed radically; many challenges occurred due to the political instability and increased violence.

In 2003, President Bush stated that Americans would come as ‘liberators’ who would get rid of the dictator and bring democracy to Iraqis (“Selected Speeches” 168). Bush stated that the liberation of Iraq would have a great influence on other countries in the Middle East because it would be a model of freedom and hope for millions (Crawford 5). After nine years of war, the American invasion brought nothing concrete but destruction and suffering because it had no plan for stability or nation reconstruction (Cordesman and khazai “Iraq after US Withdrawal: U.S. Policy” 6).

After 18<sup>th</sup> September 2011, the promised democracy proved to be chaos instead. In a country like Iraq democracy is hard to be established because of its specific characteristics, Phebe Marr, author of *The Modern History of Iraq* pointed that Iraq has never had a democracy since the establishment of the republic in 1920 ( qtd. in Basham 2). After 25 years of research, Valerie Bunce a political scientist claimed that a democratic regime should combine three aspects which are freedom, uncertain results and certain procedures (45).

Bringing democracy to a country with huge diversity is not an easy matter. Indeed, bringing democracy to Iraq faces obstacles much more than preconditions because of its social structure. Chris Sanders, a Middle East specialist pointed that Iraq contains no one society to turn into a democracy (Byman 48). In fact, the American invasion resulted in chaos and destruction rather than democracy and reconstruction. Assessing the Iraqi real situation after the war and mainly after the withdrawal shows countless problems on all sides and in several domains which make the reconstruction process extremely difficult.

### 3.3.1. Social Problems

When dealing with social problems a huge number of problems may be found. In fact, the daily life situation of nearly 32 million Iraqi is hard on all sides (Slomšek, Jungmannová and Kotasová 6). Notably, the basic needs for any person are difficult to be met; people are suffering from hunger and thirst. In addition, education, healthcare and security are far-reaching in Iraq post war (Al Samaraie 933).

#### 3.3.1.1. Water, Sanitation and Electricity

Without doubt, water is the source of life; without it no one or thing could survive. Mainly, the main sources of Iraqi water are the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. In the last two decades, the water level in both rivers decreased by more than 60% due to upstream water use and damming by both Turkey and Syria (Lucani 21-23). In fact, Iraq lies downstream from both Syria and Turkey on the Euphrates and downstream from Turkey on Tigris; for this both Syria



and Turkey developed their irrigation projects and have completed large dams (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 314).

In 2010, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) data claimed that around 20% of households in Iraq used an unsafe drinking water sources and more than 16% had daily problems with supply in urban areas where as only 43% had access to safe drinking water in rural areas. In June 2012; the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) noted that many Iraqis still lacked access to clean drinking water which caused a lot of new water-related diseases such as cholera and malaria (ICRC). In brief, the war had great impact on Iraqis' lives even on the very basic needs like water the source of life.

During and after the war, sanitation and sewerage become highly damaged and non-functional (Crawford 13). According to UNDP DATA of 2012, about 40% of Iraqi households lacked access to public waste network and used septic tanks to dispose waste (UNDP). The lack of sanitation increased public health risks and environmental pollution ("The Kurdistan Region of Iraq" 105). Out of necessity, in 2007 the Iraqi government developed a National Solid Waste Management Plan. The plan stated that Iraq would build 33-engineered landfills with capacity of 600 million square meters in all its 18 governorates by 2027 ("The Kurdistan Region of Iraq" 110). Indeed, Iraqis have to suffer from environmental diseases which may cause other deaths for more than another decade waiting for improvement.

Another necessary thing Iraqis are lacking is electricity. Due to the successive wars Iraq went through, its electricity infrastructure has been severely damaged especially during U.S. invasion and after the withdrawal (UNDP). Electricity became a dream of many Iraqis, because of the great damage insurgent groups caused. According to the World Bank report of 2012, only 22.4% can rely solely on the public network for their housing units (World Bank).

