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*To my family*  
*To my teachers*  
*To my friends*

## **Acknowledgements**

There is no doubt that this thesis would not have been possible without all the support I have received, so the least that I could do is to award those who have been a great help in this achievement; thanking them is an honor for me. First and foremost, the initial appreciation and gratitude are owed to the “Greatest Allah” for being the light of my darkest moments in this journey. I am heartily grateful for my supervisor, Dr. Benhattab A. Lotfi, for his encouragement and assistance. Thanks are also due to the respected Members of Jury for dedicating their valuable time to examine the present work. And for all the kindness and advices, I would like to thank Pr. Yacine Rashida and Dr. Moulfi Leila and many other teachers. Lastly, but most importantly, I owe my deepest gratefulness to my beloved parents, Djedid Abd El-malek and Kemam Mokhtaria for being the source of my motivation; not to forget all the love and the support that I have received from my precious brothers and sisters. I would like also to offer my respects and gratitude to my best friends, fellow colleagues and to all of those who have been helpful in their own ways during the accomplishment of this work.

# Abstract

America is currently embroiled in a war against atypical enemy, known as “terrorism”. The latter has been internationally recognized for being a threat to the world stability and peace, if not the extinction of civilization. Therefore, being a world leader, the U.S. along with its allies declared war on terrorism at a global stage.

But overall, the United States has been universally accused for being selective in its war on terror, which is seen as a mere disguise for the continuity of the American Empire; despite of the globality of this phenomenon, mainly the Muslim World that has been diagnosed of terrorism. The emphasis on Iraq; for instance, a country that has nothing to do with the ninth-eleventh attacks or al-Qaeda, raised a lot of speculations concerning the United States’ intentions; especially among Muslims. From one hand, the attack on one of the former Islamic empire’s pillar has been interpreted as an attack on the Islamic nation and Islam, as a whole. From the other hand, America has been openly accused for using the War on Terror to get rid of the obstacles preventing it from having full control over the Babylonian natural richness.

Accordingly, this work will examine these allegations for the sake of the truth. Is the American war on terrorism nothing more than an ideal that has nothing to do with fighting terrorism as has to do with combating Islamism, nothing more than a camouflage for the Muslim World sabotage, a political tool to reach its goals, or America has been wrongly accused? Is the decline of the Islamic Nation America’s fault? Generally speaking, this thesis will be devoted to U.S. foreign policy and its overseas relations with the Muslim World, mainly with Iraq from the post-World War Two till the nine-eleventh aftermaths.

**Key Words:**

America, the Muslim World, Iraq, Terrorism, U.S. Foreign Policy, U.S. War on Terror, U.S. Imperialism, Oil.

# Résumé

L'Amérique est actuellement en proie à une guerre contre un ennemi atypique, connu sous le nom de «terrorisme». Ce dernier a été reconnu internationalement pour être une menace contre la stabilité du monde et de la paix, si ce n'est pas l'extinction de la civilisation. Par conséquent, étant un chef de file mondial, les États-Unis avec ses alliés ont déclaré la guerre contre le terrorisme à une échelle mondiale.

Mais globalement, les États-Unis a été universellement accusé d'être sélectif dans sa guerre contre le terrorisme, qui est considérée comme un simple déguisement pour la continuité de l'empire américain ; malgré la globalité de ce phénomène, notamment le monde musulman qui a été diagnostiqué du terrorisme. L'accent mis sur l'Irak ; par exemple, un pays qui n'a rien à voir avec les attentats du neuvième-onzième ou Al-Qaeda, a soulevé beaucoup de spéculations sur les intentions des États-Unis ; surtout chez les musulmans. D'une part, l'attaque sur l'un des piliers de l'ancien empire islamique a été interprétée comme une attaque contre la nation islamique et l'Islam, comme un tout. De l'autre côté, l'Amérique a été ouvertement accusé d'utiliser la guerre contre le terrorisme pour se débarrasser des obstacles qui l'empêchent d'avoir le plein contrôle sur la richesse naturelle de Babylone.

Par conséquent, ce travail examinera ces allégations pour l'amour de la vérité. Est la guerre américaine contre le terrorisme rien de plus qu'un idéal qui n'a rien à voir avec la lutte contre le terrorisme, a à voir avec la lutte contre l'islamisme , rien de plus qu'un camouflage pour le sabotage de monde musulman , un outil politique pour atteindre ses objectifs , ou l'Amérique a été accusé à tort ? Est ce que le déclin de la nation islamique la faute de l'Amérique ? D'une manière générale, cette thèse sera consacrée à la politique étrangère des États-Unis et ses relations étrangère avec le monde musulman, principalement avec l'Irak de l'après guerre mondiale jusqu'à ce que les neuf onzième séquelles.

## **Mots clés:**

L'Amérique, le monde musulman, l'Irak, le terrorisme, la politique étrangère des États-Unis, la guerre américaine contre le terrorisme, l'impérialisme américain, pétrole.

## ملخص

أمريكا تخوض حاليا حربا ضد عدو غير نمطي، المعروف "بالإرهاب" وقد تم الاعتراف بهذا الأخير دوليا كتهديد للاستقرار والسلام في العالم، إن لم يكن انقراض الحضارة. كونها رائدة على مستوى العالم، الولايات المتحدة مع حلفائها أعلنوا الحرب على الإرهاب على نطاق عالمي .

لكن عموما، الولايات المتحدة قد اتهمت عالميا لكونها انتقائية في حربها على الإرهاب، التي ينظر إليها على أنها مجرد تمويه لاستمرارية الإمبراطورية الأمريكية. على الرغم من شمولية هذه الظاهرة، إلا أن العالم المسلم بصورة خاصة تم تشخيصه بالإرهاب . التركيز على العراق؛ على سبيل المثال، البلد الذي لا علاقة له بهجمات الحادي عشر أو تنظيم القاعدة، أثار الكثير من التكهنات بشأن نوايا الولايات المتحدة؛ خاصة بين المسلمين . من جهة، تم تفسير الهجوم على واحدة من أعمدة الإمبراطورية الإسلامية السابقة هجوما على الأمة الإسلامية والإسلام ككل، و من ناحية أخرى، قد اتهمت أمريكا بشكل علني لاستخدامها الحرب على الإرهاب للتخلص من العقبات التي تحول بينها وبين الثروة الطبيعية الباطنية.

وبناء على ذلك، سوف نقوم بدراسة هذه الادعاءات من أجل البحث عن الحقيقة. هل كانت الحرب الأمريكية على الإرهاب شيئا من المثالية التي لا علاقة لها بمكافحة الإرهاب كما لها علاقة بمكافحة الإسلامية، لا شيء أكثر من التمويه لتخريب العالم مسلم، أداة سياسية للوصول إلى أهدافها؟ هل أمريكا اتهمت خطأ؟ هل تدهور الأمة الإسلامية و سوء حالها خطأ أمريكا؟ بصفة عامة، ستكرس هذه الأطروحة للسياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة والعلاقات الخارجية مع العالم مسلم، خاصة مع العراق من بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية حتى تداعيات الحادي عشر من أيلول.

### الكلمات الرئيسية :

أمريكا، العالم مسلم، العراق، الإرهاب، السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية، الحرب الأمريكية على الإرهاب، الإمبريالية الأمريكية، والنفط .

# List of Acronyms

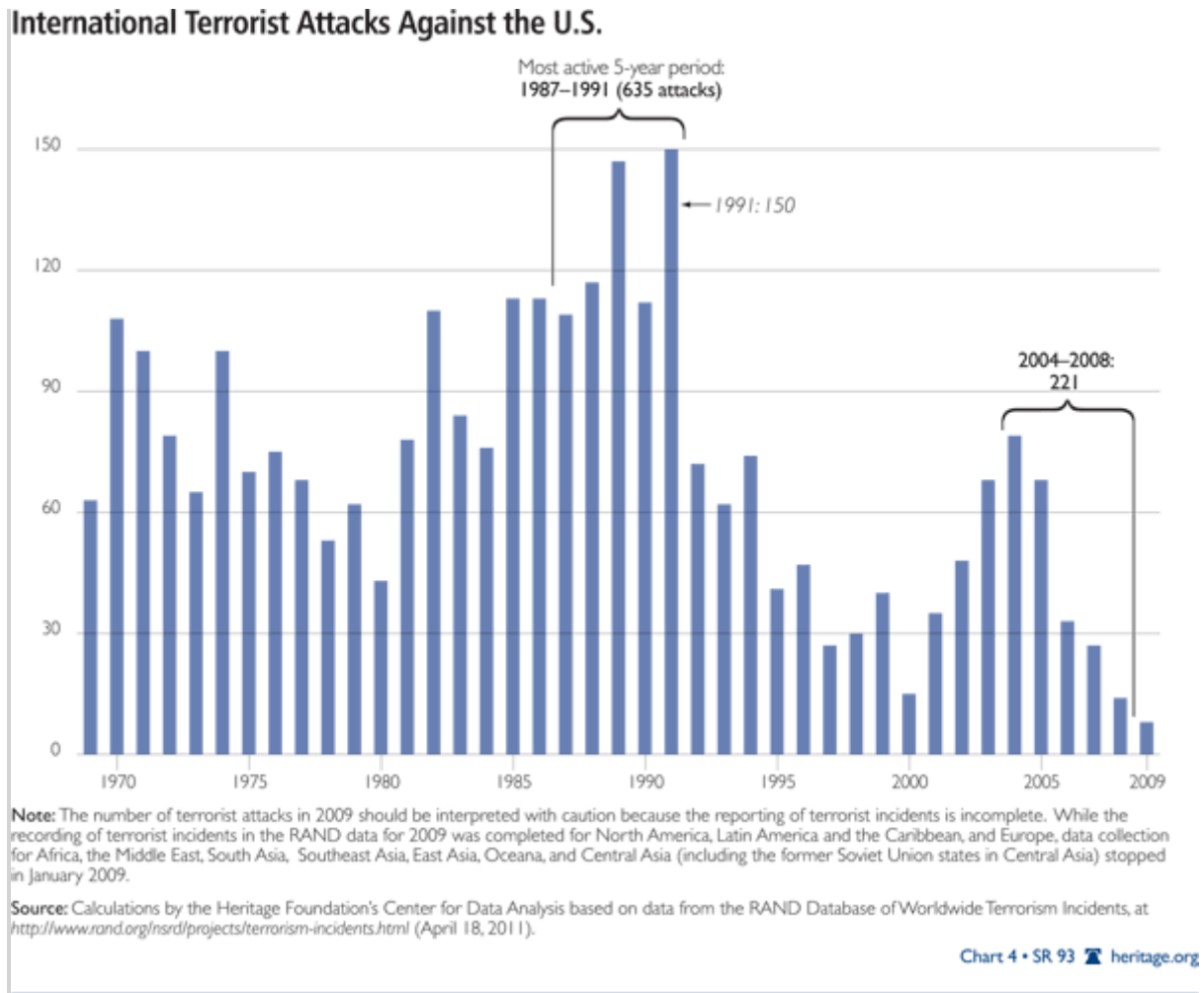
(A.D.)	“Anno Domini”, in the year of the lord
(AIOC)	Anglo-Iranian Oil Company
(APOC)	Anglo-Persian Oil Company
(B.C.)	Before Christ
(CBW)	Chemical and Biological Weapons
(CFP)	Compagnie Française des Pétroles
(CIA)	Central Intelligence Agency
(CNN)	Cable News Network
(FPC)	French Petroleum Company
(INOC)	Iraqi National Oil Company
(IPC)	Iraqi Petroleum Company
(NEDC)	Near-East Development Company
(RDS)	Royal Dutch Shell
(TPC)	Turkish Petroleum Company
(U.S.)	United States
(UK)	United Kingdom
(UNSC)	United Nations Security Council
(USA)	United States of America
(USSR)	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
(WMD)	Weapons of Mass Destruction
(WW1)	World War One
(WW2)	World War Two
(W.A.S.P.)	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant



# List of Charts and Maps

## Chapter One:

### Chart n°1: International Terrorist Attacks against the U.S.

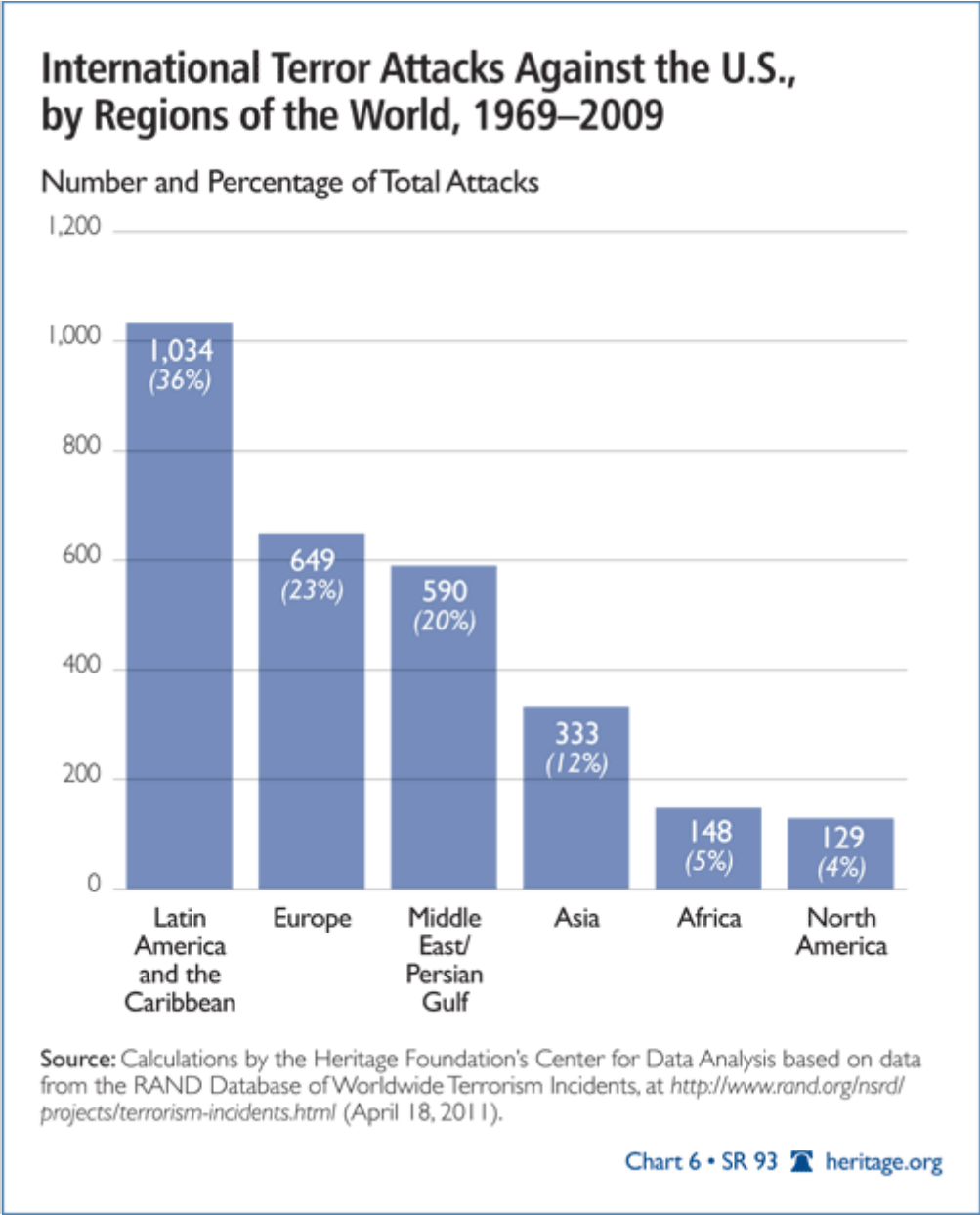


By David B. Muhlhausen, Ph.D. and Jena Baker McNeill

<http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/05/terror-trends-40-years-data-on-international-and-domestic-terrorism>

Clicours.COM

Chart n° 2: International Terror Attacks against the U.S.

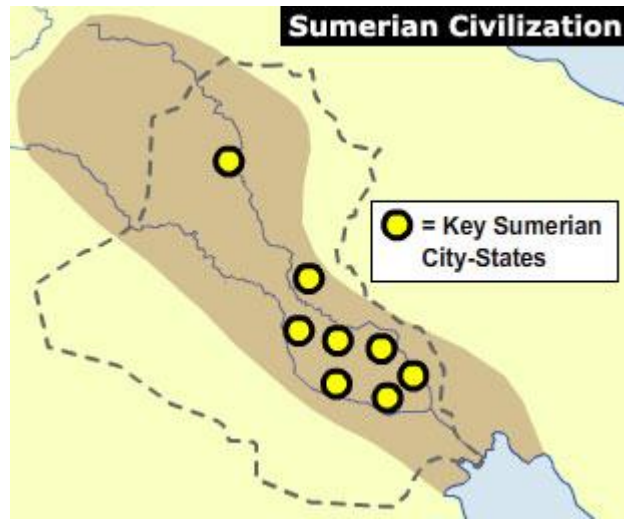


**Chapter Two:**

**Map of Modern Iraq:**



<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/381192/Middle-East>



[http://www.worldology.com/Iraq/ancient\\_mesopotamia.htm](http://www.worldology.com/Iraq/ancient_mesopotamia.htm)



# List of historical and political figures

## Introduction:

**Jamal R. Nasser** is dean of the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences at California State University, San Bernardino. He is the author of the Palestine Liberation Organization: From Armed Struggle to the Declaration of Independence, the coauthor of Politics and Culture in the Developing World: The Impact of Globalization and the Coeditor of Change without Borders: The Third World at the End of the Twentieth Century and Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads. Available at, Jamal R. Nasser, Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares. (p. 1), available at, (The United States of America: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2010)

**Dr Fathi Osman** is a world renowned scholar in Islamic and Islamist affairs and was editor of the Islamic journal, Arabia, later the Islamic World Review. He earned his Ph.D. at Princeton University, has taught at AL Azhar, Princeton... At present he lists himself as consultant to the Islamic Center of Southern California. (p. 1) Available at, "Islam, Terrorism, and Western Misapprehensions" Middle East Affairs Journal: Islam and the West on the Eve of the Third Millennium, Vol. 3. No. 3-4 (Summer-Fall, 1997-1417), p. 39.

**Ben Saul** is a Professor of International Law and an Australian Research Council Future Fellow at the University of Sydney. Ben is internationally recognized as a leading expert on global counter-terrorism law, human rights, the law of war, and international crimes. (p2), Available at, <http://sydney.edu.au/law/about/people/profiles/ben.saul.php>

**Dr Thaer Duri** is a Writer and Physician Specialist skin diseases and genital. (p. 5) Available at, <http://www.arabrenewal.info/%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%88%D9%82%D8%B9/2701-thaer-duri.html>

**George Bush**, also called "W", is an American politician and businessman who served as the 43rd President of the United States from 2001 to 2009, and the 46th Governor of Texas from 1995 to 2000. (p6), Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_W.\\_Bush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush)

**Andrew J. Bacevich** is professor of history and international relations at Boston University. A graduate of the U. S. Military Academy, he received his Ph. D. in American diplomatic

history from Princeton. (p. 7) Available at, [http://www.politico.com/arena/bio/andrew\\_j\\_bacevich.html](http://www.politico.com/arena/bio/andrew_j_bacevich.html)

**Michael F. Scheuer**, a former CIA intelligence officer, a career of 22 years during which, he served as the chief of the Bin Laden Issue Station (1996-1999), the Osama Bin Laden tracking unit at the Counterterrorist Center. He is also an author, historian, foreign policy critic, and political analyst. (p7), Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael\\_Scheuer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Scheuer)

**Osama Bin Laden, (1957-2011), Osama bin Mohammed bin Awad bin Laden** was a Saudi Arabian, a member of the wealthy bin Laden family and the founder of al-Qaeda, the Sunni militant Islamist organization. (p7), Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama\\_bin\\_Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden)

**William Pitt, the Elder**, also called (from 1766) **1st Earl of Chatham**, British statesman, twice virtual prime minister (1756–61, 1766–68), who secured the transformation of his country into an imperial power. (p7), Available at, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/462131/William-Pitt-the-Elder>

**Avram Noam Chomsky** (born December 7, 1928) is an American linguist, philosopher, cognitive scientist, logician, political commentator and activist. (p. 8) available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Noam\\_Chomsky](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Noam_Chomsky)

## **Chapter One:**

**Kofi A. Annan** is a former secretary general of the United Nations. (p. 11)

**John Winthrop** (1587/8 –1649) was a wealthy English Puritan lawyer and one of the leading figures in the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the first major settlement in New England after Plymouth Colony. Winthrop led the first large wave of migrants from England in 1630, and served as governor for 12 of the colony's first 20 years of existence. His writings and vision of the colony as a Puritan "city upon a hill" dominated New England colonial development, influencing the government and religion of neighboring colonies. (p. 14), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Winthrop](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Winthrop)

**Ronald Wilson Reagan** (1911 –2004) was an American actor and politician. He was the 40th President of the United States (1981–89). Prior to his presidency, he served as

the 33rd Governor of California (1967–75). (p. 14), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ronald\\_Reagan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ronald_Reagan)

**Karl Paul Reinhold Niebuhr** (1892–1971) was an American theologian, ethicist, public intellectual, commentator on politics and public affairs... He attacked utopianism as ineffectual for dealing with reality... Niebuhr's realism deepened after 1945 and led him to support American efforts to confront Soviet communism around the world. (p. 15), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold\\_Niebuhr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reinhold_Niebuhr)

**Walter A. McDougall** (born 1946) is an American historian and a Pulitzer Prize winner. He is Professor of History and the Alloy-Ansin Professor of International Relations at the University of Pennsylvania. (p. 15), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter\\_A.\\_McDougall](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Walter_A._McDougall)

**Seymour Martin Lipset** (1922–2006) was an American political sociologist, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, and the Hazel Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University. His major work was in the fields of political sociology, trade union organization, social stratification, public opinion, and the sociology of intellectual life. (p. 16), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seymour\\_Martin\\_Lipset](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seymour_Martin_Lipset)

**Enver Masud** is founder of The Wisdom Fund. His articles on national and world affairs have been published in newspapers and magazines in the U.S. and overseas. He is the author of *9/11 Unveiled*, and a contributing author of *9/11 and American Empire*, and *Islam: Opposing Viewpoints*. An engineering management consultant, Mr. Masud has worked for the World Bank. Enver grew up in India, graduated from St. Stephens College, and received a Master of Science degree from the University of Oklahoma. (p. 16), Available at, Enver Masud, *The Truth about Islam: The War on Islam (The U.S.A. the Wisdom Fund : 2000-2010)*

**Majid Shihade** is a faculty member at Abu-Lughod for International Studies, Birzeit University. (p. 17)

**Fawaz A. Gergez** is a Lebanese-American academic and author with expertise on the Middle East, U.S. foreign policy, international relations, Al Qaeda, and relations between the Islamic and Western worlds. (p. 19), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fawaz\\_Gerges](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fawaz_Gerges)

**Harry S. Truman** (1884–1972) was the 33rd President of the United States of America (1945–1953)...Under Truman, the U.S. successfully concluded World War II; in the aftermath of the conflict, tensions with the Soviet Union increased, marking the start of the Cold War. (p. 24), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harry\\_S.\\_Truman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harry_S._Truman)

**George Kennan** was one of the most intelligent and lucid of US planners, and a major figure in shaping the postwar world. His writings are an extremely interesting illustration of the dovish position. (Noam Chomsky, What Uncle Sam really Wants, p658)

## **Chapter Two:**

**Woodrow Wilson** (December 28, 1856 – February 3, 1924) was the 28th President of the United States from 1913 to 1921. available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodrow\\_Wilson](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woodrow_Wilson)

**Faisal bin Hussein bin Ali al-Hashimi** (20 May 1885 – 8 September 1933) was King of the Arab Kingdom of Syria or Greater Syria in 1920, and was King of Iraq from 23 August 1921 to 1933. He was a member of the Hashemite dynasty. Faisal was born in Mecca the third son of Hussein bin Ali, Sharif of Mecca, the Grand Sharif of Mecca. (p ), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faisal\\_I\\_of\\_Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faisal_I_of_Iraq)

**Sharif Husayn of Hijaz, Hussein bin Ali**, (1854–1931) was the Sharif and Emir of Mecca from 1908 until 1917, when he proclaimed himself and was internationally recognized as King of the Kingdom of Hejaz. He initiated the Arab Revolt in 1916 against the increasingly nationalistic Ottoman Empire during the course of the First World War. In 1924, when the Ottoman Caliphate was abolished, he further proclaimed himself Caliph of all Muslims. He ruled Hejaz until 1924, when, defeated by Abdul Aziz al Saud, he abdicated the kingdom and other secular titles to his eldest son Ali. (p ), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hussein\\_bin\\_Ali,\\_Sharif\\_of\\_Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hussein_bin_Ali,_Sharif_of_Mecca)

**Faisal II**, (May 2/05/1935- 14/07/1958, Iraq) the grandson of Faisal I and great-grandson of former Sharif of Mecca and king of the Hejaz, was the last king of Iraq, who reigned from 1939 to 1958. available at, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/203014/Faysal-II>

**Nuri Pasha al-Said** (1888 – July 15, 1958) was an Iraqi politician during the British Mandate and during the Kingdom of Iraq. He served seven terms as Prime Minister of Iraq.