Above all, the Iraqi electrical infrastructure needs stability and investment to meet the needs of the country.

### 3.3.1.2. Education

Before 1990, the Iraqi education system was considered as one of the most advanced in the Middle East (Wisman 2). In addition, Iraq was seen as an example of success in the fight against illiteracy and gender inequality (UNESCO). Although, after three decades of war and economic hard sanctions imposed by U.N. the Iraqi social infrastructure collapsed and the basic services are no longer available to all Iraqis. After the war, many factors led to paralysis in the Iraqi education system such as insecurity, the destruction and deterioration of school facilities, poverty, lack of financial resources, and the quality of teaching (Wisman 2).

Iraq is one of the most youthful countries in the world; nearly 50% of the population is less than 19 years old (Slomšek, Jungmannová and Kotasová 6). Because of the large number of students and the small number of operating buildings, classes are overcrowded. Nearly 12,000 buildings need to reduce the average class size to 30 students because; the normal number of students in each class is the double previous total in urban societies and even more in rural ones (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 305). The daily operation of most of primary and secondary schools is at least two shifts if not three because of the small spaces in comparison to number of students (305).

In 2013, the UNDP conducted a study called the Post-2015 Development Agenda National Consultation in Iraq concluded that; the Iraqi education sector is a 'microcosm' that includes overarching challenges (qtd. in Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 286). In this concern, many negative factors compounded including inadequate and unsafe infrastructure, lack of services to provide nutritious meals to students in need and the use of outdated methods to teach (286). Back to the war, academics and teachers were a target to insurgent groups which cost the sector skilled workers. In 2005, the Iraqi Minister of Higher Education stated that 296

academic staff members were killed. Moreover, from 2006 to 2007, according to international agencies for humanitarian affairs; over 180 teachers were killed and 100 were kidnapped and over 3,250 fled the country (Al Samaraie 934).

During the war, schools suffered from chronic lack of resources, both human and material (qtd. in Wiseman 5). They lacked almost facilities including clean toilets, safe drinking water, and sufficient numbers of classrooms containing needed materials (Wiseman 5). After the war, Iraq needed to build 4,731 new schools and to renovate about 70% of existing buildings to meet quality standards. For higher education, 84% of facilities were either burned or destroyed, and only 40% of destroyed buildings were rebuilt which made education in Iraq at stake (5). Significantly, in 2012, the Iraqi government put the budget of the U.S. \$808 million to meet the sector's needs which presented only 2,5% of the capital budget where as the Iraqi National Development Program put 5% to meet successfully the needs of the sector (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 305).

### 3.3.1.3. Healthcare

Another serious problem Iraq faces in post-war period is the problem of health. During the 1960 and 1990, the Iraqi health status and healthcare services achieved high standards (Alwan 7). However, since 1990 the Iraqi health situation declined disastrously because it got less attention and received low budget that could not meet Iraqis 'needs (3). When U.S. led the invasion against Iraq, health statuses worsened much more than it was during Saddam's rule (Crawford 13). In 2006, the Lancet article claimed that the war in Iraq had health hazards (13). Indeed, the successive wars Iraq went through caused instability that made access to healthcare services too difficult.

During the war, a large number of Iraqi doctors, physicians and even nurses fled the country because they lost their official jobs. In 2005, the Iraqi Medical Association declared that about 10% of Baghdad's total 32,000 registered doctors including Shiites, Sunnis, and

even Christians left or get out of their work (Al Samaraie 936). Likewise, 30,000 physicians were registered in Iraq's main medical syndicate, or union, before the war but in 2007 there were only 8,000 (936).

In 2008, to contrast, the number of physicians to care about 30 million Iraqi reached 16,000 a number that could be only inadequate in a country suffering from daily large number of deaths and injuries (Brookings 29). After the U.S. withdrawal, the number of the Iraqi health staff remained insufficient. In 2012, the World Health Organization (WHO) counted 22,000 physicians and 44,850 nursing and midwife staff (WHO). In short, a country that struggled for about nine years of war had insufficient healthcare staff; this could be one direct reason for indirect deaths.

Another problem the Iraqi health is suffering from is the high number of ruined and damaged hospitals and clinics. In 2004, the Iraqi Health Minister Ala'din Alwan claimed that about 60% of the buildings have been in a great need of rehabilitation or expansion (10). Indeed, the buildings lacked basic furniture and equipment such as stethoscopes and thermometers; in addition, there has been a frequently severe shortage of medicines and basic supplies (10). Moreover, about 80% had no functional generator and 90% had no running water (10). Overall, the war has caused heavy damage in the Iraqi health infrastructure and staff for this, health status has decreased to low levels.

After the U.S. withdrawal, the Iraqi government made many efforts to revive the sector. In 2012, the government proposed a budget of U.S. \$4, 85 billion which equals 5% of the capital budget but this did not meet the sector's targets set in the Iraqi National Develop Program (NDP) (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 304). Unlike, the public sector which had many problems, the private one flourished rapidly and made a shortage in the public sector because it attracted doctors, physicians and even nurse to work in (304). As a result, the public sector made extra efforts to increase both number and proficiency of medical workers through

education and attracting who left Iraq to return back (304). In brief, Iraqi government has to make double efforts in order to higher the healthcare standards particularly in a county that has a hard experience of successive wars over almost 3 decades.

#### 3.3.1.4. Women as a Vulnerable Group

Between the 1950's and 1980's, Iraq was a beacon for women's rights, it had the first female judge in the Arab world; its women held professional jobs and had rights over marriage intervals (Jawad 1). In societies suffered from wars, deaths and injuries are defining figures of its peoples' daily lives. In Iraq a high percentage of dead people or injured are men because they have joined battle fronts. As a consequence, Iraqi families have been dissolved and both women and children have had no breadwinner (Al Samaraie 937). Iraqi women found themselves alone confronting various problems after losing fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons.

In 2013, over 1/10 widows in Iraq have to take care about their children alone without the help of their husbands whom they lose in the war; their number reached 1 million in 2013 (BBC World News). The government gives U.S. \$ 80 as a monthly salary to widows who have children but this amount could not serve the needs of a family that contains at least a mother and three children. As women have to work to supply their families, they have to wear the Islamic dress and headscarves as a kind of protection even in non-Muslim societies (Al Samaraie 937). In particular, women are stressed and oppressed because they represent a target for insurgent groups which kidnap and rape them. As a result, thousands of women fled their homes and families to save their lives otherwise; they would be killed for honor sake (938). Indeed, Iraqi women are double oppressed from war and society.

### 3.3.1.5. Displaced People

Another negative effect of the war is displacement; Iraqis are suffering from both internal and external displacement. During Saddam's rule, a large portion of both Shiite and Kurds left the country in waves because of religious and ethnic based cleansing campaigns as mentioned before. The U.S. invasion forced Iraqis to flee their cities and even their country due to the increased violence (al-Khalidi and Tanner, "Iraq Bleeds" 6). Accordingly, displaced Iraqis have been categorized either as internally displaced people or as refugees in other countries. In 2007, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) pointed that the number of displaced Iraqis have reached 4,5 million; 2,5 of them were internally displaced (IDPs) and 2 million were refugees in neighboring countries (UNHCR).

In fact, displaced Iraqis fled their hometowns and lands because of the increased violence they suffered from. Relatively, they lacked food, shelter and average life conditions in the new places they went to it. On the one hand, the internally displaced Iraqis had numerous problems because they left their properties; they suffered from poor settlements without adequate shelter and with limited access to water, electricity, schools and health centers (Slomšek, Jungmannová and Kotasová 9).