Nuri was a controversial figure with many enemies... His policies, regarded as pro-British, were believed to have failed in adapting to the country's changed social circumstances... On 15 July 1958, the day after the republican revolution, he ... was captured and killed. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuri\\_al-Said](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuri_al-Said)

**Abd al-Karim Qasim** (21 November 1914 – 9 February 1963) was a nationalist Iraqi Army general who seized power in a 1958 coup d'état, wherein the Iraqi monarchy was eliminated. He ruled the country as Prime Minister until his downfall and death during the 1963 Ramadan Revolution. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd\\_al-Karim\\_Qasim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Karim_Qasim)

**Şaddām Ḥussein** (1937-2006) was the president of Iraq from (1979–2003), whose brutal rule was marked by costly and unsuccessful wars against neighboring countries. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/277539/Saddam-Hussein>

**Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr** (1914 –1982) was the fourth President of Iraq, serving in this capacity from 17 July 1968 until 16 July 1979. A leading member of the revolutionary Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party, and later, the Baghdad-based Ba'ath Party [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed\\_Hassan\\_al-Bakr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Hassan_al-Bakr)

### **Chapter Three:**

**George Herbert Walker Bush**, also known as George H. W. Bush, Bush 41, Bush the Elder, Bush 1, or Bush Sr. to distinguish him from his son. He is an American politician who served as the 41st President of the United States (1989-1993). A Republican, he had previously served as the 43rd Vice President of the United States (1981–1989), a congressman, an ambassador, and Director of Central Intelligence. He is the oldest living former President and Vice President. He is also the last living former President who is a veteran of World War II. Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_H.\\_W.\\_Bush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_H._W._Bush)

**Condoleezza Rice** (14-11-1954) is an American political scientist and diplomat. She served as the 66th United States Secretary of State. Rice was the first female African-American secretary of state and she was President Bush's National Security Advisor during his first term, making her the first woman to serve in that position. Before joining the Bush administration, she was a professor of political science at Stanford University where she served as Provost from 1993 to 1999. Rice also served on the National Security Council as the Soviet and Eastern Europe Affairs Advisor to President George H.W. Bush during

the dissolution of the Soviet Union and German reunification. Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Condoleezza\\_Rice](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Condoleezza_Rice)

**George tenet George John Tenet** (born 1953) was the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) for the United States Central Intelligence Agency, and he is Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University. He played a key role in overseeing the intelligence behind the Iraq War. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_Tenet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Tenet)

**Donald Rumsfeld Donald Henry Rumsfeld** (born 1932) is an American politician and businessman. Rumsfeld served as the 13th Secretary of Defense from 1975 to 1977 under President Gerald Ford, and as the 21st Secretary of Defense from 2001 to 2006 under President George W. Bush. He is both the youngest and the oldest person to have served as Secretary of Defense. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donald\\_Rumsfeld](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Donald_Rumsfeld)

**Gerald Rudolph "Jerry" Ford, Jr.** (1913-2006) was the 38th President of the United States, serving from 1974 to 1977, and prior to this, was the 40th Vice President of the United States serving from 1973 to 1974. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerald\\_Ford](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerald_Ford)

### **Conclusion:**

**E. M. Foster, Edward Morgan Forster**, (1879 –1970) was an English novelist, short story writer, essayist and librettist. He is known best for his ironic and well-plotted novels examining class difference and hypocrisy in early 20th-century British society. (p. 98), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E.\\_M.\\_Forster](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/E._M._Forster)

**Adolf Hitler** (1889 –1945) was an Austrian-born German politician and the leader of the Nazi Party. He was chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945 and dictator of Nazi Germany from 1934 to 1945. Hitler was at the centre of Nazi Germany, World War II in Europe, and the Holocaust. (p. 98), available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolf\\_Hitler](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adolf_Hitler)

**Ray Charles** (1930-2004) was a legendary musician who pioneered the genre of soul music during the 1950s. He is often called the father of soul.

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

An undeniable reality has been circulating lately in the past decades, about how messed up the world is. Indeed, no one can deny the fact that this one is already ruined naturally, socially, economically, and politically. Taking into account the destruction of the four previous points into human's awareness, this did not stop them from driving to the edge. Like this is not enough, it is scary what has been added to its load.

Terrorism, a worldwide\_ apparently, hard to be understood\_ phenomenon, is one of the most hot issues that has been regarded as an international threat. It is a matter of heated debates among scholars and analysts; an enigma that has set the world into chaos. Surprisingly, despite of its wide spread, it is hard to be defined. Aside from its literal definition, the exercise of an excessive power against innocent people; "Terrorism is an inaccurate concept that lacks an acceptable definition,"<sup>1</sup> says Jamal R. Nasser; a conclusion that has been agreed upon and confirmed to be true.

The ambiguity surrounding this term has caused a lot of confusions. With no satisfactory definition, people have been left clueless about the origins of these horrific series of unstoppable violence. All of which led to a new phase, that I call "the blaming phase". Questioning about the main lead of this show, who is the culprit and who is the hero? People irrationally start pointing fingers, trying to escape the result of their actions and washing their hands from this big mess. Some people tend to be spiritual and playing the same old tape of good and evil. It is Satan's doing or God's punishment, they say. However, based on Encyclopedia Britannica, terrorism is simply "the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear..."<sup>2</sup> that is to say, anyone could be a terrorist, because it is related to "human nature itself"; says Dr. Fathi Osman. According to the latter, quoting from the Quran,

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<sup>1</sup> Jamal R. Nasser. Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares (The United States of America. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition: 2010), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Terrorism, available at, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/588371/terrorism>

“the physical power that has been granted to the human being to defend himself may be abused and thus lead to aggressiveness and violence.”<sup>3</sup> [Quran 2:30].

If it is so, this cycle of terror is not new to the world; actually, it is deep-rooted in the history of humanity that it could be traced to the time when Cain killed his brother Abel, sons of Adam.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, there is no question about its oldness but it is just that nowadays, “the spread of its growth and development is new...” furthermore, this phenomenon “...has taken a leap forward and continued at a fast pace...”<sup>5</sup> But, still, we have not reached a conclusion based on which violent acts and their committers could be framed in one picture. It has been said that the comprehension of the question is half of the answer, so what might be helpful to understand this concept is better to comprehend its motives, the components that causes it, so we can differentiate between terrorists and victims. It has been argued that,

Terrorism did not come from nowhere or for no reason. Terrorism has deep root causes, as it does consequences. One cannot address its aftermath without looking at what causes it... It is a result of a struggle for power. This has been seen historically in the rise of empires. Terrorism can also be seen as a response of desperation, incited by injustice and oppression...<sup>6</sup>

In other words, “terrorism may be traced to two fundamental, underlying motivations: the struggle for power and the domination and acts of desperation in response to this power struggle.”<sup>7</sup> That it is to say, it is the fruit of injustice, a clash between the bullied and those who bully them; a fight between the unhelpful and powerful. Because “the desperate and oppressed want justice, and the powerful want more wealth and power; the clash between them brings nightmares and violence and terror to both.” So, basically, terrorism is the weapon of the weak as well as the strong; in a way or another, both sides are feeding from each other. “History is full of examples where victims learned the discourse of oppression from those who oppressed them.”<sup>8</sup>

It is difficult to have a clear idea of this concept as it is politically and emotionally loaded. Because of lack of accuracy and impartiality, Ben Saul states, the word terrorism is universally misused, which makes its use difficult in legal discourse. Thus, internationally and

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<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fathi Osman, “Islam, Terrorism, and Western Misapprehensions” Middle East Affairs Journal: Islam and the West on the Eve of the Third Millennium, Vol. 3. No. 3-4 (Summer-Fall, 1997-1417), p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

academically speaking, there was no precise definition that all nations approve;<sup>9</sup> so that, terrorist acts could be immediately criminalized, and terrorists could be easily identified. Moreover, very often people are unable to tell victims and terrorists apart; as a result, what some people might recognized as terrorism, for others it might be seen as a resistance against oppression or self-defense mechanism.<sup>10</sup> In other words, just like beauty, “Terrorism is in the eye of the beholder. A terrorist is such to his enemies and a freedom fighter to his friends.”<sup>11</sup> The reason of this confusion as it has been stated by Jamal Nasser is that, “history is often written not by heroes but by those who executed them. Current history is written in a similar manner. Therefore, the terrorist and the victim of terror are often confused. Victims are often called terrorists, and those who terrorize others are frequently portrayed as victims of terror.”<sup>12</sup> Which might be the reason why “most definitions of the concept seem to focus on the symptom and avoid any reference to its causes,” but it is generally agreed that, “...terrorism is a symptom rather than a disease.”<sup>13</sup>

From another standpoint, Jamal R. Nasser has linked international terrorism to both of globalization<sup>14</sup> and terrorism, considering the former as the source of aggression and the latter as a reaction to its hostility. Both of them are as old as “human history itself”; in terms of globalization, the travel of people and merchandises could be traced to the first practices of social life, therefore, this one has walked side by side with terrorism. Since “The world we live in is a web of global interdependence. If the web is too skewed in one direction and uneven, it may be blown away with the wind. A solid web is a well-distributed one. Our world lacks any semblance of distributive justice,”<sup>15</sup> which has led to a long struggle for evenhandedness. That is why; this “process of international integration” has caused a great havoc, which is still ongoing, between those who are in favor of Globalization and those who are against it.

The advocates of this system are looking for success and profit, opening up to the world and avoiding economic crises; whereas, those who challenge this international incorporation see nothing but “economic disparities between rich and poor, loss of cultural distinctiveness, or environmental degradation.” Moreover, the reason of this resistance is because it has been

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<sup>9</sup> Definitions of Terrorism. Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Definitions\\_of\\_terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Definitions_of_terrorism)

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Fathi Osman, op. cit. p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Globalization is the integration of markets, politics, values, and environmental concerns across the globe. Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 121.

directly connected it to “imperialism”;<sup>16</sup> in fact, “globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization”, says Jamal Nasser “...it is this view of globalization that is behind the motivation of those who wage the struggle to limit its negative impact.”<sup>17</sup> For that reason, the latter avows that,

Globalization continues to create new breeding grounds for terrorism by leaving people behind aware of the poverty of the majority and the rising wealth of a minority... consequently dreams and nightmares migrate in both directions. Powerful nations commit terrorist acts against civilians in the name of protecting national security more often they are aiming at fostering imperial expansion...<sup>18</sup>

Today, the international system is defined by American values and principles, paving for globalization through the Americanization of the world because of which peoples are living in a great social, economic, and political disparities. “The world we live in is an interdependent system where a malfunction of one part can lead to disasters throughout the system”,<sup>19</sup> and as a global leader, the United States of America is not being fair, which gives a great impetus to violence. Nasser has compared America’s international rule using the following example; while blaming it for the cataclysmic events that is hitting the world, saying that,

Our world today is similar to a ship on the high seas. On this global ship, there are who live in first class cabins, others in 2<sup>nd</sup>, some in 3<sup>rd</sup> ... regardless of where we live; we need to be concerned about the well-being of those in the lower cabins. If we allow those cabins to rot, rust, and leak, the whole ship will sink. We in the United States of America do not wish to live in the 1<sup>st</sup> class cabins; we want to live in the captain’s cabin. We want to be number one and second to none. While the captain of the ship has the luxury of the captain’s cabin, the captain also has responsibility for the well-being of the whole ship. Many Americans want to be the captain of the ship, but prefer not to take responsibility for the state of the global ship.<sup>20</sup>

So, in general, the reason of the catastrophic happenings that is draining the world is that the “drive of the powerful for more wealth and power brings violence to the weak. The weak, in turn, carry out violent terror against their oppressors.”<sup>21</sup> And since history, ancient or

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<sup>16</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 2-3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 20-21.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

modern, is written by those in power, it is unlikely for justice to prevail and the terrorists are; in most of the time, ironically, the non-powerful. As a result, terrorism against the First World “the powerful nations” is condemned to be so, but terrorism committed against countries from the Third World is not deemed as terrorism and most of the time is regarded as a fight for freedom and democracy. This is due to the dishonesty and hypocrisy of those in charge of recording history, “many scholars assign right to the powerful which is denying the same for those less powerful.”<sup>22</sup>

But, all in all, it is generally agreed that this phenomenon is not the characteristics of a specific civilization nor it is related to a certain group of people, a country, or a political regime; above all, terrorism has no religion. A terrorist could be anyone, it could be a friend or an enemy, it could be a policeman or a gang of outlaws; status does not matter, when it comes to abuse oneself power to create a sphere of terror, he is systematically a terrorist. Our world has become a very awful place to live in, full of cold-hearted people, haunted by a bloody history, and headed to an unknown direction. Thus, anyone volunteer to make it better should be praised rather than criticized. Things have to change when a powerful minority took advantage of others’ misfortune for their advantage. Terrorism has been misused by some politicians and powerful nations for their interests’ sake; using the power contained in this word to condemn their enemies also known as competitors or more likely their next prey.

Moreover, despite of its antiquity, it is till recently that terrorism has been recognized internationally as a threat to the world stability and topped the list of hotly deliberated subjects. According to D. Thaer Duri, in the last decades, terrorism has been the most frequent word and the famous one among politicians and academics, but it is still the only concept without a definition; therefore, what is terrorism and who is exactly a terrorists? According to him, those who are using it the most are the ones who should have the right definition of terrorism along with the criterion based on which terrorists could be identified, the U.S. and its allies are undoubtedly the ones who frequently use it.<sup>23</sup>

There is no doubt that this term has gained a huge popularity since the attacks of the ninth-eleventh in 2001, which targeted the twin towers in New York, the Pentagon and the Capital. Since then, Americans definition of terrorism has been directly linked to al-Qaeda,

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<sup>22</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>23</sup> Thaer Duri. Terrorist is anyone who opposes our interests (25/05/2006), available at, [http://www.naba.org.uk/the-library/articles/Views/606\\_Irahbi\\_Douri.htm](http://www.naba.org.uk/the-library/articles/Views/606_Irahbi_Douri.htm)

but in fact, argues D. Duri, the American terrorist list is way bigger than a small isolated organization in an abandoned desert in Afghanistan. Actually, the latter declares that it includes countries, organizations and individuals from the entire globe. Because, if their definition for a terrorist includes anyone targeting innocent people, then America is the first terrorist and its allies, Israel at the top of the list, because they are the most who targeted innocent people; on the other hand, if their definition includes anyone who uses military power for political purposes this will not omit neither of America nor Israel from the terrorist list. But according to “us”, speaking of the third world, the biggest terrorist is the one, who invades countries, destroys cities and kills people.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, with only a difference in vocabulary, the word terrorist is the equivalent of a very diverse flow of other words as “savage, barbaric, uncivilized, pirate, or communists” all of which refers to anyone who opposes the Western interests. Who has used these same words when they invaded America, Asia, and Africa to civilize its inhabitants and spread and fulfill god’s will on earth even if it meant killing them. Today we are living the same scenario but it is to spread democracy.<sup>25</sup>

Apparently, today, those who are challenging America’s will has to be Muslims, because since the ninth-eleventh attacks, with no concrete evidence, the American accusations were exclusively directed towards Muslims as terrorists, represented by Al Qaeda; of course, and Islam as the source of terrorism’s teaching. The World War on Terror concentrates only on one world that is the Muslim one. Since then “to most in the United States, the image of a terrorist is that of some wild-eyed Muslim dedicated to some apocalyptic vision of a clash between the “civilized world” and Islam.”<sup>26</sup>

The eleventh September attacks created a high tensioned atmosphere at a global stage. Any attack of this kind will raise different questions and worries, why us and what have we done to deserve this? More specifically, “Americans are asking, why do they hate us?” George Bush responds to these fears, saying, that they have been attacked because of their “... freedoms... of religion, of speech, to vote and assemble and disagree with each other...”<sup>27</sup> Two days after the incidents, Bush announces that they were attacked because they are “the

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<sup>24</sup> Thaer Duri. Op. cit.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> President George W. Bush's Address to Congress and the Nation on Terrorism (20 September 2001), available at, <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/bush911c.html>



brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world.<sup>28</sup> From Andrew J. Bacevich point of view, this answer has cleaned the American U.S. foreign policy from any suspicion, for being the reason of the attacks.<sup>29</sup> Michael Scheuer, a former CIA Bin Laden Unit Chief 1996-99, opposes Bush's words when he revealed the terrorists' real motivations; saying that the American government is convincing its people, more like fooling them, to have them aboard the campaign against terrorism. Claiming that their enemy's motivations are "hatred for their freedoms, women in work place, liquor after work..." The truth is that they are motivated by the impact of the American foreign policy on their world particularly its supports for tyranny and its support for Israel.<sup>30</sup> If it is so Americans should have had it coming and there will be no better solution than backing off.

There is no doubt that America is one of the most influential and powerful countries in the whole world, from the moment of its foundation. In almost no time, unlike some ancient civilizations, this newly born nation manages to run the world. But with this kind of greatness, great consequences come along; if it is not because of animosity it could be because of jealousy that any country might be attacked.

It is commonly known that the beginning of the 20th century was a turning point in the American history and the whole world. A radical change that turned the world upside down took place just after the second world war when the U.S.A. received a great power, which allowed it to break out of its isolation. In other words, this country emerged from World War Two as the most powerful state ever, introducing its people to a new world under a new order, their own. However, great power must be accompanied with great responsibility; otherwise, it is going to be used for the wrong purposes, leading to an irreparable destruction. That is to say, all of a sudden, America was given "a leading role on the international stage" and entered a new era of economic and political change. William Pitt the Elder says, "unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it."<sup>31</sup> So, were Americans responsible enough, were they able to handle this titanic power?

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<sup>28</sup> President George W. Bush's Address To The Nation On 11 September 2001 (11 September 2001), available at, <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/bush911a.html>

<sup>29</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. diplomacy* (Harvard University Press, 2002- Arab Scientific Publishers, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, 2004) p. 297.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Scheuer, *Terrorism and Homeland Security* (January 4, 2010), Available at, <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/TerrorismandHomela>

<sup>31</sup> Politics, Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/politics#cite\\_note-28](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/politics#cite_note-28)

As a matter of fact, in politics, nothing is left to coincidence. At least not like Americans want the world to believe that it is their destiny to govern Earth. According to Noam Chomsky, “the people who determine American policy were well aware that the U.S. would emerge from WW2 as the first global power in history...American planners agreed that the dominance of the United States had to be maintained.”<sup>32</sup> That is to say, it is all about power and how to preserve it, keeping it for a long term, which is America foreign policy’s chief aim.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, America became the world’s only superpower, a world leader, who had total control over everything. From that moment, the U.S. is running the show and it is such a puppet show. Since then America’s chief goals is to maintain its position and do whatever it takes to be at the top, destroying any threat for its plan. To strengthen their international position, Americans concentrated on one of the most tactical places and the most riches ever that is the Muslim World in general, but the Middle East in particular whose strategic location and natural resources are considered as a fuel for the development of the western world and an opportunity to control international markets.

This present work is a critical analytical study of U.S. policy that is used in the War on Terrorism. Despite of the risks of failure and not getting the audience’s attention because this matter has already been dealt with too many times, speaking of U.S. foreign policy; but the way America carries out this war has always been a controversial topic. America has been universally accused of not applying all the standards and principles that have been agreed upon during the War on all the countries of the world; especially on its allies, and of bias against the Islamic Nations. Being at the top of the world, “The United States stands now as the single power that claims to be global prosecutor, judge, jury, and executioner at the same time; it defines the global economic system, the terrorist, and the ally. It also decides guilt and innocence of all and carries out decisions to punish and reward...”<sup>33</sup> since then, the Muslim World has been exposed to a flow of different wars and campaigns against individuals, terrorist groups and countries. But it is the Iraq War that has bared the United States from that angelic image and exposed its lies to the world.

The reason of introducing such a topic is to exemplify how the word “duplicity” is embodied in the activities and actions of America’s foreign policy. Indeed, this country has

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<sup>32</sup> Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam really Wants*, (The United States of America, 1993), p. 656.

<sup>33</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

always been famous of saying something and doing something else. American policy makers are practicing a double-faced strategy; the loving-hating you procedure is most known and practiced in this part of the world. Actually, America is well known for being selective in its actions toward the whole world but the Muslim one; in particular, has always witnessed the hypocrisy of the U.S. and tasted its betrayal, mainly since 1945 when it topped the list of its priorities with respect to its national interests.

America has always been interested in this quarter of the globe trying to control it and keeps on interfering in its internal affairs. But with the loss of a well-grounded alibi, a powerful one as Communism, America's interference has been unjustified as well as inconvenient. The thing that might blow its cover which could destroy its reputation for being a model of goodness and charity, the torch that will light up the darkest moment of the poor and the repressed. Somehow the ninth-eleventh attacks accomplished overnight what U.S. foreign policy makers could not achieve in years of efforts and the war that broke out in the beginning of the twentieth-first century is showing the same symptoms of the previous century latest war, named "the Cold War". In a way, terrorism that was embodied in Communism has resurrected and incarnated into Islamism<sup>34</sup>. As a result, America has found for itself a competent enemy that provides it with a free access to the whole world and with a valid passport to the Muslim one in particular.

This thesis is built on the idea that the United States is using this war, just like the one against Communism to justify its interference in other countries' business. Moreover, the War on Terrorism, as it is recognized by a lot of Muslims, is nothing more than an ideal that has nothing to do with fighting terrorism as has to do with combating Islamism. It is nothing more than a camouflage for the Muslim world sabotage, a political tool to reach its purpose. As a researcher, I objectively announce that I will be no one's advocate and modestly confess that this work is owed to the perspectives and views of different writers which is a pure reflection to their own visions and analysis. I do not have a specific role to play aside from being a truth seeker. Above all, I would like to feed my curiosity and to have an answer to my question, one of the many, actually. Is it really true what America has been accused of? Accordingly, this present work will examine the credibility of the last statement by providing a study of U.S. foreign policy that is conducted towards the Muslim World, in general, but Iraq in particular; both before and after the events of the eleventh of September.

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<sup>34</sup> Islamism is a popular reform movement advocating the reordering of government and society in accordance with laws prescribed by Islam. Available at, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/islamism>

Through the course of this dissertation, we will try to tackle America's war on terror from different standpoints to unmask American decision makers' real intentions and to reveal the real reason based on which Iraq was attacked. First of all, is the American invasion on the capital of Islam "Iraq" an act of war against the religion itself? Secondly, is it to control the Mesopotamian golden wells? Is it just part of the expansion of the American empire, or there is a whole other story behind this emphasis on Iraq and the Muslim World, in general?