Some 470,000 people reside in 382 settlements in Iraq, including 156,000 in 125 settlements in Baghdad (9). Many people illegally occupied lands and buildings, and they are at risk of deportation (9). After U.S. withdrawal, the Iraqi government continued its encouraging strategy for IDPs to return to their original towns. However, 80% of them preferred to stay in places they fled to because of the continuous violence and lack of security in their hometowns (Slomšek, Jungmannová and Kotasová 9).

On the other hand, other Iraqis preferred to flee the country to seek refuge in neighboring countries because of bad conditions and lack of security in their motherland. In 2009, there has been a significant number of Iraqi refugees in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan but, only 20% of

them were registered with UNHCR as refugees who had aids (Riller 14). The unregistered refugees suffered from incredible life conditions since they had no right to work or to register children at schools as the registered refugees (15). At the end of 2011, the worldwide number of Iraqi refugees decreased to 1,4 million and the others returned back to Iraq after the war started in Syria (UNHCR).

### 3.3.1.6. Cultural Heritage

Iraq is the county that has deep roots in history. It was known as Mesopotamia, in which life started since 6500 BC (Al Samaraie 929). Iraq is the cradle of successive well-known civilizations such as Babylonians and Sumerians civilizations (930). The cultural heritage Iraq had is a shining sign of the development and greatness those civilizations reached in that time. Indeed, the ancient city of Babylon and Mesopotamia are one of the seven wonders of the ancient time (“Ruins of the Ancient City of Babylon”). The successive wars Iraq went through made most of its cultural heritage just ruins (“Ruins of the Ancient City of Babylon”). In 2004, one of the sacred holy places in Iraq has been ruined; in ‘Najaf’ the ‘Valley of Peace’ (Wad al-Salam) probably the largest burial ground in the world where Shiites from all over the world buried their dead there for more than 14 centuries has been violated by the American attacks (Al-Jazeera “Fault Lines I”). In fact, the war has only brought destruction and damage to Iraq.

### 3.3.2. Political Problems

In the name of bringing democracy to Iraqis, America led its invasion to get rid of Saddam Hussein whom it considered as a dictator. When America invaded Iraq, it gave the impression to Iraqis that they would enjoy freedom and democratic life after the end of Saddam’s regime (Jawad 5). In 2005, Iraq wrote a new constitution based on equality which Iraq lacked during Saddam’s regime (“Iraq after the U.S. Withdrawal: Staring” 2). In 2005 and 2010, Iraq had

elections which resulted in the formation of the new government led by the Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki (Ottaway and Kaysi 5).

### 3.3.2.1. The Election of 2010 and its Long-term Results

Iraq is a country of huge diversity; it is a mixture of ethnicities and religions. It is divided on ethnic and sectarian basis. On the one hand, sectarian division includes 60-65% Shiite, 32-37% Sunni and 3% Christian. On the other hand, ethnic division includes 75-82% Arabs, 13-20% Kurdish and 3% Turcoman, Assyrian and Others (Cordesman “Trends in Iraqi Violence” 79). Iraq was always a deeply divided country, and these divisions caused tensions and even violence between the different groups (Ottaway and Kaysi 3). In 2010 election, Iraqis voted on the basis of ethno-sectarian identification, consequently, Nouri al-Maliki won the election because Shiites are numerous (4).

A new constitution and elections did not make Iraq a democratic nation but rather the situation became worst (“Iraq after the U.S. Withdrawal: Staring” 2). The results of the 2010 election created tension between the political parties mainly Sunni and Shiite. All though, Shiite are from one sectarian group they did not form one single allied party (Ottaway and Kaysi 5). In the election, mainly Sunni and Shiite parties got large number of seats in the parliament.

On the one hand, Shiite parties mainly Nouri al-Maliki’s ‘State of Law Party’ got 89 seats (27.4% of votes) and Hakim-Jafaari-Sadr coalition in the ‘Iraqi National Alliance’ got 70 seats (21.5% of votes). On the other hand, Sunni parties mainly Ayad Allawi’s ‘Iraqiya’ got 91 seats and 28% of votes) (Cordesman “Trends in Iraqi Violence” 68). These results left al-Maliki without a clear mandate and his primary opponent Allawi with no sufficient votes to form a new government. Instead of forming a new pluralistic government, the results made al-Maliki increasing effort to take control over security services and to push out Sunni leaders mainly Allawi from office through false accusations (65).



After about 6 months of struggle over the formation of the government, al-Maliki received the backing of Sadr faction on October 1, 2010. On November 10, 2010, the Iraqi leaders approved the Erbil Agreement to form a unified government including the different rivals (Katzman and Humud 9). As a result, al-Maliki served for another term (9). However, the Iraqi political leaders failed to implement the Erbil agreement and tensions emerged between al-Maliki and his political rivals (Cordesman and Khazai 39). The struggle started in October 2011, when PM al-Maliki began a “crackdown” on some rivals who were former Baath members (39).

On December 17, 2011, al-Maliki asked the Council of the Republic for a vote of no-confidence vote against Saleh al-Mutlaq, a Sunni leader of the opposition on the grounds that al-Mutlaq lacked faith in the political process (Cordesman et al. “The Real Outcome” 9). In addition, on December 19, 2011, PM al-Maliki issued an arrest warrant for Iraq’s Sunni Arab Vice President, Tariq Hashemi on terrorist charges (“Iraq after the US withdrawal: Staring” 2).

As al-Maliki targeted the Sunni leaders just after the U.S. withdrawal, Sunnis lost faith in their government and started ‘anti-Maliki’ demonstrations in some Sunni provinces such as the province of Anbar (Katzman and Humud 23). In order to culminate tensions, all leaders agreed to hold a ‘national conference’ to find solution but the conference had never been held (23). The political tensions between al-Maliki and his rivals created a paralyzed government influenced by the crisis in leadership and thus violence escalated (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 88). The government’s corruption and marginalization of the opposition opened the way to extremists to form their own groups and militias and hence to threaten Iraqi stability (88).

From January until March 2013, the Iraqi government ordered Iraqi Security Forces (ISF) to use violence against the Sunni demonstrators (Katzman and Humud 23). This unreasonable

step threatened the Iraqi stability and made some extremist groups start their violent attacks in response to what ISF made to Sunni protestors (23). The major impact of the political tensions was the creation of extremist military groups mainly Sunni and Shiite (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 88). The major groups that appeared as equipped military forces are Al-Qaeda and some other new Sunni extremist groups; also Shiite extremists formed the Shiite Militias mainly Sadrist Militias (Katzman and Humud 15-17).

#### 3.3.2.1.1. Al-Qaeda in Iraq

Al-Qaeda was in Iraq during Saddam Hussein's rule. It trained its members in Iraq and got support from the Iraqi government according to U.S. accounts. Prior to 2006, Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) was headed by the Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi; it had low-level activity during U.S. invasion (Katzman and Humud 15). With U.S. withdrawal, Al-Qaeda increased its members and formed an opposition group to PM al-Maliki (15). After ISF assaults on Sunni protestors on April 23, 2013, Al-Qaeda started its violent attacks on ISF (15). In particular, Al-Qaeda adopted the new name of Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) or Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) later when the Syrian crisis started. Then it adopted the name Islamic State (IS) in 2014 or what is known as 'Daesh' in Arabic (15). In 2012, the IS in Iraq was headed by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi who claimed that a new phase of struggle would start under the name of 'Breaking the walls' (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 55).