For that reason, this present work, apart from the introduction and the conclusion, will be divided into three different chapters that will examine three different points. The first chapter will provide an analytic study of U.S. War on Terrorism and to study the opportunities that this war has presented to American planners. The second part of this dissertation will study Iraqi-U.S. relations to have a general idea of the importance of this area to America; whereas, the last chapter will analyze if it is a war for only oil or something else. I do not promise to answer all these questions but I hope at the end of this work I will approach the truth and reach a satisfactory conclusion even if it is not similar to all of us.

# Chapter one

## An Analytic Study of America's War on Terrorism

Since the day it has been crowned as the world leader, the United States of America has taken upon itself a huge responsibility of its own choice to rebuild the world and save it from self destruction. However, the methods that America has chosen to handle global issues have gained the country criticism more than praise and more enemies than allies. Long it has been criticized for not being genuine towards the rest of the world, all of which raises a huge animosity against it. Thus, the ninth-eleventh attacks, as it has been generally recognized, are nothing but a reaction to US foreign policy.

These attacks have been widely identified as the most horrific events in the U.S. history after the Pearl Harbor attacks. If anything both of the incidents have proved is the vulnerability of the American National Security, destroying the idea that the United States is untouchable and any sense of security Americans used to have.

The attacks have been immediately defined as an act of war against the civilized world, thus everyone is concerned to fight the evil that is threatening freedom and peace. In Kofi A. Annan's words, "this was an attack on all humanity, and all humanity has a stake in defeating the forces behind it"<sup>35</sup>. Since then, all of the United States and its allies have join forces for one purpose that is to put an end to terrorism. From an American standpoint the "...goal will be reached when Americans and other civilized people around the world can lead their lives free of fear from terrorist attacks."<sup>36</sup>

From the moment America has opened up to the world, breaking out of a long period of isolation, US foreign policy makers set off in a grand mission for the world's purification; first, from German Nazism then from Communism. Nowadays, the United States is struggling

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<sup>35</sup> Kofi A. Annan, Fighting Terrorism on a Global Front, September 21, 2001, available at, <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/09/21/opinion/fighting-terrorism-on-a-global-front.html>

<sup>36</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (White House Documents and Publications, February 2003), p.1.

with atypical opponent that has been named “Terrorism”; one of the last adversaries that America has been engaged with in a war, since the Cold War, internationally speaking. However, the main idea to be tackled in the first chapter is that America’s War on Terrorism; just like the one against Nazism or Communism, is nothing but a cover up for the continuity of U.S. imperialism and the protection of its national interests. And, thus, the idea that the 9/11 has changed everything based on which America had to act, at a global stage, in response to such threats is totally deceptive; therefore, for better understanding of the post 9/11 U.S. actions, a study of U.S. foreign policy is required both before and after the attacks of September the eleventh.

### **I. Definition of U.S. Imperialism:**

Based on Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, Imperialism is generally defined as the compulsory expansion of a country over areas beyond that country’s borders. Sometimes, it is recognized as the impact of a nation abroad; other times, it is seen as an overseas economical exploitation. But overall, “the essential element is that one society must in some way impose itself upon another in a continuing unequal relationship.”<sup>37</sup> In case of American imperialism these ways were determined by security, economy, racial classification, and other determinants.<sup>38</sup>

In their early days, Americans concentrated on expansion that involved the extension of a society over less or none peopled areas but not taking over other societies and destroying them. However, “Americans’ constant assertions that they were peopling an empty continent contained the seeds of hypocrisy.” The result of their early expansions and settlements was the destruction of existed societies marked by the death of millions of Native Americans. Despite of the similarities between expansionist and imperialist America, in the beginning, expansion and territories annexation were not defined as imperialism. The general idea is that “American expansionism dated from the beginning of the national experience, while its evolution into true imperialism occurred only in the later nineteenth century.” But, in fact, there is no difference between these two but in vocabulary. Even at that early stage, “There were, of course, common features in the earlier expansion and later imperialism of the United States. Chief among these was a strong sense of national mission and special destiny, a

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<sup>37</sup> Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, VOL.2: E-N, p. 217.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid*, VOL.1: A-D, p. 49.

general confidence in the unique superiority of American institutions, a belief in the inequality of races and peoples, and the very habit of expansion itself.”<sup>39</sup>

To justify U.S. imperialism, the promoters of expansionism focused on three points to get control over overseas populated areas. The first one is for the sake of security, claiming that it is the only effective way for a nation to protect itself from external threats; Native Americans are believed to be the first ones who have been victims of the continental spanning in the name of security. Moreover, “security was also the rationale for a ring of far-flung military bases and later, of radar stations beyond the country’s borders.”<sup>40</sup> The second one was for the promotion of American values of liberty and democracy to the less fortunate people and to civilize the world. The third point is the racist view justification, suggesting that the non-white races are inferior to them thus they “had to be confined, conquered or at least dominated.” All of which have been achieved through “war, purchase or negotiation”. U.S. foreign policy makers have carried out their expansionism plans “both formally (through colonization, annexation and military occupation) and informally (through military threats, economic domination and political subversion)”<sup>41</sup>

From another perspective, since the Puritan days, the U.S. expansionism ideas have been reinforced through the belief of exceptionalism.<sup>42</sup> Although, the analysis of U.S. foreign policy from this standpoint is not well taken from scholars and it is generally neglected in this area of studies. However, the belief in “American exceptionalism” had and always will have a huge impact on shaping U.S. foreign policy.<sup>43</sup> That is to say, it is determined by the fundamental beliefs that American originated about themselves and the whole world.<sup>44</sup> Meaning, despite of other solid determinants such as, the protection of U.S. territories, the opening of international markets, or the private goals of its policy makers, yet the dominance of the rhetorical belief have been proved and acknowledged to be one of the most essential contributions to the underlying structure of the American politics, providing its policymakers both of the exact justification to deal with certain issues and the explanatory framework for the public to understand these matters.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, VOL.2: E-N, p. 217.

<sup>40</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, *American Civilization: An Introduction*, (Great Britain: Rutledge, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 2005), p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>42</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, Vol 2: E-N, p. 475.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p. 63.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, p. 66.

American exceptionalism is basically driven by two mainstreams that have always been active in America's international relations. According to Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, the first one is the exemplary stream, as mirrored in images such as the "city upon a hill", in which America sees itself as a role model, setting an example to the rest of the world to follow. Whereas, the second one has strongly overshadowing the former, represent the U.S.A. as a missionary nation, reflecting ideas of "imperialism", "internationalism", and "the leader of the free world".<sup>46</sup> According to the first strand, America sees itself as an extraordinary country that outshined all other nations because of its divinely ideals, based on which global reformation have been set up for the "betterment of humankind".<sup>47</sup> However, the missionaries believe that people everywhere want to Americanize with the exception of a small category who does not realize that yet. Consequently, Americans attempts of imposing their style of life on others; many of whom highly valued other traditions but the American ones, is doomed to fail.<sup>48</sup>

The belief of Americans in their uniqueness and that of their country; "the site of the terrestrial working-out of the will of God," based on which the extension of American territories have been justified, fuel their eager to spread God's words and fulfill its will on earth for the benefits of humanity.<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, Americans have always claimed to be the savior of humanity and the protector of its integrity; the saints of the west hemisphere. They literally believed that there is no one like them out there, and that they are the chosen one. Somehow, they adopted the puritan's ideals and principles, but instead of purifying the Church of England they wanted to purify the whole world. Unlike the puritans, American leaders interpreted John Winthrop's words differently, when he spoke, in 1630, of "a city on a hill that the eyes of all people are upon."<sup>50</sup> Roland Reagan, for instance, during the Cold War, felt that America had a duty to be "the shining city on the hill." In attempt to set an example to the rest of the world of what a good and blessed country should be, not only to England. In 1974, he declared, "I have always believed that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans

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<sup>46</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, Vol 2: E-N, p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 64.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 475.

<sup>50</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 159.



to be sought out of those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage.”<sup>51</sup>

But overall, the uniqueness of America that is trying to convey through its overseas relations does not lie on the distinctiveness of the country itself or its people’s self-idealistic views, because what has been regarded to be pure American “freedom, equality, and justice” is universally shared; actually, it is birth-righted to all people with no exception.<sup>52</sup> The only thing unique about the American foreign policy, says Chomsky, is how its politicians try to interpret everything religiously; accordingly, comparing to other countries, the U.S.A. is without a doubt matchless. The latter also argues, quoting Reinhold Niebuhr, “no nation or individual, even the most righteous, is good enough to fulfill God's purposes in history’, not even the United States.”<sup>53</sup>

In fact, Americans have overly valued their history, traditions, and principles; supposedly, the backbone of their exceptional nation; however, claiming being one of the kind is totally unarguable, because in a way or another, there are no two countries founded on the same basics.<sup>54</sup> “If it just means unique,” states Walter A. McDougall, “then the claim is unexceptional because no two countries are exactly alike.” The latter also declares while revealing the truth about “American Exceptionalism” saying,

If it means that the U.S.A. was exceptionally virtuous given its precocious dedication to civil and religious liberty, equality, justice, prosperity, social mobility, and peace and harmony with all nations, then ipso facto the U.S.A. is exceptionally vicious for falling so short of those ideals ... if American Exceptionalism means that its power, values, and “indispensable” status render the United States exempt from the rules of behavior it makes and enforces on other nations, then enemies, neutrals, and allies alike are sure to push back. For these reasons “exceptionalism” is more trouble and probably even more danger than it’s worth: it either means nothing at all or altogether too much.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> George Clack, *Outline of U.S. History* (U.S. department of State, 2005), p. 306.

<sup>52</sup> *Encyclopedia of US foreign policy*, VOL: 2, E-N, p. 65.

<sup>53</sup> Noam Chomsky. *Toward a New Cold War: U.S. foreign policy from Vietnam to Reagan*. (New York, NY/ The New Press-1982) Chapter Two, (pp.93-123) p. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-edged sword* (The United States of America: Norton & Company, 1996), p. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Walter A. McDougall, *American Exceptionalism ... exposed*, October, 2012, available at, <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2012/10/american-exceptionalism-exposed>

From Martin Lipset point of view, “those who know only one country know no country,” he asserts, “it is impossible to understand a country without seeing how it differs from others.” He views the American exceptionalism differently, as a “double-edged sword,” because being exceptional does not necessarily imply a good thing, it could be about the bad aspects of the nation, as well; “we are the worst as well as the best, depending on which quality is being addressed,” argues Lipset. In other words, America is simply different, not exceptional or superior, but different in terms of quality.<sup>56</sup> If it is unique at all, its distinctiveness is portrayed in its higher “crime rates, its lowest level of voting participation,”<sup>57</sup> or “the higher numbers of divorce and single-parents families.”<sup>58</sup> Lipset’s words can relate to Enver Masud’s, concerning the American ideals, saying, “U.S. foreign affairs offer a lesson in American values, but these may not be the values you want to teach your children.”<sup>59</sup> Having said that; definitely, it is not right for America to stand as a model for godly ideals and values and if it is so, it is so overrated. But overall, the tricky thing about these rhetorical beliefs is not about its perfection; because, “...Americans think of themselves as exceptional... not necessarily in what they are but in what they could be. For this reason the sense of exceptionalism can never die, no matter how unexceptional the nation may appear in reality.”<sup>60</sup>

In general, “Expansion and empire building were concerns for American leaders as soon as national independence became a reality, and issues of growth and hegemony grew more important into the first half of the nineteenth century.”<sup>61</sup> Both of which, based on Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, “...would remain a priority in U.S. foreign policy.”<sup>62</sup>

## **II. A Theoretical Study of U.S. Foreign Policy:**

explaining or understanding U.S. foreign policy is not an easy thing to do, partly because of the diversity of the aspects that shapes the foreign policy itself which make it difficult for researchers to determine the reasons that has been taken into consideration for a certain

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<sup>56</sup> Seymour Martin lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 21.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, p. 49.

<sup>59</sup> Enver Masud, *Values You May Not Want to Teach Children*, September 6, 1996, the War on Islam (The United States of America: The Wisdom Fund, 2000-2010), p. 40.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, p. 65.

<sup>61</sup> Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, VOL: 1, A-D, p. 50.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, p. 52.

policy. So, the problematic matter for any foreign policy analysts is what are the exact features to be studied in order to find a satisfactory explanation of the external actions of America? Should those analysts put the emphasis on the personality of a particular president and its entourage or they should focus on the so-called external threats confronting the U.S.A., or it will be easier if they concentrate on America as a country and have a deeper look on the standards and principles that the U.S. is trying to promote through its overseas relations.<sup>63</sup> Basically, “U.S. foreign policy is driven by a variety of causal factors including strategic, economic, political, and bureaucratic interests; international and domestic pressures; the personalities and agendas of policymakers; and the actions of other nations.”<sup>64</sup> Therefore, for the sake of the present work clarity, to avoid any confusion, we are concerned with the factors that have shaped the procedures taken after the ninth-eleventh events. So, what are exactly the reasons that have pushed U.S. decision makers to react globally in their war against terrorism instead of focusing on and empowering their national security measures?

The ninth-eleventh of 2001 did not determine the American actions nor gave any excuse for its policy makers to react aggressively at any outer threat. For that reason, according to Magid Shihade, the idea that these attacks stand as a turning point in the course of U.S. politics is not true. And to understand the policies that have been taken after the 9/11, it is better to be studied from a historical perspective because these policies are nothing but a continuation of old ones whose goal is to change the world according to America’s interests. This is the basic elements of U.S. foreign policy and it is not up to any administration to make a change; all of them have to submit to these rules based on which the nation has been founded.

Behavior alteration of those with whom the U.S. engages itself with has been its mode of politics since its inception. This strategy has been built around three tactics; inducement, threat of use of force, or the use of force when everything else fails. The strategy was first used with Native Americans and later with everyone else... developing into an imperialist force that has been looking for plunder wherever it can be found around the globe.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Brian Schmidt, *Theories of US foreign policy: US foreign policy*, (Oxford University Press, edited by Michael Cox & Doug Stokes), p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> *Encyclopedia of US foreign policy*, VOL 2, E-N, p. 63.

<sup>65</sup> Magid Shihade, “War on Terror, or Interests and Ideology? Reframing U.S. Foreign Policy Before and After 9/11”, *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* VOL 1, No 3 (2009), 883-891, Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) (Lahore, Pakistan), p. 883-884. P. 1.

Having said that, Americans, commoners and intellectuals, still have the idea that their foreign affairs is not interest-oriented, and still sponsoring and supporting their government's overseas campaigns for the betterment of mankind and rebuilding the world based on American ideals;<sup>66</sup> the same country that encourages success at whatever cost.<sup>67</sup>

For more clarification concerning America's external actions, a theoretical study is required. In this respect, a set of theories have been developed; in order to facilitate the process of analyzing international relations. Therefore, there are some assumptions that put the emphasis on the impact of the global factors on foreign policy; others focus on the domestic ones instead while others try to combine both of them for better understanding. For that reason, theories are needed so researchers can easily tell what to focus on and what to ignore because they are the guidance of the international system. Yet, still confusing to tell on which actor to concentrate in order to study the post 9/11 U.S. politics; internal or external factors? Many analysts are still insisting on the importance of the domestic characters of the nation in guiding external actions.<sup>68</sup>

According to Stephan Walt, "The study of international affairs is best understood as continuing competition between the realist, liberal, and radical traditions..."<sup>69</sup> to some other analysts, Realism and Liberalism are the most common theories to study world affairs.<sup>70</sup> In the case of America's foreign politics, it is mostly studied as a struggle between realist and idealist traditions, and this has represented a dualistic image of the United States politics.

#### **a. America amid Moralism and Pragmatism:**

It is generally agreed that there is nothing unusual about the foreign policy of the United States of America; actually, it is quite similar to that of all nations. It is the product of combining idealistic traditions with realistic ones; in other words, "it has always resulted from

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<sup>66</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>67</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>68</sup> Brian Schmidt, op. cit., p. 3-4.

<sup>69</sup> Stephan M. Walt, International relations: One World, many theories, Foreign policy, Washington, spring 1998 (Monday, July 24, 2000), p. 1. <http://ic.ucsc.edu/~rlipsch/pol1160A/Walt.1998.pdf>

<sup>70</sup> Theories of International relations, available at, <http://www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/political-science/international-politics/section2.rhtml>

a mixture of self-interest and the attempt to act according to commonly hold ideals.”<sup>71</sup> Fawaz A. Gergez has put it differently, declaring that, “American foreign policy has oscillated between Realpolitik and moralism.” Consequently, it should be studied based on both “realism-pragmatism and idealism-legalism”<sup>72</sup>; both of them are contradictory in approaching the state-run goals overseas. “Realists and idealists disagreed fundamentally on the primary determinants of state behavior in international politics.” From a realistic point of view, policies are set up by anticipating the chances of failure or success.<sup>73</sup> Realists build these strategies in terms of national interests, which are very much related to national security.<sup>74</sup> From an idealistic point of view, Goals are defined morally, assuming that they are less interest-oriented;<sup>75</sup> reflecting America’s highest values such as equality and liberty.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, based on which approach U.S. foreign policy is conducted? And which one dominates the most or is it a mutual cooperation?

### **1. Idealistic America:**

Generally speaking, the school of idealism is a set of rules and principles that are originally derived from the liberalism theory, which emerged in the seventy’s in contrast to realism, denying the use of military power in the pursuit of national interests and emphasizing on the economic one, mutual corporation and to pursuit “moral goals” instead. As a result, “Idealists believe that behavior considered immoral on an interpersonal level is also immoral in foreign policy,” condemning, the use of power, deception and unethical actions in world affairs.<sup>77</sup> American policy makers have generalized a Utopian image of both their domestic and foreign policy, denying all those accusations of “opportunism and impositions” related to it. They claim that they look after the benevolence not only of Americans but that of humanity as a whole. Loaded with those divinely refining ideas, U.S. politicians have gained a priest image. According to Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, “idealists viewed the international system, with its accoutrements of conflict and war, as not only deeply flawed but

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<sup>71</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>72</sup> Fawaz A. Gergez, *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests*, (The United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL: 3, O-W, p. 311.

<sup>74</sup> Fawaz A. Gergez, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy VOL: 3, O-W, p. 311.

<sup>76</sup> Fawaz A. Gergez, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Theories of International relations, available at, <http://www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/political-science/international-politics/section2.rhtml>

also capable of melioration, if not total cure.” They have optimistically evaluated the world as “not hopelessly corrupt, but could, through proper leadership and motivation,” that of the United States of course, “advance morally and politically.” Because of their overly esteemed ideals, Americans have thought no one would be better than them to take the lead, and build a better future founded on their values.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, from Lipset point of view, these moralistic views are reflected in all America and in its relations with other nations. On the other hand, blinded with the illusion of being the best, Americans are unable to tell the difference between right and wrong. In his book “American Exceptionalism”, Lipset avers that,

Protestant-inspired Moralism not only has affected opposition to war, it has determined the American style in foreign relations generally, including the ways we get to war. Support for war is as moralistic as resistance to it. To endorse a war and call on people to kill others and die for the country, Americans must define their role in a conflict as being on God’s side against Satan.<sup>79</sup>

## **2. Realistic America:**

In general, the realist doctrine is driven by exterior elements. This one is best understood in relation to the following points;

- The most important and reliable form of power is military power.
- A state’s primary interest is self-preservation.
- Moral behavior is very risky because it can undermine a state’s ability to protect itself.
- There is no overarching power that can enforce global rules or punish bad behavior.
- International organizations and law have no power or force; they exist only as long as states accept them.<sup>80</sup>

Still charged with the rules that have dominated the 17<sup>th</sup> c and the 18<sup>th</sup> c, American decision makers knew wars were unavoidable and “the only means available for changing unwanted political or territorial conditions.” For that reason, to defend their national security and protect their overseas interests, they have taken wars for granted rather than optional. Eventually, they have naturally approved the use of power in their international relations with

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<sup>78</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL: 3, O-W, p. 311-312.

<sup>79</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>80</sup> Theories of International relations, available at, <http://www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/political-science/international-politics/section2.rhtml>

full dependence on a strong military power, and their best allies.<sup>81</sup> The United States of America has constantly demonstrated its thirst for supremacy and its willingness to preserve it. Advantageous of unbeatable superiority, the U.S.A. has always had the last call in world's affairs; even though, "it has called repeatedly for greater reliance on multilateralism and a larger role for international institutions, but has treated agencies such as the United Nations<sup>82</sup> and the World Trade Organization<sup>83</sup> with disdain whenever their actions did not conform to U.S. interests."<sup>84</sup> So unlike it has been deliberated among the advocates of U.S. foreign policy, this country has an interest based foreign policy, which means that America's last concerns is to realize the promises and hopes that guarantee people of it.

### 3. The domination of realism:

Despite of the difficulty for intellectuals and some politicians to admit the supremacy of realism in world politics, and in the American one in particular, yet this theory continues to be the most convincing one to comprehend global relations.<sup>85</sup> Thus the idealistic image of America that is trying to promote worldwide is nothing but a camouflage to cover its real intention; that is, generally speaking, ruling the world. Chomsky argues that "... it is just mystification to speak of the nation, with its national purpose, as an agent in world affairs."<sup>86</sup> Indeed, the U.S. has constantly used, over the past decade, a double-faced strategy, using American idealistic values, promotion of democracy, humanitarian missions and the maintaining of peace and stability, as a mere disguise to ensure its national goals, which has been directly related to the balance of power in the world.<sup>87</sup> In the same context, Gergez reveals that, "... democratic ideals were sacrificed at the altar of Realpolitik calculations of self-interest. Interventionist policies have also been justified in terms of making the world

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<sup>81</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL 3: O-W, p. 311.

<sup>82</sup> The **United Nations (UN)** is an intergovernmental organization established on 24 October 1945 to promote international co-operation. A replacement for the ineffective League of Nations, the organization was created following the Second World War to prevent another such conflict. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_Nations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations)

<sup>83</sup> The World Trade Organization (WTO) (1-1-1995) is an organization that intends to supervise and liberalize international trade. The organization deals with regulation of trade between participating countries; it provides a framework for negotiating and formalizing trade agreements, and a dispute resolution process aimed at enforcing participant's adherence to WTO agreements, which are signed by representatives of member governments and ratified by their parliaments. Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_Trade\\_Organization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Trade_Organization)

<sup>84</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Noam Chomsky, Toward a new Cold War: U.S. foreign policy from Vietnam to Reagan. Op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>87</sup> Fawaz A. Gergez, op. cit., p. 5.

“safe for democracy.”<sup>88</sup> According to Chomsky, James Chace has counted up to 159 times the U.S has intervened military abroad, before the Second World War; calculations are in constant rise since 1945.<sup>89</sup> But overall, despite of all the vagueness and uncertainties that is circulating about the American foreign policy, in the past decades, but most Americans still strongly believe in it and support the spread of their so-called moralistic values into a corrupted world. For that reason, Chomsky asserts that,

.... military intervention will continue.... It is this threat, whether called "Communist" or something else, that the United States government will bend every effort to contain and destroy, by force if need be, by more delicate means if they suffice, while the intelligentsia divert us with tales about our selfless devotion to principle and moral idealism.<sup>90</sup>

Not sure if this is some sort of a denial stage that the American government is going through or something else, even after having its brutality recorded in world's history and its excessiveness use of power, claims from the Western side still insists that it is the ninth-eleventh attacks that have triggered out U.S. use of hard power; most likely considered to be the perfect alibi for their aggressiveness. These facts have been asserted by many scholars and historians for being the impetus that obliged the United States to make a shift from soft to hard power. According to some of them, the history of U.S. politics is viewed as follow;

In the beginning of its history the U.S.A., then a weak and inconsequential actor on the world stage emphasized soft power to the near exclusion of other means of handling international affairs. Today the nation is the world's only super power, and in the view of some commentators, it too seldom uses soft power especially since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, and relies too frequently or hastily instead on 'hard power'.<sup>91</sup>

However, in reality, the American politics has never been related to softness, after all it will always be remembered as the country that have been founded over millions of Native Americans' corpses and as the country that blossomed out of a revolution. That is why the following part of this chapter will study America's international relation before and after the eleventh of September events.

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

<sup>89</sup>Noam Chomsky, *Toward a new Cold War: U.S. foreign policy from Vietnam to Reagan*, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 17.

<sup>91</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 158.



### **III. U.S. Foreign Policy Prior the 9/11:**

The reason of choosing the post World War Two as a starting point to study U.S. foreign policy is that because of the radical changes that have been imposed on the world, in terms of international order, marked by demise of the old world, which is represented by the fall of old empires as the British one; for instance, and the rise of new ones as the United States of America along with the Soviet Union. in reality, although, “relations between the United States and other countries obviously go back to the origins of American history, but World War II was a real watershed.”<sup>92</sup>

#### **a- U.S. Foreign Policy post WW2: “The Illusion of a Threat”**

It has been generally deliberated among a respected majority of historians and scholars as Robert Art and Seyom Brown that the United States of America, unlike most of its developed adversaries, survived both World Wars with a profit, exemplified with a rich economy and strong military. In other words, it is the only country that came out as a winner, the only power who benefited from these wars and did not cost it unbearable losses as the European countries. This remarkable survival is mainly due to; geographically speaking, the far distance, marked by the Atlantic Ocean, separating America from the clash of powers in the other continent and thus protecting its territories, and it is also owed to its late involvement in world’s affairs and the European dispute.<sup>93</sup> However, this does not necessarily imply that the country was weak or poor before the wars, on the contrary, Chomsky states that, “... even before war, the US had been by far the leading industrial nation in the world.”<sup>94</sup> In such situation, it was not unexpected from the U.S. to step in the international scene for the world’s rehabilitations. Nevertheless, the latter also argues that, “it is uncontroversial that this is exactly what happened, though the question "What were the guiding principles?" is indeed controversial.”<sup>95</sup>

The post war era witnessed the spread of different idealistic slogans and conceptions, spreading the idea of creating a better world. Democracy along with freedom, stability, and

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<sup>92</sup> Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam really Wants*, op. cit., p. 656.

<sup>93</sup> Robert J. Art-Seyom brown, *U.S. Foreign Policy: The Search for a New Role (The United States of America: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993)*

<sup>94</sup> Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam really Wants*, op. cit., p. 656.

<sup>95</sup> Noam Chomsky. *Toward a new Cold War: U.S. foreign policy from Vietnam to Reagan*. Op. cit., p. 6.

protecting human rights, this is what America offered the world, and this is exactly what U.S. presidents have been promoting for a long time. These conceptions took place in international meetings, and mainly deliberated among U.S. foreign policy makers and their allies. Being the world's super power, America had to react quickly in order to avoid post WW1 era's mistakes, when it isolated itself from the world's foreign affairs, leading to the rise of dictatorships in Europe and elsewhere which paved the way for WW2. This is why Americans took the lead to spread their own conceptions of liberty and equality for all people and hoped for political and economical stability to the rest of the world. U.S. president Harry Truman, 1945, announced, "we must build a new world, a far better world, one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected."<sup>96</sup>

Based on the first part of this chapter, we have reached a conclusion that America has an interest based foreign policy, which means that U.S. last concerns is to realize the promises and guarantees that have taken it upon itself; especially, if these ideals are going to hamper U.S. plans. Actually, America has promised peoples all over the world with a peaceful good life, a paradise on earth. However, based on history records, this world witnessed some of the devastating, bloodiest periods, and others still to come. Therefore, the idea of creating heaven around these circumstances is in itself absurd. Taking into account U.S. historical background, its behavior towards other countries and its own people in particular; one must question, what kind of worlds America is trying to build, for whom, and at whose expense?

From another perspective, these "idealistic slogans" are nothing but a public pacifier, confirms Chomsky. It has been used to calm the voices suspecting the American actions and questioning its real intentions. Moreover, Chomsky quoted George Kennan's statement from a document the latter wrote in 1948, noting that:

....we have about 50% of the world's wealth, but only 6.3% of its population.... In this situation, we cannot fail to be the object of envy and resentment. Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity....To do so, we will have to dispense with all sentimentality and daydreaming; and our attention will have to be concentrated everywhere on our immediate national objectives....We should cease to talk about vague and....unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight

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<sup>96</sup> George Clack, Outline of U.S. History, (U.S. Department of State. Bureau of International Information Programs, <http://usinfo.state.gov/2005>), p. 258.

power concepts. The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better.<sup>97</sup>

Chomsky; on the other hand, insisted on the secrecy of this document, saying that those jingling moralistic statement and ethical speeches are needed to “pacify the public”, so that American planners can carry on their plan.

Basically, a foreign policy is for the maintenance of a country’s foreign affairs for the sake of its national goals, and that of the US is no different. Yet this one in particular has always been distinguished for being different in terms of objectives. Since the foundation days, the American one has been set for higher goals, a futuristic plan that had to be maintained; surprisingly, its aims have been more reachable rather than hampered, after the Second World War. Moreover, while the whole world was constantly changing, “... In the post-World War Two era, U.S. objectives have demonstrated more continuity than change.” During this era, American foreign policy makers kept themselves busy; playing different roles at different stages from the containing of communism and strengthening their international relations, to the promotion of democracy and defending human rights.<sup>98</sup>

No matter how many times, US policy planners try to relate their supremacy to God’s will; this interpretation has always faced rejection and it is not well taken among intellectuals. Chomsky; for instance, in his book “What Uncle Sam really Wants”, confirms that the American power has nothing to do with chance or destiny, it is more like a studied plan, declaring that;

... The people who determine American policy were well aware that the US would emerge from WW2 as the first global power in history, and during and after the war they were carefully planning how to shape the post war... American planners... agreed that the dominance of the United States had to be maintained. But there were a spectrum of opinion about how to do it.<sup>99</sup>

It is the “how to do it?” that has caused a lot of skepticism and controversy about U.S. foreign policy. In order to preserve their position, American policy makers enlarge their aria of interests that has literally included the whole world, consisting of “...the Western Hemisphere, Western Europe, the Far East, the former British Empire, the incomparable energy resources of the Middle East, the rest of the Third World...” Each specific area is

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<sup>97</sup> Noam Chomsky, What Uncle Sam really Wants, op. cit., p. 658.

<sup>98</sup> Robert J Art-Seyom Brown, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>99</sup> Noam Chomsky, What Uncle Sam really Wants, op. cit., p. 656.

meant for a specific purpose but all of which have to be exploited to meet with the American needs.<sup>100</sup> America has literally picked up where the Nazi Germany has left off, its plans can be understood as nothing but an empire building.<sup>101</sup> It has been frankly argued among U.S. foreign policy makers; so their country can secure its interests abroad, some strategic regions should be integrated into their plan to meet with their ambition. Consequently, by replacing the old empires of France and Britain, which had literally ruled the world before the World Wars, U.S. foreign policy makers manage to take over their old colonies and territories, concentrating on the Middle East whose natural richness brought more power to America.<sup>102</sup> According to Encyclopedia of American foreign policy;

...the worldwide distribution of U.S. military bases, security agreements, investments, multinational corporations, foreign-aid programs, and open and undercover political activities gave rise to the charge that American imperialism had not only revived but had expanded over enormous areas...American foreign policy sought to impose everywhere the conditions necessary for the penetration of American exports and enterprise, while keeping underdeveloped nations in a state of perpetual economic colonialism. From this point of view, the term “imperialism” applied to virtually every overseas activity of the United States...<sup>103</sup>

But overall, what does make the United States of America better or different from the former empires? In fact, they do not differ that much, it is the same ship with a different captain. The dilemma that confronted U.S. policy makers was how to keep the show going; having full control over the entire globe without jeopardizing their Idealistic reputation. Therefore, in order to win the silence of the international community over their global actions, American planners have to look for a convincing alibi. Chomsky has fearlessly revealed that it was argued that the U.S. “must cultivate a mental view toward world settlement after this war which will enable us to impose our own terms ...”<sup>104</sup> and what could be better than the U.S.S.R. to play the Ogre role that is threatening world peace and stability.

It is commonly known that the Soviet Union, which was among the parties that had been fully involved in the Second World War; despite of its frightful losses, had enjoyed a great prestige and power after the war. Although there is nothing wrong in being powerful, but in international politics, it means instability and competition. In other words, “In a world full of

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p. 660.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p. 664.

<sup>102</sup> Noam Chomsky. *Toward a new Cold War: U.S. foreign policy from Vietnam to Reagan*. Op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>103</sup> *Encyclopedia of American foreign policy*, VOL 2: E-N, p. 223.

<sup>104</sup> Noam Chomsky. *Toward a new Cold War: U.S. foreign policy from Vietnam to Reagan*. Op. cit., p. 7.

power vacuums,” based on Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, “this dangerously simplified bipolar balance contributed to a growing rivalry between the two superpowers...” From an American point of view, this has directly endangered their plans; all of a sudden, America had to share its power with another state, and Americans did not like this arrangement. Both of these powers wanted to run the world based on their own ideals and principles which started the struggle for supremacy. At the beginning, this rivalry has been limited to Europe; shortly, their conflict became universal.<sup>105</sup> As a result, the world entered a new era that is deemed to be one of the most important political and diplomatic conflicts of the early post war period, called the Cold War.

U.S. policy planners were certain that the Soviet Union represented a threat to their world hegemony.<sup>106</sup> Thus to protect their national interests, they had to put an end to the flow of that “dangerous heresy” that is Communism. So whoever support or follow this flow is unquestionably a Communist, which simply means the refusal to submit to America’s authority or “to complement the industrial economies of the West”. As a result, American policy makers unashamedly allowed themselves to use whatever method against those who disobeyed their will and converted to Communism, the majority of whom had been regarded as enemies of America and “traitors”.<sup>107</sup> Consequently, with the establishment of the Truman Doctrine in 1947, “the stage was set for direct American involvement in internal conflicts and wars...Containment became the cornerstone of American foreign policy throughout the Cold War.” By embracing the role of a world cop, the United States of America manages to expand legally at a large scale and protect its interests.<sup>108</sup>

But overall, according to Chomsky the Cold War was nothing but a cover up to justify the two superpowers actions and to blind an eye on their self-interested global plans. He outspokenly announces that,

The Cold War was a kind of tacit arrangement between the Soviet Union and the United States under which the US conducted its wars against the Third World and controlled its allies in Europe, while the Soviet rulers kept an iron grip on their own internal empire and their

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<sup>105</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL 2: E-N, p. 222.

<sup>106</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>107</sup> Noam Chomsky, What Uncle Sam really Wants, p. 658-659.

<sup>108</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 169-170.

satellites in Eastern Europe; each side using the other to justify repression and violence in its own domains...<sup>109</sup>

Indeed, any rational person could have crossed his minds some doubts about the Cold War; what have kept this war for almost a half of a century “cold” and what have prevented it from turning “hot”? If the Soviet Union really threatened the world stability, peace and democracy; and that of America in particular, why not destroying it instead of waging wars against other countries that supposedly fell under the Communism spell?

In fact, the U.S.S.R. was not that much of a threat for American planners to be worried about; because it was the political power “Communism” of the Soviet Union that they were concerned of, rather than military strength. Both of them wished if the other part could have just vanished but that was not an option, because it clearly meant the extinction of the both of them. Accordingly, the Cold War took place based on which the two superpowers tightened their grip on their major opponents; in this case it is their own populations.<sup>110</sup>

Therefore, as far as it concerns U.S. national objectives, it was not Communism that obstructed its plans as it has been generally portrayed nor did it threaten its national security. For American decision makers, says Chomsky, “...the primary threat to the new US-led world order was Third World nationalism . . . “nationalistic regimes” that are responsive to “popular demand for immediate improvement in the low living standards of the masses” and production for domestic needs.” Thus American policy makers’ biggest concern was to stop the ambition of these kind of regimes from reaching power and if it happened to be achieved, they have to be removed and replaced by another government of their own selection<sup>111</sup> Moreover, it has been argued that the Vietnam War appeared for the sake of this plan, in order to smash Vietnamese nationalists’ hopes and set an example to whoever tries to follow their lead. “The US government had two major roles to play. The first was to secure the far-flung domains of the Grand Area. That required a very intimidating posture, to ensure that no one interferes with this task.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam really Wants*, op. cit., p. 706.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.* p. 705.

<sup>111</sup> Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam really Wants*, op. cit., p. 665.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* p. 660.

## **b- The U.S.A. Post the Cold War: “Lost in Transition”**

Lipset have said it and many other historians and scholars have proved it; the fact that realism is the fuel not only of the United States’ foreign policy but that of all nations with no exception, so denial does not necessarily mean it is not true. The former avows that,

... Although U.S. leaders are adept at cloaking their actions in the lofty rhetoric of "world order," naked self-interest lies behind most of them. Thus, the end of the Cold War did not bring the end of power politics, and realism is likely to remain the single most useful instrument in our intellectual toolbox.<sup>113</sup>

The end of the Cold War in 1989 brought a lot of changes at a global scale, marked by the emergence of the United States as the only superpower and the fall of the Soviet Union<sup>114</sup>; the score of the war was as follow: Capitalism, one and Communism, non. Surprisingly, this end put U.S. foreign policy makers in total awe. After being in a war for forty five years, they were completely lost and overwhelmed with that amount of power; what is next for their country, and what should it be their next move?<sup>115</sup>

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States of America was committed to a clear big strategy. Americans ultimate purpose is expanding and preserving and U.S. hegemony based on an open door policy that has been established to get rid of the barriers that is preventing the circulation of goods, money, ideas, and people; in order to build an open and consistent world founded on the basics of democracy and capitalism and with America as the only vital insurance for the continuation of order and law.<sup>116</sup>

From U.S. planners’ point of view, having an open world committed to the principles of free markets is a precondition to the continuity of U.S. prosperity and its national security. According to them, this operation is for the world’s good but the road to apply it, at a global stage, has been quite bumpy. The people who shares America’s opinions has freely accepted this arrangement, others have no choice but to do so, but those who have considered America’s action as a modern way of imperialism founded on the exploitation of weaker nations have resented it and resisted the U.S. authority. On the other hand, America has

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<sup>113</sup> Seymour Martin lipset, op.cit., p. 5.

<sup>114</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL 2: E-N, p. 222.

<sup>115</sup> Robert, Brown, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>116</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy (Harvard University Press 2002, ED, Arab Scientific Publishers, Lebanon, 2004), p. 15.

proved its willingness to use military power against those who stand as an obstacle to its high expectations; trying to limit America's superiority.<sup>117</sup>

However, with the dismantlement of the Soviet Union, American policy planners' hopes have been both liberated and limited at the same time. From the first point view, U.S. interests abroad have no longer been threatened with the existence of the U.S.S.R. It has been argued that, "...The end of the Cold War liberated energies that were repressed for decades under its frigid weight."<sup>118</sup> Indeed, still have not catch its breath from the Cold War, the United States had been military engaged; for whatsoever reasons but Communism, in Panama (1989), Somalia (1992), Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1995), and Kosovo (1999), all of which cannot be compared with what happen to be identified "by far the largest overseas operation", 'the Gulf War of 1991 against Iraq', "to protect the industrial world's oil supply". As a result, America's image has been mirrored out differently; internationally speaking. From one hand, it has been recognized as the law and order applier, embodied the role of a worldwide gendarme; on the other hand, it has been seen as a "global bully".<sup>119</sup>

Though, the world hegemony has never being discussed publicly by U.S. policy makers, but it is undoubtedly America's foreign policy main goal. Despite of its constant economic growth and its great worldwide cultural influence represented by an unmatched fresh culture of pop along with the magnificent Hollywood industry; based on which anyone would have thought that the American international influence and authority have reached its peak; however, with the growing of economical competition from Japan and Germany apart from Russia and China, America's first world class was in danger. Therefore, the United States has played its wild card of military and political force, because playing soft is not one of its fortes and things as negotiating would more benefited their competitors.<sup>120</sup> For that reason,

The United States retained the globe's most powerful and expensive military establishment with expenditures larger than all of the other nations combined. Its forward presence in Europe, East Asia, and the Persian Gulf was secured by a host of garrisons, air bases, and aircraft carrier task forces. U.S. regional commanders often acted like Roman tribunes, not only leading American forces but also initiating direct diplomatic contacts with foreign governments.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid. p. 16.

<sup>118</sup> Robert J. Art, Seyom Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL 2: E-N, p. 224.

<sup>120</sup> Noam Chomsky, What Uncle Sam really wants? Op. cit., p. 702-703.

<sup>121</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL 3: O-W, p. 153.



However, based on the second point of view, it has been generally agreed that, “U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy is markedly different from its Cold War antecedents...” but it is not the structure of U.S. foreign policy that has changed, it is the global environment that has radically altered; consequently, “Old assumptions are no longer tenable, and new ones have yet to be made to replace them.”<sup>122</sup> Apparently the demise of the “evil empire” was accompanied with the disappearance of America’s ultimate shield for the justification of its international actions and military interventions.<sup>123</sup> During the Cold War U.S. policy “had always included the Soviet Union as a fundamental reference point”, based on which the American national interests have been defined.<sup>124</sup> For more than four decades, America’s primary goal was the containment of Communism based on which much of its policy have been driven toward the entire world.<sup>125</sup>

If anything those forty five years of political dispute has provided U.S. foreign policy with is the “clarity of purpose”.<sup>126</sup> Having the U.S.S.R. as a Global enemy, American policy planners’ task was a lot easier and more convincing; moreover, that era “enabled the United States to reconcile its ideology with its self interest.”<sup>127</sup> Therefore, during the post Cold War era, that clarity has expired and the international community have been hard to be muted over American actions because of a nonexistent mutual enemy.<sup>128</sup> Thus the United States set sail in a search for a new role; most likely, a new reference for its national interests. During that period of time, Americans were feeling unsecure of connecting the American national interests to humanitarian missions, promotion of democracy, or establishment of peace, sacrificing the many lives of U.S. troops for things does not concern the United States and it is not ever worth to fight over; from an American point of view,<sup>129</sup> while they should have concentrate more on domestic issues.<sup>130</sup>

After the termination of the Cold War, America was no longer needed for its services to protect the world, the excuse for the continuation of the U.S. national interests and the empowerment for its political influence. Consequently, for the future to become, American decision makers have set goals to maintain their position of being an “indispensable nation”,

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<sup>122</sup> Robert J. Art, Seyom Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>123</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL 2: E-N, p. 223.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. p. 482.

<sup>125</sup> Robert J. Art, Seyom Brown, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>129</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL: 2, E-N, p. 483.

<sup>130</sup> Robert J. Art, Seyom Brown, op. cit., p. 5.

such as the protection of the American territories, keep peace among great powers, constant development through globalization, free access to the Persian Gulf oil, the punishment of rogue states.<sup>131</sup> However, in an environment free from a “bogeyman”, named Communism, U.S. foreign policy have been hard to be freely conducted and less convincing; both internationally and nationally, because not only other nations have denied its actions but because it has been hard to get the agreement of its own people on certain policies.<sup>132</sup> For that reason, a new diversion is needed so that U.S. planners can carry on with their plans. Chomsky declares;

When a state is committed to such policies, it must somehow find a way to divert the population, to keep them from seeing what's happening around them...The standard ones are to inspire fear of terrible enemies about to overwhelm us, and awe for our grand leaders who rescue us from disaster in the nick of time. That has been the pattern right through the 1980s, requiring no little ingenuity as the standard device, the Soviet threat, became harder to take seriously. So the threat to our existence has been Qaddafi and his hordes of international terrorists, Grenada and its ominous air base...and crazed Arabs generally. Most recently it's Saddam Hussein, after he committed his sole crime (the crime of disobedience) in August 1990. It has become more necessary to recognize what has always been true: that the prime enemy is the Third World, which threatens to get "out of control."<sup>133</sup>

The end of the West-East conflict, which had prevailed throughout the Cold War, has been marked by the start of a new clash of a vertical dimension between the North and South. All in all, the look for new opponents has been U.S. policy makers' first priority, because from Chomsky's point of view, “It becomes harder to disguise the fact that the real enemy has always been ‘the poor who seek to plunder the rich’ in particular, Third World miscreants who seek to break out of the service role.”<sup>134</sup>

Therefore, immediately after the end of the cold war, American radars have been redirected toward unfriendly states and international terrorist groups.<sup>135</sup> All of Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, and Libya have been distinguished for being the most dangerous rogue states; ruled by criminals who are promoting drastic ideologies, which opposed the democratic ones. Thus being the only superpower, it was America's responsibility to tame

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid. p. 90-91.

<sup>132</sup> Robert J. Art, Seyom Brown, op. cit., p6

<sup>133</sup> Noam Chomsky, What Uncle Sam really wants? Op. cit., p. 702-703.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. p. 705.

<sup>135</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL: 3, O-W, p. 164.

these countries and put them back on the right track, which it might renovate “these miscreants into good global citizens.”<sup>136</sup>

Because of the infamous reputation of America in world affairs and its unwelcomed foreign policy, the so-called terrorism has been tailing U.S. interests everywhere; making it a regular target; from the kidnapping of its diplomats to the destruction of its diplomatic facilities overseas to attacking its homeland, for years that can be traced back to the 1960s till 2001.<sup>137</sup> Eventually, the United States has excessively put the emphasis on international terrorism, making a shift from Communism to terrorism.

#### **IV. U.S. Foreign Policy Post the 9/11:**

The commonly known conclusion concerning the ninth-eleventh events is that four hijacked American airplanes were used as missiles to attack the United States territories. In the morning of September 11, 2001, two American aircrafts; both of them were supposed to be headed to Los Angeles, landed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York, instead, one per each. The first one crashed at 8:48 a.m. then followed by the second one Eighteen minutes later. At the same day, another two American airplanes, one of them has also been scheduled to fly to Los Angeles, have chosen the western wall of the Pentagon as a runway, at 9:40 a.m. to be more exact.<sup>138</sup> Whereas, the other one which was headed to San Francisco crashed in Pennsylvania, there was a probability that the San Francisco flight was planned to hit the White House or the Capitol.<sup>139</sup> As a result, The attacks have caused a lot of damages in the financial, economical and political fields; nevertheless, all of that amount of losses, materially speaking, were not that big of deal comparing to the number of lives that were lost that day, about 3,000 people died in September the eleventh of 2001, not only Americans but from all over the world; Muslims, for instance, were counted by hundreds.<sup>140</sup> Actually, according to the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, there were people from Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Germany, India,

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid. p. 162.

<sup>137</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL: 3, O-W, p. 564-565.

<sup>138</sup> Enver Masud, Attack on America, January 1, 2002, op. cit., p. 206.

<sup>139</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, History of Terrorism, from Antiquity to Al-Qaeda (The United States of America: University of California Press, 2007), p. 413.

<sup>140</sup> Enver Masud, Attack on America, January 1, 2002, op. cit., p. 206.