#### 3.3.2.1.2. Shiite Militias

With the coming of U.S forces to Iraq in 2003, some Shiites gathered and formed anti-American militias to fight U.S. military forces (Katzman and Humud 17). The main group that fought American forces is the Sadrist Militias; Moqtada Al Sadr the Iraqi nationalist was the leader of this group which contained large portion of lower class Shiite followers (16). Significantly, Sadr formed his military army known as 'Mahdi Army' in 2004 to fight U.S. troops (17). During 2006-2007, Iraqi government disbanded almost Iraqi militias. In

September 2013, because of the successive bombings in Sadr city which killed about 100 innocent Shiites; Mahdi Army reemerged (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 55).

### 3.3.2.2. The Growing Tensions of 2013 and its impact

In 2013, Iraq turned to be a battlefield of different militias who killed each other and even innocent Iraqis because of sectarian tensions. It was clear to the world that Iraq was in crisis in 2013 (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 57). The threat of IS and its other operating militias increased in 2013 and continued until 2014. Indeed, the great danger of IS or what is known as ‘Daesh’ in Iraq can be measured only through the number of deaths and injuries it caused since 2013.

**Table. 2: The number of deaths and injuries from November 2012 until July 2015.**

Month	Nov	Des	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May
	12	12	13	13	13	13	13
Killed	445	230	319	418	229	595	963
Injured	1306	655	960	704	853	1481	2191
Month	Jun	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
Killed	685	928	716	887	852	565	661
Injured	1610	2109	1936	1957	1793	1186	1201
Month	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	July
	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
Killed	618	564	484	610	603	1531	1186
Injured	1052	1179	1104	1311	1108	1763	1978
Month	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
	14	14	14	14	14	15	15

Killed	1265	854	856	936	680	790	611
Injured	1198	1604	1490	1826	1360	1469	1353
Month	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	July		
	15	15	15	15	15		
Killed	729	535	665	665	844		
Injured	785	1456	1313	1032	1616		

[http://www.uniraq.org/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=4111:casualty-figures-for-the-month-of-july-2015&Itemid=633&lang=en](http://www.uniraq.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=4111:casualty-figures-for-the-month-of-july-2015&Itemid=633&lang=en)

The total number of deaths reached 23419 in the period from November 2012 until July 2015; and the total number of injuries reached 45939 in the same period. In 2013, the number of deaths however reached 7818 and the number of injured reached 17981. In 2014, the number of deaths reached 10087 and the number of injured reached 16973. In 2015, the number of deaths reached 4839 just in 7 months and the number of injured reached 9024. The years of 2013 and 2014 marked a very high number of deaths and injuries (the highest since the Iraqi civil war of 2005-2006) because of the violent attacks from terrorist groups which targeted both ISF and innocent people in different provinces.

### 3.3.3. Economic Problems

Iraqi economy is highly based on energy sector oil revenues which present the first source of country's national budget. With the second largest oil reserves in the world, Iraq is one of the richest countries with oil and gas. Indeed, these resources may present an opportunity for the Iraqi government to reconstruct its infrastructure on the one hand and may present a challenge for Iraqi future on the other hand (Cordesman and Khazai "Iraq after U.S. Withdrawal: U.S. Policy" 71). After more than three decades of war and economic sanctions, Iraqi economy is struggling to achieve progress (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 383).

Notably, the Iraqi government is depending on development in the oil production to increase its revenues to be able to overcome the war crisis (Katzman and Humud 34).

In order to go through its development challenges, the Iraqi government started an ambitious development program to develop its oil fields and to increase its oil production (Cordesman et al. "The Real Outcome" 4). According to the World Bank report of 2012, Iraq has a 'tremendous potential' for growth and economic development due to its huge abundant natural resources (World Bank). Significantly, Iraq has 9 fields that are considered as super giants with over 5 billion barrels as well as, 22 known giant fields with over 1 billion barrels (Cordesman et al. "The Real Outcome" 4). Similarly, in April 2013, the International Monetary Fund reported that the Iraqi huge oil reserves have potential to provide the required revenues for reconstruction if the government provides well planned programs for investment (IFM).

While the Iraqi government is highly dependent on oil revenues which represent 90% of the national revenues and 80% of the foreign exchange earnings; it tried to invest in energy sector to increase its revenues (CIA summary of Iraqi Economy). According to the energy information agency of the U.S. department of energy (DOE/ EIA), the Iraqi Ministry of Oil signed 12 long-term contracts between November 2008 and May 2010 with international oil companies to develop 14 oil fields (Cordesman et al. "The Real Outcome 4).

In 2012, the EIA has suggested that Iraq would be able to raise its production from 2.9 million barrels per day (MBPD) in 2012 to 6.1 MBPD by 2020 and 8.3 MBPD by 2035 (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 327). The main target of Iraqi official oil production is to reach 12 mbpd by 2017; this target, however, is hard to be reached with all the surrounding obstacles (EIA). Researchers as Herman Franssen a former chief economist at the International Energy Agency asserted that the target of the Iraqi oil sector is hard to be

realized, Iraq could not produce 12 mbpd by 2017 it can only produce half of it (Cordesman and Khazai “Iraq After U.S. Withdrawal: U.S. Policy” 6).

While Iraq is passing through difficult events, economy cannot be isolated in this context. Iraq is suffering from political tensions due to sectarian problems; and from the lack of national stability because of IS and other militias violent attacks on several provinces targeting ISF and even innocent Iraqis. In particular, the great challenge Iraqi economy is suffering from is corruption (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 135). In 2013, the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI) ranked Iraq as 171 ‘most corrupt county’ out of 177 surveyed countries (CPI 3). Most notably, corruption in economy especially in oil and gas sectors poses great challenges on political stability and reconstruction process (Cordesman and khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 135).

The country’s deep-rooted security problems make economy extremely vulnerable toward investment and private economies. In addition, the high dependency on oil sector makes economy at risk of declining oil prices and then threatens the nation’s revenues directly (Cordesman “Trends in Iraqi Violence” 14). Furthermore, in 2013, CPI concluded that corruption in Iraq escalated in all most sectors with various forms including money laundering, oil smuggling and widespread bureaucratic bribery (Cordesman and Khazai *Iraq in Crisis* 135). Whenever oil is included, corruption is on all levels even on the level of governmental decisions. The federal government disputed with the autonomous Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) on the 50 contracts it signed in 2007 even if KRG had this right legally according to the constitution of 2005 as the CIA has reported in 2014 (136).

After 9 years of war, U.S. forces withdrew from Iraq in 2011. The war started under the pretext of democracy and human rights but ended without realizing any of them. After U.S. Withdrawal, the main features of Iraq are destruction and chaos on all sides. The war caused

the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent Iraqis. It caused displacement of nearly 4 million both internally and externally.

In fact, the war had destructive effects not only in terms of the number of deaths and injuries but also in terms of infrastructures. Iraqis are suffering from the lack of drinking water, sanitation, and electricity services because of the damaged infrastructures due to war. Moreover, both education and healthcare are becoming worst after the shortage in staff and infrastructures. The war caused sufferance to many groups. Iraqi women are among the most damaged groups. They became the only source of sustenance for their children in a society where women are preferred to stay at home.

In addition to social problems, the war made Iraqi politics thornier. USA came to Iraq to bring democracy and to settle a democratic government instead of that of Saddam, but the appointment of al-Maliki government deepened sectarian tensions. It resulted in a new destructive war based on ethno-sectarian tensions. The Islamic State or 'Daesh' became the new nightmare of Iraq and Iraqis. After the war, the government started a reconstruction program based on oil revenues to rebuild the nation. This program, however, does not reach higher degrees of success because of the economic problems like corruption and fraud Iraq is suffering from after the war.

## Conclusion

The main aim of this dissertation was to examine the Iraqi situation after 9 years of war. The first and the second chapters are the bridge to make connection between reasons which led to the war and the outcome of this war. This dissertation enables the reader to draw a full image about U.S. invasion of Iraq through the organization of its chapters.