Israel, Jordan, Japan, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and scores of other countries.<sup>141</sup>

#### **a- The United States War on Terrorism: “reasons and motives”**

From U.S. policy makers’ perspective the ninth-eleventh events brought a lot of changes at both national and international stages; based on which the world has been divided into two opposite conflictive blocs, opening the twentieth-first century using the same scenario of the previous century’s nightmare, called the Cold War.<sup>142</sup> Since then the American government have assured to its people that the U.S.A. is in a war and emphasized on its longevity and ugliness; making sure that, “there will be no quick or easy end to this conflict...” furthermore, American planners have announced that, “combating terrorism and securing the U.S. homeland from future attacks are our top priorities. But they will not be our only priorities.”<sup>143</sup> In the end, the whole globe has been involved in this fight, saying that it is a war of the world for civilization. As a result, peoples everywhere have been warned to make a stand and take the right choice, “it is either with us or with the terrorists,” Bush declares.<sup>144</sup>

According to them, these attacks have symbolized the beginning of a war against America, its friends, and the civilized world, in general. Therefore, serious actions have to be taken to defend the whole planet from this evilness that is threatening the basic freedoms of humankind. America’s current enemy is hard to be defined and categorized; but that has been a certainty that it has nothing to do with religion, it is a politically charged aggression committed by an outlaw groups against innocent people. This enemy is dangerous and unpredictable, which makes America’s fight against international terrorism unusual from the ones against its former enemies.<sup>145</sup>

It has been stated in the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism that, “the 11 September 2001 attacks have provoked a more formal expression of belligerency,” which signifies a free use of power whenever and wherever America feels so.<sup>146</sup> Americans have outspokenly pointed out the permanence and the globality of the anticipated war, saying

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<sup>141</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 8.

<sup>142</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, op. cit., p291

<sup>143</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 1.

<sup>144</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>145</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 1.

<sup>146</sup> Encyclopedia of American foreign policy, VOL: 3, O-W, p. 569.

“when they run, we will follow. When they hide, we will find them... The campaign ahead will be long and arduous. In this different kind of war, we cannot expect an easy or definitive end to the conflict.”<sup>147</sup> Being the only superpower, the United States has taken advantage of its powerful prestigious position and felt comfortable in using its military force. Based on Bush’s announcement, instead of waiting any further terrorist attacks, it would be more affective if they would take “ ‘pre-emptive action’, attacking an enemy as it prepared to strike, and ‘preventative action’, attacking even without evidence of an imminent enemy strike.”<sup>148</sup>

In its global war on terrorism, the U.S.A. built up a strategy to defend the American territories, all of its citizens, friends and allies; but above all, it is to create a worldwide unwelcoming atmosphere for terrorists. For the achievement of these goals, American planners concentrate on four points. The first one is to “defeat” international terrorist associations. Secondly, it is to “deny” all methods of survival provided to terrorists from state support to sponsorship. The third point is to “diminish” any circumstances that terrorists could profit from to grow bigger and stronger and illegitimizing terrorism. Finally, it is to “defend” America and Americans, along with U.S. national goals.<sup>149</sup> As a result, America will be able to destroy terrorism and rid the world of this burden. The U.S. is struggling to renovate the world on the same common basics of order, freedom, equality and human dignity that is shared by the United States and its allies; declaring that they will be “...the best antidote to the spread of terrorism. This is the world we must build today.”<sup>150</sup> America’s best bet is to recruit the international community to their side in their fight against terrorism; but in a way or another, U.S. foreign policy makers will not hesitate to act by themselves, because they have proclaimed it as their right to defend themselves.<sup>151</sup>

The war on terrorism shared the same ethical concepts; those of freedom, democracy and human rights, based on which America get involved in WW2 and the Cold War. It is the same old fight of “good versus evil” being played all over again. With only a small manipulation in words, in the Communism era, the U.S. rang the alarm for the sake of the “free world”; whereas, during terrorism, it has been for the protection the “civilized world”. Just like a magnet, America’s latest war is no different from the previous ones; it has attracted a lot of

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<sup>147</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 29-30.

<sup>148</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>149</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 11-12.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid. p. 29-30.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid. p. 2-3.

controversies and criticism that it might overpass the old ones in terms of the amount of hatred and skepticism about the American actions.

#### **b- Debates about U.S. War on Terrorism:**

There is no doubt that America's counterterrorism campaign has gathered a lot of speculations concerning the country's real intentions. One of the many questions that triggers out these theories is why now and what have taking U.S. decision makers so long to make this move? If the protection of civilization is what they seek, terrorism is as old as the ancient civilizations and countries that are supposedly part of the civilized world and America's best allies as the United Kingdom and France have constantly been confronting terrorism years before the U.S.A.,<sup>152</sup> but even that did not bring American planners together for the war decision.

if the safety of the United States of America and its overseas interests are the purpose of this operation; in that case, this action should have taken place years before the twentieth-first century terrorist acts because the "American history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was punctuated by terrorism,"<sup>153</sup> and even before that century (see appendix one). According to David B. Muhlhausen and Jena Baker McNeill's report, the number of the international terrorist attacks against America had been in constant growth since the late of the sixties, reaching its peak in 1991 to 150 terrorist attacks (see chart n°1). So, unlike it had been generally accepted back in the eighty's and the ninety's and even post the ninth-eleventh incidents, though not as deadliest as the one of 2001, yet "the United States was not completely spared the phenomenon of terrorism in the course of its history."<sup>154</sup>

However, despite of the increasing number of attacks on the American soil and its interests abroad; unexpectedly, Americans did not show that much of concern as it should be. The reason might be because the previous assaults did not have a strong impact on their political and social life;<sup>155</sup> therefore, it has been stated that these attacks had little impact on their psychological state until the ninth-eleventh ones.<sup>156</sup> But overall, American decision makers

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<sup>152</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 398.

<sup>153</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 5.

<sup>154</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 399.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. p. 398-399.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid. p. 409.410.

were well aware of the seriousness of external threat menacing their country. For that reason, their reactions to the ninth-eleventh incidents seemed a bit exaggerated; saying that, “September 11, 2001, was a day of unprecedented shock and suffering in the history of the United States,” is definitely acceptable, but saying that, “the nation was unprepared...”<sup>157</sup> is just misleading. They gave the illusion that the 9/11 was their first time being attacked or threatened; therefore, “in 2001, one had the impression that Washington had suddenly realized the full extent of the terrorist threat.”<sup>158</sup>

From another perspective, if it is a vengeful, punitive mission against Bin Laden and its devilish organization “El-Qaeda”; ironically, a U.S.-founded base in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union whose members were recruited, trained and sponsored by the United States itself with the help of the C.I.A, and they used to be called “freedom fighters”,<sup>159</sup> if that was the case, anyone would have thought of the 1996 as a better year to declare war on terrorism, since it is the date when Osama Bin Laden called for war against America, its interests everywhere and its allies; making no difference between civilian and military. Since then, Bin Laden’s name had been linked to many terrorist acts against America such as targeting U.S. military bases abroad and attacking its embassies as what happened in Kenya and Tanzania in the seventh of August in 1998. Then in the twelfth October of 2000, the USS Cole was attacked using a small boat filled with explosives; the result of that attack was the death of seventeen American sailors.<sup>160</sup> So if those are not enough reasons to fight terrorism what could it be then? Why fighting now and for what reasons exactly?

But, all in all, for whatsoever reason, the last terrorist attack on the American territories put the country at the front of a global counterterrorism crusade and since then the world has been defined on its own terms.<sup>161</sup> Basically, not that much has changed after the ninth of September; according to Andrew Bacevich, certainly not the basics of the American politics. The twentieth-first century war has been waged for the preservation of U.S. hegemony and pushing forward the strategy of openness.<sup>162</sup> The latter has confirmed that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 brought an opportunity to U.S. planners; the kind of the Pearl Harbor attacks brought with, taking revenge and remodeling the world based on their own conditions.

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<sup>157</sup> The 9/11 Commission Report, final report of the national commission on terrorist attacks upon the United States (official government edition). p. 1.

<sup>158</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *op. cit.*, p. 409-410.

<sup>159</sup> Juan Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World (The United States of America: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)*, p. 66-67.

<sup>160</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-413.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, p. 398.

<sup>162</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

Six days after the Congress Commission that was issued in the fourteenth of September to use power against the ninth-eleventh attackers and those who provided them assistance, Bush came up with the Bush Doctrine;<sup>163</sup> very much recognized as the Truman Doctrine of the twentieth-first century. Consequently, the Bush's allowed the United States to interfere everywhere, providing it with a political and ethical shield, as well, imposing U.S. power for a long term and provided those who may succeeded him with opportunities that have been lost since the end of the Cold War.<sup>164</sup>

The description of the American response to the attacks as not only a vengeful mission but as an operation to protect freedom itself, gave the young administration more credibility. The combination of waging the war on terrorism in the name of freedom did America a great favor in terms of three points. First of all, it provided the United States of an angelic positive image. Secondly, this identification has connected the war on terror to the previous great wars, implying of having a divine purpose to protect the world. The third point is that the commitment to this kind of war rid America of all the obstacles that were holding it back since the demise of its latest ideologist competitors. Obviously the most crucial obstruction is related to America's favorite tool "the use of power" that had lost it since the absence of Nazism and Communism. Since their downfall, U.S. decision makers did not enjoyed a total freedom of using that privilege. Moreover, both of the administrations of the ninety' s failed at presenting convincing explanation to clarify the reasons that urge the United States to constantly drag Americans into different dangerous places.<sup>165</sup>

The Clinton administration; for instance, had justified its use of power for humanitarian reasons and the establishment of peace; however, during the post Cold War decade, America's plans were interrupted from within the country. Apparently, Americans were not ready to sacrifice the lives of their youths by sending them to their deaths to U.S. unwelcome environments not for the protection of their country but to keep peace among other nations, which raised a lot of skepticism and disloyalty among Americans toward their foreign policy and its planners. Therefore, the war on terror has provided U.S. policy makers of an absolute freedom; the type that has been deprived from since the Truman Doctrine.<sup>166</sup> Actually, since the kickoff of America's war on terrorism,

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<sup>163</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, op. cit., p. 294.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, p. 296.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, p. 298.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, p. 298-299.



...the United States has traded the Cold War soldier's uniform it had found it hard to shed after 1991 for the garb of a crusader, the scourge of terrorism. America is never as highly motivated as when it commits itself to the quasi-divine mission of combating the "forces of evil." After standing against the forces of communism, it is now tenaciously standing against the forces of terrorism.<sup>167</sup>

Therefore, having an enemy as unusual as this one, which has no form or specific location that basically does not exist, means nothing but different options and new opportunities. Moreover, by naming the enemy "terrorism", things have not been hard for U.S. decision makers to spread fear among people and keep them from what is obvious, the truth that their country's imperialistic role might be the reason of the attacks.<sup>168</sup> Factually, if U.S. foreign policy makers were blessed by having such an enemy, it definitely was not the case to the rest of the world; the fact that America kept for itself the last call to identify terrorists, everyone was suspect. The American government made a shift from chaotic wicked groups to different states, saying, "we must fight terrorist networks, and all those who support their efforts to spread fear around the world..."<sup>169</sup> automatically, all the countries that were once recognized as "rogue states" were the first suspects of America's War on Terror;<sup>170</sup> more likely the first targets. According to Fawaz A. Gergess, accusing other nations for different crimes based on groundless evidences is not new to U.S. decision makers; actually,

Another constant of American policy is the desire to identify an adversary and demonize it. Dealing with that adversary thus becomes a biblically inspired struggle pitting the forces of good against the forces of evil. The adversary might be Hitler, Stalin, the Soviet Politburo, or communism. The forces of the World War II Axis combined with those embodied by the Cold War evil empire gave way to George W. Bush's famous "axis of evil."<sup>171</sup>

Indeed, the constancy of U.S. foreign policy and the commitment of its practitioners to the fundamental basis of their country national interests are really impressing. In the same context, Gergess affirms that since the eighty's of the last century; during the Reagan administration, terrorism had been linked to states. "This was a godsend for Washington, which...was far more comfortable facing up to states than fighting irregulars or, worse, nebulous elements...Therefore, if the problem were linked to a country, a solution seemed reachable." Back then, five counties were identified as terrorist states namely, Iran, North

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<sup>167</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 398.

<sup>168</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, op. cit., p. 299.

<sup>169</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, p. 1.

<sup>170</sup> Fawaz A. Gergess, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>171</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 409-410.

Korea, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya. In the following century, Bush was inspired of that idea and came up with the “axis of evil”, consisting of North Korea, Iran, and Iraq.<sup>172</sup>

The demise of communism ended the only excuse that allowed the United States to interfere in other nations’ business and at its expense expanded further. For that reason, during the post Cold War era, U.S. decision makers have been in a constant look for a new enemy.

...these doctrines and declarations such as “war on terror” are only excuses and cover-ups. For U.S. policy of global hegemony needs a pretext and the need for enemy is a result of that, making Islam a substitute for Communism ... but rather are a tool and pretext to justify policies of expansion, aggression and intervention...It is not that states chose to be enemies or friends of the U.S.; it is often the choice of the U.S. itself in accordance to its greed, and racism that frames its national interests and policies. Regardless of the position of the opponents, these U.S. interests and ideologies and racial thinking mark the lines between “enemies” and “friends,” categories that keep shifting according to its interest.

Consequently, they have directly made a left turn from communism towards Islamism in the name of fighting terrorism. It is generally agreed that history is totally biased to power so a terrorist is whoever America is going to call a terrorist. According to Magid Shihade,

Following this collapse of the Soviet Union, a search for new “enemies” led to the creation of the “Islamic fundamentalist” threat, which evolved and became the “rogue states,” followed by the “axis of evil,” and after 9-11, the “war on terror,” and “Islamofascism.” ...For the U.S. these wars are largely for control of resources and markets—particularly the energy resources of the Middle East and Central Asia. For the military-industrial complex and global corporations the wars are for profit. For Christian Zionists the target is Islam. Ultimately, most wars are a clash of values—greed versus justice.<sup>173</sup>

### **1. The emphasis on the Muslim World:**

*“A fact here, a fact there, conclusions out of nowhere, and pretty soon you have an Islamic conspiracy to subjugate the United States and terrorize the world.”<sup>174</sup>*

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<sup>172</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 409-410.

<sup>173</sup> Enver Masud, The War on Islam Hits Home, March 10, 2010, op. cit., p. 333-334.

<sup>174</sup> Enver Masud, Jihad against Islam, April 28, 1995, op. cit., p. 6-7.

With the emphasis that “terrorism is not the monopoly of a single civilization...it is not genetic, nor it is a disease. Those who engage in it come in all colors and from all cultures.” However, despite of the globalization of the American War on Terror, it has not been evenly generalized; because of America’s selectivity, this war has been waged only on a quarter of the globe that is the Muslim World. In fact, except of North Korea, terrorism has been looked at as the production of Islamism.<sup>175</sup> Accordingly, “Since September 11, the U.S. has been engaged in a global “war on terror” mainly in Arab and Muslim countries.”<sup>176</sup> According to the 9/11 commission report, these vicious groups gains a lot of support and cheers from Muslim countries; reporting,

We learned about an enemy who is sophisticated, patient, disciplined, and lethal. The enemy rallies broad support in the Arab and Muslim world by demanding redress of political grievances, but its hostility toward us and our values is limitless. Its purpose is to rid the world of religious and political pluralism..., and equal rights for women.<sup>177</sup>

The reason of these misleading views is mainly due to the direct association of Islam with terrorists. According to appendix one, all of the terrorists with Islamic backgrounds are being referred to as not just terrorists but “Islamists”; does not that stands for all the followers of Islam? Literally speaking, the word “Islamist” derives from the word “Islam”, which simply means “a Muslim who specializes in Islamic studies,” or “a Muslim who espouses Islamic fundamentalist beliefs.”<sup>178</sup> Do not religious extremists exist in all religions? So, in the same table, terrorists with other religious backgrounds, their religions have not been used as a reference? And if “Islam” is demonized based on the act of some few extremist ...what about Christianity and Judaism, whose followers committed and still performing the ugliest crimes in the name of God, but that have never made them terrorists. For example, Centuries ago, in America, Native Americans were butchered and their land was taken from them by some ex convicts who were kicked from Europe in the name of God; the same thing, for Jews who, with the help of Americans and British, stole the land of Palestinians, starving them and killing them, then calling them terrorists. So what makes Muslims terrorists and Christians and Jews Peacemakers?

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<sup>175</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>176</sup> Magid Shihade, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>177</sup> The 9/11 Commission Report, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>178</sup> Available at, <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Islamist>

Moreover, most of these studies do not even take into account the motives of these attackers or their origins, because not all Muslims derived from the Muslim World; actually, there are American Muslims, European Muslims, with different races. But, still, for most Western, terrorists are from the Muslim World; mostly Middle Eastern. Just like Christianity or Judaism, Islam has no color or a country; it is for all the humanity. On the other hand, terrorism also has no color or a country, but, most definitely, it has no religion. Therefore, why such emphasis on the Muslim World?

Lawrence Freedman says, “When war comes, choosing an enemy is normally the least of a government’s problems,” but after the 9/11 attacks, the look for an enemy was American planners first priorities. Without even concrete evidence, Al-Qaeda was immediately accused of the attacks. Bin Laden on the other hand denied all these allegations; saying that as a Muslim he cannot “lie or kill innocent people”; instead, he suggested other countries as Russia and other potential enemies and even other propositions that gained a lot of credibility at an international stage; suggesting that the collapse of the Twin Towers was an inside job; the result of a controlled demolition; so that, the suspect might be the “intelligence agencies in the U.S.” that demand an annual finance from the American government and the Congress estimated in billions of dollars; that is why they needed an enemy worth the American attention and the world’s.<sup>179</sup> Enver Masud says,

To justify our massive spending on “defense” our government has to instill fear in Americans, find enemies on whom to focus our military might, and break international laws to attack other countries... With the breakup of the Soviet Union, Americans were expecting a “peace dividend.” However, the economy was depressed... and President Bush needed a distraction. Islam—the Green Peril—became the designated enemy. Iraq, our former ally against Iran, became the new bogeyman, and so we had the first Gulf War.<sup>180</sup>

Speaking of false accusations, the latter argues that the FBI did not list Bin Laden as a suspect of the ninth-eleventh events because of their lack of a definite proof,<sup>181</sup> but he was suspected either way. Furthermore, despite of the American allegations against Arabs and Muslims in general, there was no concrete evidence that prove they were involved in the 9/11 incidents;

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<sup>179</sup> Lawrence Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>180</sup> Enver Masud, *The 2004 Election: One Issue, One Candidate*, August 8, 2003, p. 247.

<sup>181</sup> Enver Masud, *FBI/ Bin Laden Not Wanted for 9/11*, June 8, 2006, *op. cit.*, p .280.

and if it is so, says Enver Masud “Why are there no Arab names on the passenger list for the planes used in the September 11, 2001 attack on America.”<sup>182</sup>

The truth is that the United States of America has been under terrorist attacks for years. All those attackers were different in terms of origins, religion, political backgrounds, motives, and methods. If it is so, why is there such emphasis on Muslims and the Muslim World? According to the first table, the number of terrorist attacks of Islamic background on US soil, before the 9/11, reached 15 attacks; most of which were not directed against Americans as people or government. Whereas, based on the second chart, in terms of the attacks targeting America abroad, Latin America and the Caribbean classed the first (36%), followed by Europe (23%), then the Middle East and the Persian Gulf reached (20%); not the whole Muslim World, but still it has gain all the attention.

It has been argued that the reason of this concentricity on that part of the world is for revenge, because of the Muslims’ admiration for Bin Laden as a hero and their reactions following the attacks were that of satisfaction and celebration, which were televised all over the world, Americans were enraged from those who celebrated their pain, and they used their power to punish them.<sup>183</sup> However, not all Muslim celebrated Americans misfortune; moreover, it was happiness of justice rather than satisfaction. Because “many Arabs found some satisfaction in the idea that America's nose had been bloodied and that the United States had finally felt some of the pain they perceived to be so pervasive in the Middle East.”<sup>184</sup>

From an American point of view, the attacks were committed in the name of Islam. Brainwashed by a long history of incorrect facts about that part of the globe and this religion, Americans have seen Arabs and Muslims as murderers, barbaric, treacherous, primitive and autocratic.<sup>185</sup> Despite of U.S. policy makers’ denial that the War on Terror is a War on Islam; however, from Muslims’ perspective, the unjustifiable emphasis on their world is seen as an attack on their religion.<sup>186</sup> The constant equalization of Islam with terrorism has definitely portrayed Muslims as criminals and Islam as the fundamental teaching of terrorism.<sup>187</sup> Americans prejudices about this world are often, says Enver Masud, “... imbibed with their mother’s milk, stereotyped in their movies, spelled out in fifteen-second sound bites on

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<sup>182</sup> Enver Masud, Why No Arab Names on 9/11 Passenger List? July 26, 2004, op. cit., p. 256.

<sup>183</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, op. cit., p. 309.

<sup>184</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 126.

<sup>185</sup> Fawaz A. Gergess, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>186</sup> Mark Tessler, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>187</sup> Fawaz A. Gergess, op. cit., p. 12.

television. Their daily paper offers them headlines that tell them all they need to know.”<sup>188</sup> Masud blames the increasing anti-Islamic sentiments among Americans and their ignorance about the Islamic Civilization on the mass media that is trying to forcedly embody evil in Islam; therefore in an article published in 1995 following the Oklahoma bombings, which were first considered to be an Islamic terrorist attack, he questions the American journalism credibility, discussing that,

Journalists are trained to report the who, what, when, where, why, and how of stories. The “who” in stories of Christians and Jews is a human being, often described by friends, family, teachers, neighbors, if relevant to the story. Very seldom is their religion mentioned. In the case of Muslims, religion is invariably mentioned, and it is about the only thing mentioned of this “other” being. In the case of Christians and Jews, there is usually much discussion of “why” the person did what he or she did. In the case of Muslims, all the reader is told is that the person was a militant, or extremist, or fundamentalist, as if that were sufficient explanation. Following the capture of an alleged Oklahoma City bomber, the Washington Post, April 22, 1995, carried a story titled “Muslim’s Burden of Blame Lifts” ... If the burden has been lifted from Muslims, on whom does it fall? On Christians? Of course not.<sup>189</sup>

The truth is terrorism has no religion, because it contradicts the basics of any belief that is peace and harmony between all people. However; since forever, terrorism has been the result of “religious zealotry”, but it has never been exclusive to one religion certainly not only to Islam. All of the other main religions such as Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Sikh, Jamal R. Nasser argues, have been the main source of religious terrorism that it have been even directed against Muslims but that has never being taken as an act of terror rather than fulfilling God’s will on earth and civilizing the world. Therefore, at this point, “as long as the U.S. attacks only Islamic Zealots and closes its eyes on other religions; its War on Terror will look like a War on Islam.”<sup>190</sup> Apart from being a defensive wall against the spread of other faiths in the Muslim World, “Islam” argues Mohamad Yacine Kassab; backed up with stubborn faithful believers and strict teachings of the Koran and the prophet that counter the western ambition, is dangerous to the dreams and hopes of great empires; therefore, “ plus que n’importe quelle religion ou doctrine dans le monde, l’Islam est perçu, surtout après l’effondrement du marxisme, comme le plus sérieux danger menaçant l’occident. ”<sup>191</sup> He

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<sup>188</sup> Enver Masud, *Danger of Islam Self-Evident*, March 9, 1996, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>189</sup> Enver Masud, *Oklahoma City Bombing: News Media Fail Journalism* 101, April 23, 1995 op. cit., p. 8-9-10.