The first chapter examines U.S. foreign policy before 9/11 attacks toward Middle Eastern countries especially Iraq. On the whole, U.S. relations with the countries of the richest region with oil and gas were good and based on its interests. Furthermore, the chapter dealt with U.S. views about Iraq before 9/11 which it considered as a nondemocratic country ruled by an autocratic ruler who had the power over the second largest oil reserves in the world. These views turned to be reasons to declare a war against Iraq.

The second chapter however, examined 9/11 attacks and its effects on U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle Eastern countries especially Iraq which it declared war on it in 2003. U.S. foreign policy changed radically toward Iraq and its regime after the terrorist attacks because it considered its ruler Saddam Hussein as harboring terrorists and developing WMDs which he may share with terrorists. This chapter examines U.S. reactions to 9/11 attacks both politically through the set of new strategies it followed and militarily through the declaration of global war on terror under which it recruited the world in its side to legitimize its war in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The third chapter was the most important one because it examines Iraq's situation after U.S. withdrawal in 2011. This chapter deals with the social, political and economic problems the war caused. The 9 years of war made Iraq a destructed country that suffered from instability and human rights violations. The war caused the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and displaced nearly 4 million. The war brought diseases to Iraqis because of the lack



of drinking water, sanitation and electricity. The war deepened ethno-sectarian tensions and caused a new civil war between Sunni and Shiite Iraqis and further caused in the emergence of a black phantom called Daesh which takes innocent Iraqis' lives daily. The war weakened Iraq's economy and made the reconstruction process so slow.

As a general conclusion, U.S. invasion of Iraq started with fake principles and ended with great destruction and damage. Declaring a war to settle democratic principles and human rights proved to be a losing card. Selling U.S. democratic illusions to Iraq cost both sides heavily especially Iraq. Overall, war is not peace, human rights never come through violation and invasion never brings sovereignty.

## End Notes

### Chapter one

<sup>1</sup>: Carter Doctrine: introduced by U.S. President Jimmy Carter on 24 January 1980. This doctrine passed to insure the protection of the Middle East oil after the threat of the Soviet Union when invading Afghanistan. President Carter considered any attempt by any nation to gain control over Middle Eastern countries as a direct threat to America and its interests (Gendzier 22).

<sup>2</sup>: OPEC: The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries is a permanent, intergovernmental organization, created at the Baghdad Conference on September 10–14, 1960, by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. Its main aim is to coordinate and unify petroleum policies among member countries in order to secure fair and stable prices for petroleum producers (Fattouh and Mahadiva 4).

<sup>3</sup>: Global Peak Oil: Peak Oil is the point in time when the world reaches the maximum extraction of oil from the earth. After Peak Oil, the extraction of oil will become less and less. It was first predicted by the American geophysicist, M. King Hubbert in 1956 (Clark 18).

<sup>4</sup> Bush's staff included: Condoleezza Rice as a National Security Advisor, Collin Powell as Secretary of State, Dick Cheney as a Vice President, Ronald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense, George Tenet Director of Central Intelligence, Andrew Card as Chief of Staff and White House Manager, and Karl Rove as the president's top political strategist.

<sup>5</sup> Neo-conservatism is a belief that America has the burden to make the world better through active intervention. It emerged during 1940-50's in New York City College by a group of Jewish poor students. Its godfather is Irving Kristol. It was considered as a persuasion or a

philosophical outlook not just an ideology (Pffifner “President Bush”).

## Chapter two

<sup>6</sup>: False Flag Operation: A false flag operation is a crime which is designed and carried out so that another party or nation is blamed (Bollyn 17).

<sup>7</sup>: Controlled Demolition: is the intentional destruction of a building by placing explosives in strategic areas. Often used by construction companies to remove unneeded buildings, like run-down houses (Urban Dictionary).

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