<sup>190</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>191</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 211.

avows that, "...seul l'islam pouvait constituer une force capable de s'opposer à la longue à l'hégémonie impérialiste et à sa tentative de monopolisation planétaire et d'accaparement des richesses."<sup>192</sup> For that reason, Kassab notifies that the Muslim World has been the main victim in history. It is not exaggerating to discuss that at least in every two years, since 1945, these countries have been under attack for different reasons.<sup>193</sup> According to the latter,

Le bloc occidental possède toutes les richesses du monde avec une population qui ne constitue que le tiers de celle de l'humanité... Mais ces occidentaux qui possèdent la technologie de pointe, les richesses les opulentes l'arsenal militaire le plus sophistiqué, sont à la merci de quelques pays musulmans pour leur alimentation en pétrole et dont cinq d'entre eux : l'Arabie Saoudite, le Koweït, l'Iran, l'Irak et les Emirats Arabes Unis, détiennent plus de la moitié des réserves mondiale.<sup>194</sup>

Juan Cole announces that, "eleven of the top fifteen oil exporters in the world are states with Muslim majorities, and five of the most important are in the Gulf." Cole's announcement confirms that America's international hegemony and its unmatched authority is founded at the expense of cheap natural resources derived from the Muslim World; without this energies America will lose its prestigious position along with its best allies. No one can deny that the entire world has become more and more dependent on Muslims' oil, and to guarantee a free access to these wells, America is ready to do whatever it takes. For that reason; he conveys, "many policies made by politicians to ensure that the United States and its allies have access to oil and gas are dressed up for the public as being about vague ideals such as patriotism, democracy, or deterring allegedly threatening regimes," because U.S. decision makers have understood that their addiction to the "black gold" and their greed is despicable, so they needed a coverage to calm the people.<sup>195</sup>

In general, as far as it concerns U.S. interests, the Muslim World at large but the Middle East specifically is a part of America's big strategy. Among U.S. most important objectives in this area is to have a free safe access to the Persian Gulf oil. However, "the foreigners who control the sources of American manhood and liberty of movement are largely Arabs and Iranians, among the most disliked ethnicities in the United States."<sup>196</sup> For that reason, the United States presence in the region is an obligation to maintain control and reach its goals,

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid, p. 150.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid, p. 211.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid, p. 47.

<sup>195</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

having self-determinant governments or disobedient president as in Iraq, Syria, or Iran is going to sabotage U.S. plans.<sup>197</sup> While discussing the same point, Robert J. Art declares that,

Control of access to Persian Gulf oil is a matter of power, pure and simple. Aggressive, erratic, and otherwise ill-disposed states that threaten to grab a large measure of control over the world's most economically vital raw material must be stopped, with military force if necessary. The United States must continue to act to prevent any potential regional hegemon-be it Iraq, Iran, or a Saudi Arabia turned unfriendly-from controlling access to Gulf oil.<sup>198</sup>

Eventually, the War on Terror that was raised against America's ultimate enemy "al-Qaeda" led to the invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001, based on which, the Taliban regime that provided this terrorist organization shelter was overthrown. But shortly, America's counterterrorism campaign revealed the symptoms of duplicity and ambiguity. Stephan Evera diagnosed the Bush administration of having (SADD) "a strategic attention deficit disorder"; still have not destroyed these fanatic groups and hunting down the responsible of the 21<sup>th</sup> century New York incidents, America made a "left turn away from combating Al-Qaeda." Furthermore, "it even have been argued shortly after 9/11 that the U.S. should attack Iraq while leaving alone Afghanistan, al-Qaeda's haven." Since then the United States have been torn between Iraq, Iran, and Syria, all of which have no relation with Al-Qaeda, accusing them of sponsoring terrorism and talking about ousting their tyrannical regimes. But this diversion from that odious organization, help the group to grow bolder and stronger. Stephan Evera assures that,

The administration shows no sign of curing its al-Qaeda SADD. Its most recent National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, issued in September 2006, never mentions Osama bin Laden. It frames all terrorist movements as American enemies, including those that have no evident intention of attacking the United States. . . . As such, the report is a warrant for a wide American rampage in the Mideast that would not directly address the al-Qaeda threat and would surely benefit al-Qaeda by diverting American focus onto other terror groups.<sup>199</sup>

According to Rumsfeld statement, states Lawrence Freedman, American policy makers thought that would be easier if they targeted directly state sponsored-terrorist states instead of chasing terrorists. If that was the case, Saudi Arabia is the best candidate fitting with these

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid, p. 21.

<sup>198</sup> Robert, brown, U.S. Foreign Policy, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>199</sup> Stephan Van Evera, op. cit., p. 1-2.



criteria, because the United States' primary suspect of the 9/11 attacks "Osama Bin Laden" was the son of a highly ranked Saudi family and fifteen out of the nineteen alleged hijackers shared the same Origin of Bin Laden's aside from being among the first cribs of Islamic Zealotry. That is to say, for the U.S.A., Lawrence Freedman asserts that all of these "rogue States" and anti-American groups are a matter of choice; the latter condemns America's double standard strategy, saying that;

I was struck by how the United States had managed to find itself in conflict at the same time with Iran, Iraq, and Al-Qaeda, all of which are antagonistic to each other . . . faced with the unfolding dramas of the Middle East and given its pivotal role in regional affairs, the United States has had to choose whom to oppose and whom to support, and then how, with what condition, and to what degree, to oppose and to support.<sup>200</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

I believe that it is a general agreement, without exaggeration, when I say that America's War on Terrorism is nothing but a big-budget long term strategy for the continuation of U.S. Imperialism; a privilege that American planners have lost since the expiry of Capitalism last ideologist adversaries; accordingly, Magid Shihade argues that, "the war against Communism was never only about Communism, and similarly the war on terror has its own motives, which previously were and still are about U.S. expansion, greed and racism."<sup>201</sup> The building of any empire requires the full domination of the politics, economic and religion of one powerful nation over other nations. Islam and the Muslim World have always been a tiring front to break down for the most powerful empires of both modern and ancient times; automatically, the expansion of the American one on these lands cannot be described of being a smooth ride. As a result, during the War on Terrorism, the United States of America made an official shift from communism to Islamism.

However, Jamal R. Nasser argues that it is unlikely for U.S. planners to defeat a religion; especially if it is as big as Islam. On the other hand, overpowering other countries is America's favorite hobby. That is why, "it is important to keep the focus on terrorism," America's passport to the Muslim World, "wherever it occurs and by whoever carries it

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<sup>200</sup> Lawrence Freedman, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>201</sup> Magid Shihade, op. cit., p. 5-6.

out.”<sup>202</sup> But in fact, it is “wherever American foreign policy makers wanted terrorism to occur”; based on what have previously been discussed, where, when and who to fight under the flag of the War on Terror is definitely an American choice. Consequently, the 21<sup>th</sup> century global war has taken the form of different wars in the Muslim world, starting with Afghanistan moving to Iraq, besides many other interventions in this world internal affair. Generally speaking, it is the Iraq war that has raised a worldwide awe and skepticism about the U.S. actions; why Iraq; in particular, what are the reasons that bring U.S. army for the second time in the Gulf area? Why such emphasis on a country that had nothing to do with Al-Qaeda and the 9/11 attacks, a country that was still leaving in the ruins of the 1991 Gulf War and barely survived the ninety’s sanctions; therefore, is the War on Iraq is a war for oil or for something else? All of these questions will try to answer in the following chapter.

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<sup>202</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

## Chapter 2

### A Historical Overview of Iraq's Role in the World

It is generally acknowledged that the War on Terrorism has been waged in the name of civilization and to protect the civilized world, one of America's rhetorical reasons, but to be launched against the mother land of ancient civilizations "Iraq" is a contradiction in itself. Anyone, uneducated or unaware of Iraq's history, would have thought that America is dealing with a primitive country that has been the reason of America's instability and the world's. Therefore, any attempt to understand the applied U.S. policy in Iraq at the beginning of the twentieth-first century and the reasons based on which the War on Terror deviated to this country, a historical overview of Iraqi-American relations is required. So, what could Iraq have done to be demonized and considered as a threat to world peace? And what kind of relations these two used to have?

Accordingly, over the course of this chapter, for the sake of full comprehension of the recent events, we will study the reasons and motives behind the remarkable amount of concentration this area is receiving. Basically, the second part of this dissertation will provide a brief study of the Mesopotamian history. Though, it is not in my intention to have a meditation session in Iraq's past but it is just to analyze its decisive role in the history of humanity and its importance to the world in general. However, even if it takes the whole thesis to write about Iraq's historical heritage, it will not be enough but it is just a brief summary to study Iraq's contribution to the world's civilizations and analyze the elements that have shaped today's Iraq. For that reason, we will chronologically stop by different stations that put the name of Iraq on the world historical and political map. But above all, this chapter will highlight Iraq-U.S. relations prior the ninth-eleventh attacks through which we will examine why America is so interested in Iraq. Is it for the Iraqi natural richness, which is the black gold? Is it a part of America's imperialist strategy or something else?

## **I. An Introduction to Iraq:**

Iraq or the “Republic of Iraq”; previously known as Mesopotamia, a word of Greek origins, which means “the land between two rivers”, is an Arab country positioned in West Asia at the northeast end of the Persian Gulf, part of the Middle East. From the North, it is bordered by Turkey, from the East by Iran, from the Southeast by the Persian Gulf, from the West by Syria and Jordan, whereas, from the South, it is surrounded by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Its national capital is Baghdad. Regardless of its small coastline, Iraq is characterized of “Tigris and Euphrates”, two rivers flowing from the northwest to the southeast based on which the name “Mesopotamia” came from, dividing the country into two halves.<sup>203</sup>

Based on Encyclopedia Britannica on line, Iraq is regarded as “one of the most religiously and ethnically diverse societies in the Middle East.”<sup>204</sup> In terms of religion, besides of some ethno-religions, Judaism and Christianity, Islam is the predominant faith; representing 99% of the Iraqi population, divided between Sunnites (32%-37%) and Shiites (60%-65%); but overall, the majority of religious minorities flee Iraq after the fall of Saddam’s regime.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, Iraq constitutes of a population of different origins, mainly due to a long history of different civilizations, migration, and conquests. The Iraqi people of ancient time, those of Babylonia and Assyria, ancient empires of Iraq, are still believed to be found in today’s Iraq and Iran. Apart from a large majority of Arabs and Arabized population that is spread all over the country, there are people of Iranian origins; in addition to Mongols, Turks, Kurds, Turkmens, and Circassians. Some of them absorbed the mainstream characteristics as the Mongols but others have chosen isolation to preserve their distinctiveness.<sup>206</sup> As a result to the diversity of the Iraqi population, there are several spoken languages in the country. Based on the Central Agency Intelligence’s statistics, there is Arabic and Kurdish, both of which are official languages; in addition to Turkmen, which is a Turkish dialect, and Assyrian.<sup>207</sup>

Despite of its modest geographical characteristics, Iraq is undoubtedly one of the richest countries. However, in modern history, Iraq’s richness often associated with its naturalistic affluence. Truthfully, naturally speaking, Iraq possesses one of the world’s largest oil reserves; as a matter of fact, it comes the second after Saudi Arabia.<sup>208</sup> But Above all, the

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<sup>203</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, VOL: 9, H-I, p. 872.

<sup>204</sup> Iraq, Available at, [http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/293631/Iraq/22930/Climate\(1-21-2014\)](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/293631/Iraq/22930/Climate(1-21-2014))

<sup>205</sup> Iraq, Available at, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html>

<sup>206</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, VOL: 9, H-I, p. 876.

<sup>207</sup> Iraq, Available at, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iz.html>

<sup>208</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, VOL: 9, H-I, p. 873.

Mesopotamian colorful history has always been under the spot light. Indeed, Mesopotamia is so rich not only because of “oil” but because of its inveterate and majestic past. Without a question, the Iraqi civilization is one of the best civilizations on earth in terms of deep-rootedness and originality. Iraq’s history can be analyzed in terms of two distinctive eras; the civilizational era and the political one. Although both of civilization and politics are inseparable because they are complementary to each other but it is a mere division to separate the ancient times from the modern ones.

### **a- Iraq’s History prior the Twentieth Century, “Civilizational History”**

The name Iraq has been officially used since the British mandate.<sup>209</sup> But, in fact, it has been referred to as Iraq since the Arab Muslim conquest in the seventh century. Originally, it is an Arabic word, which signifies “the well-rooted country”. The name is an illustration of the country’s rich history, exemplified in the consecutive of remarkable productive civilizations.<sup>210</sup>

The Mesopotamian culture is a model of a brilliant and active flow of different civilizations; actually, it is the first one on earth. In short, Iraq’s history began with the Paleolithic period between 60 000 and 40 000 years B.C. Ten thousand years B.C., the agricultural civilization was founded, which is one of the firsts in the entire world. This period was followed by that of the pottery industry, which developed mainly in the north. Between 4500 and 3500 years B.C., El Obeid culture prospered with building temples, the use of paint, building towers floors, ziggurats and practice of sailing ships; in addition to the development of the irrigation technique and the invention of architecture, paving the way for the first cities and civilizations in the world.<sup>211</sup>

About the fourth millennium B.C., the first civilization in the entire globe was founded; that is called “Sumer”. The latter specialized in architecture and art, but mostly brightened with the invention of the cuneiform writing, the first writing system on earth, based on which the world's earliest history was recorded. 1894 years B.C., the Babylon Empire took place. This one is generally recognized for its first remarkable inventions and successful

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<sup>209</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, Oil in Iraq: The Byzantine Beginnings (Global Policy Forum: April 25, 2003)

<sup>210</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, VOL: 9, H-I, p. 872.

<sup>211</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 112.

achievements in many fields as agriculture, literature, astronomy and Mathematic, but it is commonly known for one of the seventh wonders of the world, the “hanging gardens of Babylon”.<sup>212</sup>

In general, according to Wikipedia, Iraq “...at different periods in its history, was the center of the indigenous Akkadian, Sumerian, Assyrian, and Babylonian empires.” The last empire symbolizes the last era of the Mesopotamian self-rule. Since then, the “land between two rivers” had been under a foreign rule; actually, through time, Iraq was “...part of the Median, Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Parthian, Sassanid, Roman, Rashidun, Umayyaed, Abbasid, Mongol, Safavid, Afsharid, Ottoman Empires, and under British control as a League of Nations mandate.”<sup>213</sup> Being a subordinate province of so many alien empires, Iraq was exposed to a great influence of other worlds from Greece to Persia and as far as the Far East; the Mesopotamian civilization is definitely a civilization of civilizations. However, in spite of the importance of ancient cultures, “the conquest and establishment of Islam in the region is the historical and religious event that modern-day Iraqis are most proud of.”<sup>214</sup>

In the 7th century, Islam entered the region, defeating the Persian in A.D. 637, and in A.D. 641, Mesopotamia was Islamized, followed by the foundation of Baghdad in A.D. 762, which was named “Medina as-Salam, the city of peace”. In the following years, during the Caliph Haroun Rashid, Baghdad became the richest and the most cultural city in the world; as an evidence of its intellectuality, the capital of the Arab World, became the “Mecca” of scholars and knowledge seekers of both Muslims and non-Muslims during which the Islamic Empire reached the peak of glamorous and prosperity.<sup>215</sup> Iraq had a huge impact on the flourish of the Islamic empire; in fact, it has been stated that “Iraq has been linchpins in the history of the Arab and Muslim worlds.” Apart from being the homeland of the “great Muslim dynasty”, Iraq is generally regarded by the majority of Arab Muslims as “a pillar of the Arab and Muslim world.”<sup>216</sup> In addition of being the home of many prophets such as Abraham, Lot, Jonas and others peace be upon them.<sup>217</sup>

All in all, the Land between Two Rivers is undoubtedly the most significant civilization on earth that played a decisive role in shaping the world of today. It will always be remembered

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<sup>212</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>213</sup> Available at, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq>

<sup>214</sup> - - -, Iraq: Introduction to the Country and People (Marine Barracks Washington DC), p. 15.

<sup>215</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 117.

<sup>216</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 119.

<sup>217</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 123.

as the birth place of the first civilizations and discoveries. In short, thanks to the Mesopotamian civilization,

All subsequent Western civilizations were ultimately built largely upon foundations laid here. Mesopotamian civilization deeply influenced societies in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. These in turn, especially via the Phoenicians and the Israelites, would provide the material, religious and cultural models on which the Greek, Roman and Islamic civilizations would later be constructed. A whole range of technologies and scientific advances were thus made in ancient Mesopotamia which eventually found their way to Medieval and Modern European civilization... So, the Mesopotamians built long and well; they were the giants upon whose shoulders later ages have stood... their place in world history is, it is no exaggeration to say, as the ones who got it going!<sup>218</sup>

Despite of the huge contribution of the Mesopotamian culture in shaping the modern world, Iraq is often denied the right to be proud of its cultural heritage that is most of the time marginalized and preferred to be ignored. In reality, Geoff Simons says, "we often tend to begin the chronicle of Western culture with the achievements of the classical world but it is worth remembering that the Greco-Roman states owe much to the ancient worlds of Egypt and Mesopotamia."<sup>219</sup> But above all, due to the successiveness of successful civilizations and empires from which discoveries, sciences and education kickoff; the land where culture hatched, prospered and spread to the entire world to benefit from, Iraq is generally recognized as "the Cradle of Civilizations".<sup>220</sup> In general, from a civilizational point of view, other civilizations and the Western ones; in particular, can not be compared to Iraq. In a comparison set between the civilization of civilizations and the Western ones, Mohammed Yacine Kassab compared between the one of Iraq with those of Great Britain and France both of which are supposedly part of the civilized world and stands as an example to the Western culture, saying,

Tant en Angleterre qu'en France, la civilisation est restée cantonnée dans les limites de l'ordinaire. On ne voit jamais apparaître la fulgurance et le défi qui sont le propre des grandes civilisations comme les pyramides, la muraille de Chine, la tour de Babel, etc., des exploits extraordinaire qui défiant l'imagination et qui font les grands peuples et l'histoire universelles de l'humanité . . . En Grande-Bretagne comme en France, les populations voient petit. Ce sont des

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<sup>218</sup> Available at, <http://www.timemaps.com/civilization/Ancient-Mesopotamia>

<sup>219</sup> Geoff Simons, *Iraq: From Sumer to Saddam* (London. Macmillan, Second Edition: 1996), p. 113.

<sup>220</sup> Alan G. Artner, *Cradle of Civilization* (tribune art critics: April 27, 2003)

pans de mur, des sanctuaires, des nécropoles, des vases, des statues, des armes. . . Rien de majestueux ou de grandiose. . . Et face à tout cela, que représente l'Irak, son passé, sa civilisation, ses réalisations ? Les seuls noms de Mésopotamie, Sumer, Assyrie, Chaldée, Babylone, Baghdâd situent d'emblée les prétentions de ce pays.<sup>221</sup>

Overall, because of this successful flow of civilizations along with a glorious history and a glamorous style of life, Iraq became a source of admiration and praise as well as envy and jealousy; for that reason, since its earliest days, the consecutiveness of the Iraqi civilizations paralleled with the successiveness of conquests and colonization.

### **b- Iraq's History Post the Twentieth Century, "Political History"**

This part represents a modern chapter of Iraq's history that witnessed an intensive instability and many changes at different stages. From an economic point of view; for instance, after the discovery of oil, Iraq shifted from having an agricultural based economy to an industrial one. But, besides the discovery of oil, it is greatly recognized for its political unsteadiness. This phase of Iraq's history has officially started with the beginning of the twentieth century and marked by the overthrow of Mesopotamia last occupier the "Ottoman Empire" and put an end to the rule of ancient times.

Because of the growth of competition and the threat imposed by the rising empires of Russia and Germany in Mesopotamia, between the late of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 20<sup>th</sup> century, the British Empire was not sure how to keep the routes to its Eastern assets away from those two "imperial contenders".<sup>222</sup> Eventually, on 03 November 1914, during the First World War, the Ottoman Empire allied with Germany against Britain and France. Two days later, the British government launched the "Mesopotamian Campaign", during which, the British snatched all Arabic lands from the Ottoman hands.<sup>223</sup> Consequently, the British seized the Iraqi capital in March 1917. With the liquidation of Germany's ally, Iraq's previous occupier "the Ottoman Empire", the land of Mesopotamia witnessed a power vacuum.<sup>224</sup> Accordingly, based on Adeed Dawisha, "the British government saw no reason to veer from its colonial

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<sup>221</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 111-112.

<sup>222</sup> Samira Haj, *The Making of Iraq, 1900-1963 : Capital, Power, and Ideology* (the United States of America. New York University Press : 1997), p. 27.

<sup>223</sup> Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq since 1958 : from Revolution to Dictatorship* (London. I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd : 2003), p. 9.

<sup>224</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, op. cit.



policy of direct rule.” Therefore, Iraq became a British colony. According to the latter, those who supported this kind of rule; that is the “colonial rule”, belittled the Iraqis and considered them unable to govern themselves.<sup>225</sup>

Besides that, it was believed that this type of rule will protect the British interests; because any other option is going to cost them losing Iraq. But there plans were hampered because of the American president Woodrow Wilson’s fourteen points, which had been discussed in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, based on which the mandate system was created giving countries of dismantled empires the right of self rule under the protection of a certain power, which will be supervised by the League of Nations.<sup>226</sup>

Eventually, based on the League of Nations’ command, Iraq was mandated to the United Kingdom in 1920. The British were required for an establishment of an Arab government; however, because of the former’s interest in the Iraqi oil, this project failed and a monarchy was established instead in 1921.<sup>227</sup> Because of the ethnic diversity of the Iraqi population, the British authorities found it hard to choose a man who would match the Iraqi people Standards. Therefore, the first king of Iraq was Faisal, the third son of Sharif Husayn of Hijaz; a man of Arabic origins who had no blood relation with any Iraqi tribe. He sided with the British in their fight against the Turks and governed Syria until he was ousted by the French. The British believed that he will not represent that much of a threat to their interests and he will be such an obedient subject to them.<sup>228</sup> So, obviously, they did not have any intention to grant the Iraqis their independence, since they regarded Iraq as booty of their war with the Turks. According to Geoff Simons, “The subsequent planting of Feisal in the newly-defined Iraq was never intended by the British as a gesture to Arab independence, rather as a means of securing British influence over the former Ottoman vilayets of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra....”<sup>229</sup>

However, with the growth of awareness and the rising national sentiments among the Iraqis, reinforced by Woodrow Wilson’s fourteen points, they saw no difference between a colonial rule and a mandate. Actually, “the term ‘mandate’ was never accepted by the Iraqi nationalists, who equated it with colonization and imperialism, and agitated furiously against

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<sup>225</sup> Adeed Dawisha, *Iraq: A Political History from Independence to Occupation* (The United Kingdom. Princeton University Press: 2009), p. 10.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.

<sup>227</sup> - - -, *The Cradle of Civilization, Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Iraq*.

<sup>228</sup> Adeed Dawisha, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>229</sup> Geoff Simons, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

it.”<sup>230</sup> Moreover, “the assumption of the mandates by France and Britain, under the convenient legalistic cloak of the League of Nations, represented no more than a continuation of colonial control in a garb that might be more acceptable to an international community growing increasingly sensitive to nationalist demands.”<sup>231</sup>

In October 3, 1932, the United Kingdom granted the Iraqis their independence after the persuasion from the Hashemite King “Faisal”, but still with the British control over their oil.<sup>232</sup> A year after Iraq’s official freedom, and about a decade after his enthronement, in 1933, the King Faisal passed away.<sup>233</sup> For the next five years, Iraq was governed by King Ghazi. The latter was succeeded by his son Faisal the Second, in 1939. During his rule, there were many attempts to overthrow the monarchy. However, the British government prevented this from happening, because the loss of the monarchy will cost them the oil supplies.<sup>234</sup>

Nevertheless, under the reign of King Faisal the Second, an Iraqi nationalist group plotted a coup d’état to overthrow the young monarchy from power, which was accused of treachery for putting Iraq “into subservience to the West”. Consequently, all of the King Faisal and his entourage were sentenced to death. According to Juan Cole, they were escorted out of the palace and shot to death,<sup>235</sup> but based on another source of information; the king “was executed, hung upside-down outside the palace,”<sup>236</sup> whereas for his “pro-British” Prime Minister Nuri al-Said, even after his death, his corpse had been dig out and dragged through the streets, using a car.<sup>237</sup> Moreover, this coup d’état was not the last that Iraq had witnessed; actually, it was the inception of a long unstable future, because “The revolution of 1958 was followed by others in 1963, 1968, and 1979...”<sup>238</sup>

With the success of the 1958 political coup, Colonel Abdul Karim Qasim succeeded to power; the first Iraqi president. But, since his first year in office, his rule knew so many plotting and attempts to overthrow him and kill him. The first one, according to the CNN records, was organized by a group led by Saddam Hussein in October 1959 but the president

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<sup>230</sup> Adeed Dawisha, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>231</sup> Geoff Simons, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>232</sup> - - -, The Cradle of Civilization, Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Iraq.

<sup>233</sup> Adeed Dawisha, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>234</sup> Iraq, available at, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq>

<sup>235</sup> Juan Cole, Engaging the Muslim World, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>236</sup> - - -, The Cradle of Civilization, Ancient Mesopotamia to Modern Iraq.

<sup>237</sup> Juan Cole, Engaging the Muslim World, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>238</sup> Peter Hahn, A Century of U.S. Relations with Iraq, Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective. Vol. 5, issue 7-april 2012. p.p. 1-2, p. 1. Available at, <http://origins.osu.edu/article/century-us-relations-iraq>

survived this assassination and Hussein escaped to Syria.<sup>239</sup> However, the last attempt was successful. In a coup organized by the Baath Party, in 1963, the Qasim era ended with his execution.<sup>240</sup>

Surprisingly, it took the new government of the Baath Party no more than eight months to be ousted by the “Arif Brothers”. However, apparently, the history of Iraq cannot cease from repeating itself; consequently, in 1968, the Baath Party came out stronger and took over the presidency.<sup>241</sup> Eventually, General Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr became the new president and positioned his nephew, Saddam Hussein, in a highly ranked position as an interior minister.

But overall, having his uncle as the president, with a full awareness of the political race in Iraq, in addition to the latter’s eagerness to power, Saddam Hussein did not let this blood relationship from keeping him apart from his plans that he started to scheme since the monarchy days. In fact, Lawrence Freedman declares that “Saddam Hussein’s career began with plotting against the monarchy, to be followed by plotting against the new rulers once the monarchy had been overthrown, and eventually to plotting against anyone who might conceivably be plotting against him.” Therefore, by pushing his uncle “Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr” from power, in 1979, Saddam became the head of authority in Iraq.<sup>242</sup>

Like most the countries in the Muslim World, in Iraq, the political system is defined and determined by the tribal system; because of which societies have been engaged into an unbalanced hierarchy and rivalry. It has been counted about 150 family-based clans and that is only in Iraq. Being an expert at plotting against other powers, the forty-two Iraq’s new president secured himself quite well by eradicating all his rivals from his government and placing people from his own tribe and from others that were cheering for his rule; most of whom were Sunnites. Consequently, during his presidential period, “the Saddam regime was largely staffed at senior levels by Saddam's relatives and members of a group of tribes, referred to as the al-Takarita (Tikritis), of which Saddam's own Abu Nasir tribe is one.”<sup>243</sup>

To sum, Iraq’s history can be seen as nothing but a mere transition from a flow of different civilizations, to the successiveness of several conquests, to the consecutiveness of many

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<sup>239</sup> Iraq History Fast Facts (CNN Library: October 30, 2013 -- Updated 21:23 GMT), available at, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/30/world/meast/iraq-history-fast-facts/>

<sup>240</sup> Juan Cole, *Engaging the Muslim World*, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

<sup>242</sup> Lawrence Freedman, op. cit., p150-151

<sup>243</sup> *the Muslim World after 9/11*, p34-35

political coups that the country had witnessed during the twentieth century. The inconstancy and the instability of Iraq's political, social, and economical fields, in the previous century, and that of the entire region of the Middle East magnetized the West attentions and required their interventions; because the chaotic events spread in this area had directly endangered their interests.

## **II. The Great Power's Shift from Coal to Oil:**

The First World War period witnessed an epic shift in the source of energy; a new alternative that would define the international relations based on new terms. During this era, the great powers as the United Kingdom and the United States of America replaced coal with oil. There is no doubt that this natural material gained a huge popularity, mainly due to the invention of new oil-fueled military equipments, such as "...submarines, airplanes, tanks ...transport mechanism," and many other discoveries of the same type. However, at first, the call for this move might have been primarily for military reasons, but since the invasion of oil on all fields, it had been generalized for domestic uses, as well; its importance in world affairs and its crucial role in peoples' daily life cannot be overlooked.<sup>244</sup>

However, unlike coal, oil was not accessible for everyone and not even affordable to some poor countries. Apart from the U.S. and Russia, all the other powerful nations as the U.K., France, Germany, and Japan were prostituting for oil or raping weak countries with rich oil-grounds like what the British government and the French one had done in the third world. Russia; for instance "had been the world's leading oil producer in 1900, accounting for more than half of world production... by 1939 the Soviet Union was the second-largest oil producer in the world, far behind the United States." Actually, America's productive oil-fields were estimated, in 1925, by 70% of the world's productions, which had fed on the European countries weakness. Accordingly, the hunt for oil in foreign territories was the best bet for the countries who suffered oil shortage inside their borders. Therefore, most of these governments persuaded and encouraged their oil companies to look for undiscovered lands, so that; they can rely on themselves and escape the U.S. grip.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Encyclopedia of the American Foreign Relations, New American Nation, O-W, Oil-Oil and World Power (by David S. Painter), available at, <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/O-W/Oil-Oil-and-world-power.html>

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

However, the look for new territories with oil was not exclusive only to those with weak energetic power; in fact, it included all great powers, since the race for oil became a race of international power and dominance. The United States; for example, despite of its energy richness, “five of the seven great oil corporations that dominated the international oil industry from the 1920s to the 1970s were American companies.” Areas with great amount of oil had topped the Great powers’ most wanted list. In terms of energy affluence, the Middle East had definitely been paid attention, not only because of being the home of the biggest reservoir of oil on earth, including the two first countries with the largest oil reserves in the whole world both of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, but also because of its strategic location, surrounded by two confronting fronts, from the west it is surrounded by America’s allies; whereas, the East by America’s greatest competitor. The British control of the Middle Eastern region had preserved the Western interests and kept the Middle Eastern oil from the Germans and Russians reach.<sup>246</sup> The dominance over this region determined the scores of the international conflicts

Exclusion of the Soviets from the Middle East retained oil for Western recovery, and kept the Soviets short of oil. In addition, U.S. and British strategic planners wanted to keep the Soviets out of the Middle East because the region contained the most defensible locations for launching a strategic air offensive against the Soviet Union in the event of a global war. Throughout the Cold War, ensuring Western access to Middle East oil was a basic objective of U.S. foreign policy.<sup>247</sup>

The Middle East is by far the wealthiest region ever, in terms of natural resources. Its reserves are counted by 75 percent in the world and its production is estimated by 46 percent of the world. The majority of world depends on this region for oil supplies; thus if anything happened or any change the whole international system will lose its balance. Because, “The Middle Eastern “wells of power”...supply West Europe with half of its requirements, and Japan with 90 per cent of her needs. Denial of access might well cripple important allies of the United States...” that is to say, if one of America’s first competitors have direct power over these wells as the Soviet Union “... could seriously hurt the economies of the United States and its allies and exclude or threaten to exclude many countries from access to their oil supplies.”<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>246</sup> Encyclopedia of the American Foreign Relations, New American Nation, O-W, Oil-Oil and World Power (by David S. Painter), available at, <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/O-W/Oil-Oil-and-world-power.html>

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Major Eugene S. De Nezza, the Soviet Need for Middle East Oil (Ohio. Air University Review: May-June 1971), available at, <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/aureview/1971/may-jun/DeNezza.html>

### **a- The Twentieth century Empires' Fight Over Mesopotamia**

« Les réserves irakiennes, tout aussi importantes, ont depuis toujours attiré l'attention des Occidentaux, »<sup>249</sup>

Even before finding any trace of oil in Iraq, the Mesopotamian land attracted a lot of attention since the discovery of oil in its neighbor Iran in 1908; a discovery that determined the Middle Eastern region's destiny and still does. Sharing the same similarities with Persia, geologically speaking, the Great Western powers had high expectations from Iraq. The emphasis had been put on three parts in Mesopotamia, Mosul located in the North, Baghdad in the Middle, and Basra in the South. The search for oil had been kept low profile; for that reason, foreign geologists pretend to be archaeologists.

Being the World's largest colonial empire and having full control over the newly-discovered Persian oil through the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC) did not put an end to the British ambition.<sup>250</sup> Actually, The British were among the most persistent and insistent powers in their claim for the Mesopotamian oil, which was regarded as the fuel of their empire and an assurance for its continuation; especially, because of a suffering from a great shortage of oil back home. Therefore, in Winston Churchill's time, oil had been officially pointed out for its decisiveness role in the supremacy of the British Imperial Navy. Thus, in 1913, the Persian Gulf had been investigated for oil. Consequently, in the following years, the British government controlled all of Basra in November 1914, Baghdad in March 1917, and Mosul in November 1918.<sup>251</sup>

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, an unusual relationship had been built between governments and the oil companies based on their own interests. The former provided the latter protection exchangeable for oil at a considerable reduction.<sup>252</sup> This association had officially started with the foundation of the Turkish Petroleum Company (TPC) in 1911. Ironically, unlike its name, the company had no Turkish participation but

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<sup>249</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, *L'Islam Face au Nouveau Ordre Mondial (Après l'Iraq à qui le tour ?)*, p. 62.

<sup>250</sup> James A. Paul, *Great Power Conflict over Iraqi Oil: The World War I Era* (Global Policy Forum) October, 2002, p1

<sup>251</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, *Oil in Iraq: The Byzantine Beginnings* (Global Policy Forum) April 25, 2003, p2

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1.

involved both of the British and German memberships.<sup>253</sup> However, with the outbreak of the First World War out in 1914, the “Anglo-German” corporation broke, as well.<sup>254</sup>

The pursuit of oil in Mesopotamia had reached another level in the First World War,<sup>255</sup> during which oil, the fuel of the new military equipments such as tanks, naval ships, and military airplanes, was regarded as the ultimate key for the victory and expansion of the great powers. But overall, because of the shortage of this raw material during the First World War, the major conflicted empires’ plans were hampered; consequently, the mother lands of oil had been seen differently modern, Mesopotamia at the head of the list.<sup>256</sup>

The defeat and dismantle of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the twentieth century gave a great impetus to the Western powers to impose their control and ask for new territories, mainly in Iraq. According to Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, “oil was the major prize”; the booty that caused a friction between the major powers.<sup>257</sup> The Ottomans’ defeat was followed by its ally’s the “German Empire”, which led to the expiry of its membership from TPC and losing its interests to the British. As a result, Mesopotamia was automatically divided between the victorious powers, Britain, France, and the United States. The British came out with a great share when Iraq was mandated to Britain, in 1919, under the League of Nations Covenant.<sup>258</sup>

France did not like this arrangement because they had suffered from an oil deficiency at home and needed a fair share of Mesopotamia to strengthen their industrial and military might. In the San Remo agreement that was held in Italy, in April 1920, both of France and Britain reached an understanding. France had conditionally agreed to the British mandate over Iraq for having Syria in return; the pre-war German share in TPC. Ironically, all of these disputes and conflicts over Iraq took place even before the discovery of a single drop of oil, declares James Paul. But even after the San Remo agreement, afraid of the mighty Britain, the French were not contented of being overshadowed; therefore, the French government founded

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<sup>253</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>254</sup> James A. Paul, *Great Power Conflict over Iraqi Oil: The World War 1 Era* (Global Policy Forum) October, 2002, p1

<sup>255</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>256</sup> James A. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>257</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

the “Compagnie Francaise des Pétroles” (CFP) in 1920 to take care of their own interests in the TPC.<sup>259</sup>

Whereas for the United States, it did not appreciate the idea of being left out; apparently, the San Remo arrangement did not put an end to the quarrels over the Iraqi oil as much as it was the cause of new ones. The Americans were enraged because of the Anglo-French settlement, thus even before the end of 1920, all of the American oil companies and the press denied this treaty, and called both of the countries involved as “ungrateful imperialist allies”.<sup>260</sup> Being one of the largest oil producers did not stop them from entering in quarrels with the British over Iraq’s oil,<sup>261</sup> mainly due to the oil shortage and the augmentation in the prices that the First World War era had witnessed and because of the exhausted American reserves. For that reason U.S. foreign policy makers decided that Iraq will not be exclusive to the European markets and encourage its oil companies to look for foreign oil.<sup>262</sup>

Accusations were raised from both sides, from a British point of view; the Americans were disappointed because they expected some special treatment.<sup>263</sup> In the other hand, from an American perspective, the British were privileged since they had been entrusted to look after Iraq; in other words, they were not fair and gave themselves the priority over the other powers.<sup>264</sup> Therefore, the U.S., at the time of President Wilson, came out with the “open door policy” to assure its position in the TPC and have a fair share as that of the Europeans. At the beginning, the British turned down the American demands but the transatlantic voices had been raised loudly threatening to withdraw its “recognition of the draft mandate of Iraq”.<sup>265</sup> For that reason, in 1922, both sides reached an agreement to admit a syndicate of seven American oil companies into TPC, which are named as Near-East Development Company (NEDC). But, in 1924, the U.S. officially gained membership in the company.<sup>266</sup>

Eventually, without the Iraqi consultation or their approval, the country had been divided into three different shares. Britain was the predominant, received half of the partition, while the other half had been divided evenly between the United States and France; with the recognition that all this havoc and wrangle over Iraq’s oil happened even before finding any

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<sup>259</sup> James A. Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> Barry Rubin, *The Great Powers in the Middle East 1919-1939* (New York: Holms & Meier, 1988) “Uriel Dann (ed)” *America as a Junior Partner*, pp. 243-247; p1

<sup>262</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>263</sup> Barry Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>265</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.



oil. In October 1927, Britain hit the jet pot when it discovered a gusher in Northern Iraq, near Kirkuk, in large quantities.<sup>267</sup> The Kirkuk discovery, says Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, “was the second major oil-related event in the Middle East history after Masjid-i Suleiman in Iran. The event marked the fulfillment of a long-hoped dream for the TPC partners and had shaped the destiny of Iraq and of the Middle East’s. Two years later, in June, the TPC became known as Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC).<sup>268</sup> But, it did not matter under which name the company is recognized, because the Iraqi people did not gain that much.

Although, they had officially been independent of the British mandate since 1932, but Iraq was still under their control, and this continued till the 1940s.<sup>269</sup> After a lot of failed attempts to take charge, the British gave up because of the spread of political awareness and nationalist spirits among the Iraqi people in the 1950s.<sup>270</sup>

### **b- Iraq out of Control**

Even before the overthrow of the monarchy, dispute between the government and IPC that controlled the country’s oil reserves was escalated because of the little amount of profit the government was receiving from the company; especially, when the Iraqis witnessed the fair deals that their neighboring countries as Saudi Arabia and Iran received from other companies. After the Iraqi revolution of 1958, even when Qasim promised the British government of not nationalizing the oil fields, the Western Powers were still afraid of the impact of this nationalist wave on their interests and its impact on the bordering regions.<sup>271</sup>

Consequently, because of opposing the IPC and dealing with the Soviets, General Qasim became an official threat to the United States and the United Kingdom’s interests in the region. After the CIA assassination attempt of Qasim that was led by the Health Alteration Committee unit in 1960, using a poisoned handkerchief,<sup>272</sup> the important members in the IPC weakened the government by holding down the Iraqi production.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> James A. Paul, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>268</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>269</sup> Barry Rubin, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>271</sup> Joe Strok, *The Struggle for the Iraqi Oil: Middle East and Energy Crisis*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), (pp. 102/-108), p. 1.

<sup>272</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid, 14.

Since its foundation in 1920, the IPC's shares were almost evenly divided between the Royal Dutch Shell (RDS), the French Petroleum Company (FPC), the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), and a consortium of American companies; however, in the late 1961, Qasim asked about 20 percent of the IPC's rights and 55 percent of its profit.<sup>274</sup> In a response to the IPC rejection, under the law<sup>80</sup> that was issued in February 1963, the Iraqi government limited the companies' area of exploitation as much as 0.5 percent of IPC ownership; whereas, for the 99.5 of rights were reserved by the government.<sup>275</sup> In the same date, in a successful coup, the Iraqi president was assassinated. Again all allegations were pointed to the CIA.<sup>276</sup>

In February 1964, the Iraqi National Oil Company (INOC) was established, competing against the IPC. In the post 1967 war, the Iraqi government handed over the INOC the exclusivity to explore Iraq's oil; of course, this act was immediately followed by the IPC denial and protest.<sup>277</sup> Under another coup, in 1968, the Baath regime returned to power under the cloak of the United States.<sup>278</sup> Because of the chaotic events that Iraq had witnessed in the 1960s mainly between 1965 and 1967; in addition to several coup d'états, the responsible chiefs of INOC and IPC did not reach a suitable arrangements about the disputes over the Northern Rumaila fields.<sup>279</sup>

Due to the IPC threats that were launched against any Western company willing to deal with INOC, The Iraqi government directed its radar towards the French and the Soviet companies to produce and purchase its oil. In November 1967, ERAP, a French company, entered in a contract with INOC for the development of some expropriated regions from the IPC. Followed by the Soviet's contract, in June; a year after the overthrow that brought the Baath regime back into power, in which the Baathist Iraq handed the Northern Rumaila fields to the U.S.S.R to be explored them. As a result, in 1972, Rumaila fields were ready to be produced.<sup>280</sup>

Still both of INOC and IPC did not settle their quarrels over the Rumaila fields, thus Iraq was unable to deal with Western markets because the latter promised of suing anyone dare to deal with the Iraqi national company. For that reason, Iraq dealt with markets as far as Japan

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<sup>274</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>275</sup> Joe Strok, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>276</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>277</sup> Joe Strok, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>278</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>279</sup> Joe Strok, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

and Brazil in addition to Eastern Europe, receiving a lot of support mainly from the Arab countries as Algeria and Libya. Because of the IPC's leadership stubbornness and stalling, after so many warnings, the Iraqi government nationalized all the company's assets in the first of June, 1972, which had a huge impact on the concession system in the whole region and everywhere.<sup>281</sup>

All in all, the Iraqi petroleum production was controlled by the IPC until 1972. Since then, it had lost its authority over Iraq's oil because of its nationalization from 1972 to 1975 by the Iraqi government under the Brigadier General Ahmed Hasan al-Bakr.<sup>282</sup> But overall, Iraq's rebel against the Western's will was most definitely caught by the American radars and their allies', and thus it had to be tamed to set an example to its neighbors and to put an end to the spread of nationalism in the Third World. Consequently, "the price was not cheap" declares Joe Strok, "more than a dozen years of economic stagnation, political instability, and confrontation."<sup>283</sup>

### **III. A Historical Overview of U.S.-Iraqi relations (1970s-1990s)**

Before the Second World War, the United States' role in the Middle Eastern region was nothing more than an observer; it was not that involved as much as the other powers of Britain and France. Nonetheless, since the discovery of oil in the area plus the settlement that followed the First World War, America was not pleased for having a secondary role in "what would later be called the Third World", which afterward would be the main determinant factor of U.S. foreign policy post WW2.<sup>284</sup> Oil; the key to power, has been America's first priorities in the Middle East, mainly in the Gulf area "the single largest source of petroleum in the world".<sup>285</sup> But overall, the "upsetting matters" as both of Joyce and Gabriel Kolko have noted, "was the desire of oil-producing nations to obtain a larger share of the profits on the oil foreign firms were removing from their soil..."<sup>286</sup>

Surprisingly, America was not a permanent client of the Gulf area; till the 1970s, the U.S. purchased only about 12 percent of the Gulf oil. However, after observing the reliance of its

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>282</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>283</sup> Joe Strok, Middle op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>284</sup> Barry Rubin, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>285</sup> Robert, brown, op. cit., p. 319.

<sup>286</sup> Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, *The Limits of Power: The World and the United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1954* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), *Oil: The Rewards of Power*. pp. 413-420; p4

allies on the Middle Eastern oil and the seventy's oil crisis, America encouraged its oil companies to gain profit and to stabilize the region. In this period, Western Europe consumed about 80 percent of the Middle East petroleum; whereas, Japan consumed 90. Afraid from losing them to the communism side, Americans felt the need to establish a new order.<sup>287</sup> Moreover, America's perspective of the whole region had ultimately changed since the 1970s.<sup>288</sup> Apart from being the world's first oil supplier, having the British around during almost the first half of the twentieth century, the great powers' interests were secure and safe. But with their withdrawal in the late of the 1960s and early 1970s, the Gulf area was out of control, which means that the security of the Western interests was no longer guaranteed. Consequently, "the oil monarchies were like big, shining, beautiful, wealthy banks plopped down in the middle of a violent slum," says Juan Cole, thus they needed to be protected.<sup>289</sup>

The Nationalization of the Iraqi oil had a huge impact on America's oil companies, because of which the concessions system fell apart. After the loss of the Iranian and Kuwaiti concessions, American oil companies were looking for new petroleum fields.<sup>290</sup> In addition to the price explosion that followed the October 1973 war as "which came in conjunction with the politically inspired oil embargo against the United States by Arab producers..." during which "the price of oil quadrupled in a period of months; long lines formed at the gas pumps; and the American economy was dealt a severe economic blow."<sup>291</sup>

Juan Cole declares that Americans "felt threatened by radical secular ideologies. The communists had taken South Yemen. The Baath Party, socialist and republican, ruled Syria and Iraq. So, who would protect the small, opulent oil principalities now that the British were gone?"<sup>292</sup> Therefore, America has instantly replaced the British in the region, filling the power vacuum that the U.K. left after its absence. Not so different from the previous empire that had landed in the area before; Americans had also coveted the land's wealth and natural richness. "History has a habit of repeating itself, albeit with different nuances and different actors" states Dr. Ferruh Demirmen.<sup>293</sup> So, the United States moved directly "to reap the rewards of its rising power and role in the region."<sup>294</sup> Basically, U.S. decision makers'

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<sup>287</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>288</sup> Robert, brown, op. cit., p. 319.

<sup>289</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Robert, brown, op. cit., p. 319.

<sup>292</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 18.

<sup>293</sup> Dr. Ferruh Demirmen, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>294</sup> Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, op. cit., p. 1.

objectives are to remove all the barriers for the expansion of their petroleum companies and open the Middle East for the American markets.

The last part of the second chapter will represent a brief study of the political relations between the United States of America and Iraq since the Reagan era, moving to the Bush period and concluding with the Clinton one only to have an idea of the years during which tension between the two countries had been escalated. According to Chip Gagnon, it is wrong and ignorant to relate U.S.-Iraq history to the War on Terror or to the Gulf War, which most of Americans do. The latter emphasized on the study of history, saying that the Bush administration, during America's latest war, waged a war on Iraq because of Saddam evilness and possession of weapons of mass destruction, but that is old news, says Gagnon, Saddam was never the model of goodness and concerning the Iraqi nuclear program, America has already being aware of it since the Reagan era, and even helped in its development, so why now, and "why are they portraying Saddam Hussein as an immediate threat?" a deeper look into the Iraqi-American relation's history, mainly the most important events that shaped their relation, might facilitate understanding the war on Iraq.<sup>295</sup>

#### **a- Iraq During The Reagan Administration (1981-1989)**

After the Iranian revolution, Iraq tried to approach the Khomeini regime and supported the boycott with America, but the new Iranian rule tried to expand the Islamic revolution to the entire area and even asked the Iraqis to remove Saddam Hussein from power. In the other hand, Saddam's patience was running thin; consequently, on the night of September 21-22, 1980, after being extremely provoked, Iraq invaded Iran. But, "whatever the provocation, which was considerable," Lawrence Freedman asserts that "this was a clear act of aggression...", however "at the time of the invasion, none of the five permanent members were ready to antagonize Iraq."<sup>296</sup>

Moreover, despite of their unfriendly history, America sided with Iraq in its war against Iran. It is noted that "The United States had not had diplomatic relations with Iraq since 1967. Iraqi politics had long been violent and argumentative, certainly since the overthrow of King Faisal in 1958." But after losing a friendly regime in Iran and with the rise of a radical and an

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<sup>295</sup> P. Chip Gagnon, *Our History with Iraq: Talk given at Teach-in on Iraq (Cornell University, October 22, 2002)*, p1

<sup>296</sup> Lawrence Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

anti-American one, the United States was running out of choices; consequently, “such an intense antipathy created a natural temptation to view Iran’s enemies as America’s friends. In this respect, though not in any other, Saddam Hussein’s Iraq was a natural ally.”<sup>297</sup>

Being involved in such a deal, the U.S. did whatever it takes so that Iraq can win the war; even if it required removing Iraq from the terrorist sponsors’ list and putting it in the list of best allies. Therefore, over the course of the war, the United States “actively supported Iraq, supplying billions of dollars of credits, US military intelligence and advice, and ensuring that necessary weaponry got to Iraq.” They even provided the Iraqi authorities with chemical weapons.<sup>298</sup>

Despite of their constant denial, Americans were Iraq’s major accomplice in the crime committed against Iran; not only they knew of the chemical attacks but also sponsored and even helped the Iraqi government. Moreover, the U.S. had even covered Saddam’s actions because “the Reagan administration decided that it was better to let the attacks continue if they might turn the tide of the war. And even if they were discovered, the CIA wagered that international outrage and condemnation would be muted.” Indeed, according to the CIA records, the Iraqi chemical attacks against Iran started in 1983, during which Iran tried to raise this case to the United Nations, because of lack of evidence; it failed, knowing that the CIA had enough proofs so that the Iranian government could support its allegations. Moreover, the U.S. government supplied the Iraqi army with modern weaponry. America had also helped Iraq by exploring the enemy’s strategic spots with the use of its satellites; for example,

In 1988, during the waning days of Iraq's war with Iran, the United States learned through satellite imagery that Iran was about to gain a major strategic advantage by exploiting a hole in Iraqi defenses. U.S. intelligence officials conveyed the location of the Iranian troops to Iraq, fully aware that Hussein's military would attack with chemical weapons... These attacks helped to tilt the war in Iraq's favor and bring Iran to the negotiating table, and they ensured that the Reagan administration's long-standing policy of securing an Iraqi victory would succeed. But they were also the last in a series of chemical strikes stretching back several years that the Reagan administration knew about and didn't disclose.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid. 150.

<sup>298</sup> P. Chip Gagnon, *op. cit.*,

<sup>299</sup> Shane Harris and Mathew M. Aid, *Exclusive: CIA Files America Helped Saddam as He Gassed Iran*, August 26, 2013

## **b- Iraq during The Bush Administration (1989-1993)**

The Iraqi-American history in this era is marked with the blow of another Gulf War; worse than the previous one. After being in a war that lasted about eight years, both of Iraq and Iran reached an agreement to put their disputes aside and join forces to rebuild their countries based on the mounting of petroleum prices. For the achievement of this plan, both of Iran and Iraq decided that other oil producer nations needed to cut productions. However, because of the rejection of both Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates their proposal, starting from the ninety's, oil prices declined. For that reason, in the second of August of 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait and shortly took over the whole country.<sup>300</sup> Thus, for the sake of their interests, American policy planners decided to intervene and maintain stability in the region.<sup>301</sup> But “Without the specter of the Soviet threat to the region, the remaining U.S. interests involving oil and Israel may not be enough to convince a skeptical public that a high level of American involvement in both the Arab-Israeli and the Gulf region is still necessary.”<sup>302</sup>

As a result, afraid of the growth of Saddam's ambition “to control so much of the world's petroleum supply that he could blackmail the industrialized democracies,” the administration of George H. W. Bush had instantly redirected its radars toward Iraq.<sup>303</sup> Because of the latter's aggression on Kuwait, despite of their quarrels, the two major powers that were in a long fight sided together against Iraq; both of the United States and the Soviet Union reached an agreement concerning Iraq's invasion on its neighbor.<sup>304</sup> For the first time after the Cold War, “the two former Cold War antagonists joined forces to condemn Iraqi aggression and to call economic sanctions.”<sup>305</sup>

Surprisingly, at the same month of the invasion, Iraq's actions were immediately condemned by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The surprising thing about the UNSC response to Iraq's invasion to Kuwait is the quickness and determination in taking such a decision in no more than a couple of days while they did not move an inch when Saddam invaded Iran, so why now and “why was the UN response so prompt and so firm?” asks Chomsky.<sup>306</sup> According to Enver Masud,

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<sup>300</sup> Robert, brown, op. cit., p. 320.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid. p. 321.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid. p. 316.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid. p. 19-20.

<sup>304</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 172.

<sup>305</sup> Robert, brown, op. cit., p. 315.

<sup>306</sup> Noam Chomsky, op. cit., p. 693.

The haste with which the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 678, authorizing the use of force against Iraq and its actions since the end of this round of fighting in the Gulf, leave little doubt as to who is setting UN policy and objectives. The UN actions in the Gulf contrast sharply with UN inaction on other long-standing disputes such as those over Kashmir, Lebanon, and Palestine, which have been allowed to fester despite the passage of UN resolutions. To an unbiased observer it should be obvious that a double standard is at work where the UN and the United States are concerned. The prostitution of the UN to the wishes of one superpower endangers the very foundation on which the UN was conceived.<sup>307</sup>

As a response to Chomsky's question, the collective coalition led by America against Iraq was mainly because the latter centralized the world's largest petroleum reserves; in addition to a detested war criminal dictator named Saddam, a president who once was regarded as the U.S.A. ally, that it was about time to be toppled from power because if he was left alone, he could gain control over the whole region and then threatening their interests.<sup>308</sup> Eventually, in the sixteenth of January, 1991, "the U.S. and Western Europe with the aid of Egypt, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and others fight the Gulf War to maintain control of low-priced, Middle-East oil."<sup>309</sup>

However, apparently, there are some other indefinite reasons why Iraq was attacked. The first war on Iraq will always be remembered as the start of one of the bloodiest period in Iraq's modern history, during which, the United States along with its allies started operation destruction Iraq, "a country a country whose defense spending was about one percent that of the U.S. In the next forty-three days the guardians of the "civilized world" would kill a hundred thousand men, women, and children, wound a million more, and destroy \$200 billion worth of property in the cradle of civilization."<sup>310</sup> Apparently, the destruction and demolition of Mesopotamia is what the West was seeking. According to M. Kassab,

Les Etats-Unis veulent une boucherie et un massacre plutôt qu'un règlement pacifique du conflit. Ils veulent tester leurs armes, tuer des milliers de personnes, créer une catastrophe écologique et n'accepteront jamais des efforts de paix \_ Le président cubain avait soutenu que la crise du Golfe avait donné sur un plateau d'argent, l'occasion aux impérialistes de lancer leur première grande action

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<sup>307</sup> Enver Masud, United Nations of America, October 1, 1991, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>308</sup> Robert, brown, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>309</sup> Enver Masud, the Third Wave and the New World Order, June 1, 1994, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>310</sup> Enver Masud, The Holocaust, March 1, 1991. Op. cit., p. 1.



comme maître du monde après l'affaiblissement de l'Union Soviétique comme superpuissance.<sup>311</sup>

America's best justification for the ruination of the country was the destruction of the new Hitler "Saddam Hussein" and the consequences of this campaign are considered to be as nothing but collateral damage; a cheap price to rid the Iraqi people from an abusive dictator and save the Kuwaiti from his greediness, a Hitler that until Kuwait's invasion was their favorite ally in the Middle East with whom, together, they defeated Iran; states Enver Masud.<sup>312</sup> He also argues saying,

Never mind, that President Saddam Hussein, by no means admired by many of his own people, was not nearly the worst of his breed. And, of course, oil and the intractable problems at home had nothing to do with it. President George Bush proclaimed a New World Order. Or was it merely old world imperialism? Divide, conquer, plunder, and keep the natives in their place. The invasion of Kuwait was wrong. Iraq should have settled its dispute with Kuwait peacefully. But was the nature and scale of the U.S. response proportionate to the atrocities committed by Iraq? ... Never mind that it was silent when Israel bombed Iraq in 1981. Never mind the 23-year occupation by Israel of the West Bank. Never mind all the other atrocities which Amnesty International has reported year after year. Saddam Hussein became the monster that had to be beheaded.<sup>313</sup>

According to Chomsky, the Gulf War was waged only to preserve and protect their interests in that region, also known as "oil". Ironically, the Western powers have always talked about the Middle Eastern natural energies as something belong to them or as they have accidentally been placed in another country. The West's enemy was not Saddam because the world has witnessed many like Saddam, but he was one of the few "Saddams" who dared saying no to America and challenged its authority. From the latter point of view, the enemy of the world order, as it is defined by the occidental world is nationalism, thus for the Americans the only legitimate powers in the world are those who serves their interests.<sup>314</sup>

America's first war against Iraq proved its duplicity. Mohamed Yacine Kassab shares the same standpoint of Enver Masud, concerning the American foreign policy practiced towards Iraq, both of them argued the U.S. double standards in tackling the same situation differently. Kassab; for instances, attacks both of the U.S.A. and UN; wondering if the UN resolution had

<sup>311</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>312</sup> Enver Masud, The Holocaust, March 1, 1991. Op. cit. p. 1.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid. 1-2.

<sup>314</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 154.

been taken for justice sake and establishing order, how come it was not globalized and included Israel; asking, “sur quelle base détruit-on une nation et protège-t-on une autre alors que les deux pays sont considérés par l’ONU comme des agresseurs ?”<sup>315</sup>

Si ces procédés, d’un autre âge, n’ont été utilisés que dans le seul but de faire respecter une décision de l’ONU, pourquoi ne pas avoir usé des même méthodes pour prescrire, l’application de la résolution 242 du Conseil de Sécurité par l’Israël, afin de l’obliger à restituer les territoires arabes occupés depuis 1967 ? Pourquoi avoir imposé immédiatement un blocus alimentaire et utilisé la force contre l’Irak, cinq mois seulement après le premier vote de l’ONU, et refusé de l’appliquer à l’Israël qui l’objet d’une résolution similaire, datant du 22 Novembre 1967, soit depuis un quart de siècle, et qui clame à la face du monde entier son opposition totale au respect des résolutions du Conseil de Sécurité ?<sup>316</sup>

Mohamed Kassab questions the credibility of the United Nations and the West when he compares their reactions to the assault led by Israel and the one led by Iraq, saying that,

La première remarque évidente qui se dégage est que cette résolution est intervenue cinq mois et demis après l’agression sioniste, alors que pour le cas de l’Irak une motion identique a été adoptée 48 heures après l’occupation du Koweït. . . Si les deux occupations ont été condamnées d’une manière identique par le Conseil de Sécurité de l’ONU, il est tout à fait normal qu’en cas de refus d’une partie d’exécuter ces résolutions, des moyens similaires à ceux qui ont été mis en œuvre contre l’Irak doivent être utilisé à l’égard du pays récalcitrant.<sup>317</sup>

But overall, from another perspective, concerning the reasons based on which America invaded Iraq, Islam topped them all. Kassab points to Islam as the difference between Israel and Iraq; the former is a privileged ally of the West whereas the latter is an Arab Muslim country; therefore, the reasons for the aggression against Iraq were nothing more than that difference.<sup>318</sup> Accordingly, Kuwait’s invasion by Iraq was a reward for the imperialist forces, a license to intervene freely in the internal affairs of the Muslim countries, a privilege that have lost since the demise of the Soviet Union.<sup>319</sup> Moreover, to avoid the skepticism and questioning of the Muslim World and the world concerning its real intentions, in general,

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<sup>315</sup> Ibid. 163.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid. 128.

<sup>317</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid, p. 133.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid, p. 212.

America recruited some Muslim countries in its lines.<sup>320</sup> Mohammed Kassab condemned the American applied policy on Iraq, accusing it of hypocrisy,

Les Occidentaux ont mené leur entreprise consistant à détruire un pays arabo-musulman, mais en même temps à mettre la main sur les gisements pétroliers de la région. La libération du Koweït n'est qu'un leurre grossier. A-t-on vu une seule fois dans les chroniques, les pays occidentaux accourir aussi précipitamment pour libérer un pays arabe et musulmans ? Si ce n'est que l'occupation du Koweït qui était en jeu, aurait-on détruit un grand pays, un grand peuple, une grande histoire pour libérer un petit pays, un petit peuple, une petite histoire ? Ou se trouve la logique dans ce raisonnement ? A-t-on le droit de libérer l'île de Guam en détruisant les Etats-Unis qui occupent ce minuscule territoire ?<sup>321</sup>

### **c- Iraq during The Clinton Administration (1993-2001)**

The Gulf War aftermaths were not that stable as it was expected, instead of one enemy, America had both of Iraq and Iran as enemies in the Middle East. Thanks to the application of the "Dual Containment" policy, during the Clinton administration, they had managed to hold them back, using both of economy boycotts and the employment of the American power in the Gulf region. Sooner, the support of America's European allies to the policy used against both of the neighboring Middle Eastern countries faded because of humanitarian reasons and their interests with Iraq.<sup>322</sup>

Nevertheless, the termination of the Gulf War did not put an end to the attacks launched on Iraq. In the sixteenth of December, Clinton led another military campaign on Iraq, using "300 strike fighters, bombers and support aircraft flew 600 sorties, more than half of them at night. Another 40 ships took part in the attack, with 10 of them firing cruise missiles. More than 600 bombs were dropped, 90 cruise missiles fired from the air and another 300 from ships at sea;"<sup>323</sup> shockingly, all this had been used in just four days. Mr. Clinton's best excuse was Iraq's nuclear program, saying that "other nations besides Iraq have weapons of mass destruction, but Iraq alone has used them." Howard Zinn, a professor of history at the Boston University, accused the president of untruthfulness. In Zinn's words, as a response to Clinton's speech,

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<sup>320</sup> Ibid, p. 127.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid, p. 163.

<sup>322</sup> Juan Cole, Engaging the Muslim World, p 20

<sup>323</sup> Enver Masud, Clinton Manufactured Crisis, Violated Constitution, December 22, 1998, op. cit., p. 96.

He could only say this to a population deprived of history. The United States has supplied Turkey, Israel, and Indonesia with such weapons, and they have used them against civilian populations. But the nation most guilty is our own. No nation in the world possesses greater weapons of mass destruction than we do, and none has used them more often, or with greater loss of civilian life. In Hiroshima hundreds of thousands died, in Korea and Vietnam millions died as a result of our use of such weapons.

According to Presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan the Gulf War was uneven, questioning, why attacking Iraq, is it that big threat to the United States? For the records, Iraq has never initially started an attack on the U.S. or its interests abroad. “According to international law, a country can take unilateral action against another country only for the purpose of self-defense. . . . Saddam has not attacked the United States and does not pose an imminent threat to us.” Moreover, in any military engagement between the two, America has always been the winner, and so what if Saddam waged war on his own people, killing them, America is even worse, while trying to free them from him, they imposed sanctions that “has claimed the lives of 239,000 children, 5 years old and under, since 1990.”<sup>324</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

If anything this chapter has proved is that Mesopotamia has always been a source of attraction based on different elements, way before the discovery of oil, which has always being portrayed as the ultimate component for America’s attraction to the area. Nevertheless, with the discovery of petroleum in Iraq, the United States of America had more reasons to claim her share in Mesopotamia. So, in case of U.S.-Iraqi relations, should the emphasis be put on oil as the only reason America is interested in Iraq or there is something else? According to, Chip Gagnon says, “So given all of this history, the history of lies, deception, obsession and incredibly bad judgment on the part of the people driving this country's foreign policy, we have to ask ourselves what this war is really about,” speaking of the War on Terror.<sup>325</sup> In fact, to sum, “the land of Iraq has been conquered by Alexander the Great, ravaged by the Mongols and dominated by Britain. If you follow that history to the present, you find Iraq at the epicenter of world attention, this time as the likely target of an attack by

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<sup>324</sup> Enver Masud, Clinton Manufactured Crisis, Violated Constitution, December 22, 1998, op. cit., p. 97-98.

<sup>325</sup> P. Chip Gagnon, op. cit.

the greatest fire power that has ever been accumulated in the history of humankind.”<sup>326</sup> Each one of these invaders justified the massacres that were brought against Iraq as a contribution to civilization;<sup>327</sup> therefore, “will the civilized world of today build the way for enlightenment for the entire world or will it barrel down a path of self-interest empire building?”<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> - - -, Iraq: The Cradle of Civilization, op. cit.

<sup>327</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 126.

<sup>328</sup> - - -, Iraq: The Cradle of Civilization, op. cit.

# **Chapter 3:**

## **The Reasons and Consequences of the “Second Gulf War”**

There is no doubt that the entire world and the United States of America in particular have been taken aback of the ninth-eleventh attacks. Anyone in this situation would have thought of revenge and to punish the responsible. The first culprit was the infamous al-Qaeda, an organization that has been established and sponsored by America itself under the CIA supervision and whose members were once identified by the U.S. as freedom fighters. However, before arresting Osama Bin Laden or dismantling its terrorist organization; even after destroying one of the poorest nations on earth that is Afghanistan, the Bush Administration redirected its radars towards Iraq, just two years after the eleventh of September.

The Iraq war is definitely one of the most controversial wars that America has ever been engaged in. The second American war in the twentieth-first century has raised a lot of speculations concerning America's real attentions. At one level, it is seen as nothing but a termination to the previous Gulf War; taking care of unfinished business. At another level, it is considered as a war for oil. Therefore, what is the real truth behind the American war in Iraq?

### **IV. The Bush Administration and the “Second Gulf War”**

George Walker Bush, the fortieth-third American president and the first one in the twentieth-first century who had opened up his presidential period and the second millennium with a global war on terror, was born on the sixth of July in 1946. The son of the former U.S. president George Herbert Walker Bush was a man of business rather than politics. He founded and directed the Bush Exploration, a petroleum and gas enterprise, between 1975

and 1984. From 1984 to 1986, he was the president of the “Spectrum Corporation”<sup>329</sup>; then in 1986, he was the consultant of the Harken energy Corporation<sup>330</sup>. It was till 1994 that George Bush had taken a political position when he was elected the governor of the State of Texas. Eventually, he ran for the presidential election and took office in the first month of 2001.<sup>331</sup>

In other words, he did not enjoy a well grounded political background of a typical president. In fact, as a young man, he was a typical American boy who loved drinking and having fun, not that much to value, he even joined the Vietnam War but he never witnessed a real battle field.<sup>332</sup> For that reason, he was not taken seriously as a president; accordingly, George W. Bush “had the reputation of a lightweight”. But he managed to cover up his incompetence and strengthening his administration by surrounding himself with the best in the political field, known as the Hawks because of their strong beliefs and determinations to “get the country back on track . . . at any cost”, the Hawks chief goals are:

to increase the defense budget to enable the military to carry out the hoped-for technological revolution; to create an anti-nuclear defense system as quickly as possible... to tackle the problem of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and to put an end to Saddam Hussein after the “incomplete” Gulf War, in which Bush senior had opted to withdraw his troops before bringing down the Baathist regime. Most of these objectives would demand a major effort of political persuasion, particularly in Congress, which held the keys to the public treasury.<sup>333</sup>

It was generally predicted that George W. Bush “would pick up where the elder Bush had left off,”<sup>334</sup> because he was influenced by his father’s presidency; mostly the two factors that had marked his administration, the “raising taxes after promising not to and failing to topple Saddam Hussein when he had the chance.”<sup>335</sup> In general, as it is expected from any American president, his chief aim is to strengthen and maintain America’s global position. Unlike the former President Ben Clinton, Bush had left the humanitarian cases to America’s allies; their fellow European. He was a man of power, and the ninth-eleventh aftermath’s decisions, which

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<sup>329</sup> **Spectrum 7** was an oil company started by William DeWitt and Mercer Reynolds. In 1984, it merged with George W. Bush’s Arbusto Energy. After the merger, Bush became the Chairman and CEO of Spectrum 7. In 1986, after reporting a net loss of \$1.5 million the previous year, Spectrum 7 was purchased by Harken Oil and Gas for \$2.2 million. Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spectrum\\_7](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spectrum_7)

<sup>330</sup> **HKN, Inc.**, formerly known as Harken Energy Corporation, is a small American oil and gas production company, with ownership interests in other production companies. The company is headquartered in Southlake, Texas, near Fort Worth. Available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harken\\_Energy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harken_Energy)

<sup>331</sup> Frédéric Robert, op. cit. p. 341.

<sup>332</sup> Lawrence Freedman, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>333</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 414.

<sup>334</sup> Lawrence Freedman, op. cit., p. 373.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid. p. 374.

showed his responsibility and maturity, had affirmed that. He was the decision maker and made sure that everybody understood that fact.<sup>336</sup> His political perspective was backed up by his National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, while talking to the journal *Foreign Affairs*, announcing that,

The president must remember that the military is a special instrument. It is lethal, and it is meant to be. It is not a civilian peace force. It is not a political referee. And it is most certainly not designed to build a civilian society. Military force is best used to support clear political goals, whether limited, such as expelling Saddam from Kuwait, or comprehensive, such as demanding the unconditional surrender of Japan and Germany during World War 2.<sup>337</sup>

Based on *Encyclopedia of American foreign policy*, the post-Cold War era reached the termination lines when four American airplanes were hijacked and used as missiles to attack the United States of America in its soil; the years between the two periods were called “the interwar era”. U.S. decision makers had immediately declared, without any hesitation, that they are in a war with terrorism.<sup>338</sup> The bombing of the New York towers and the Pentagon “were a godsend with significant repercussions”. The American president and his team took advantage of the heated climate after the ninth-eleventh event and the rising tension among Americans to gain their support for their plans. America’s biggest strategy was the War on terrorism<sup>339</sup> that “gave the American government an opportunity to go off in new directions... The strategy of preemption requires that the new enemy, as in the days of communism, be a centralized entity with more or less well defined objectives, preferably a state or group of states.”<sup>340</sup>

America’s first response was waging a war against Afghanistan to topple the Taliban regime that provided shelter to al-Qaeda.<sup>341</sup> However, without even full elimination of Bin Laden or his organization, “the White House began a reorganization to centralize counterterrorism.”<sup>342</sup> Since the beginning of the eighty’s, rogue states were included in the terrorism list; therefore, during the Bush administration, some of these states were announced

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<sup>336</sup> Lawrence Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.* p. 376-377.

<sup>338</sup> *Encyclopedia of U.S. foreign policy*, VOL 3: O-W, p. 167.

<sup>339</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.



to be part of the “axis of evil”, which constitutes all of North Korea, Iran and Iraq. With the exception of North Korea, the list was distinguishable of its Islamic components.

Overall, with no concrete evidence, immediately after the ninth-eleventh incidents, an offensive campaign was launched against Iraq.<sup>343</sup> Since then, American presidential speeches and official announcements and declarations were loaded with the immense threat coming from the Middle Eastern region; accordingly, Iraq became U.S. planner’s main concerns and its ruler was listed as the ultimate threat to America’s national security and civilization. “The theoretical concept of preemptive or preventive war became intertwined in practice with the war on terrorism that had begun following 9/11.” For that reason, “the Bush administration continued to interpret the war in Iraq—and to sell it to the public—as one of the pillars of the war against terrorism.”<sup>344</sup> Eventually, under the logo of “War on Terror”, Iraq was condemned and included in America’s Global War on Terrorism based on different allegations.

#### **a- Saddam, the Sponsor of Terrorism**

Despite of international concerns that the War on Iraq might be the fuel of the growth of al-Qaeda in the Fertile Crescent region and the entire Middle East, but the Bush Administration concentrated on the importance of the Iraq War in the Global War against Terrorism. This association has justified the attack on Iraq, both nationally and internationally. Most American believed Saddam connection to al-Qaeda more than they were convinced of his possession of WMD; mostly, because of the emphasis of the American government on the link between the two. American spokesman did not differentiate between rogue states and terrorist groups and put the both of them in the same category; furthermore, they concentrated on the possibility that the Iraqi President might provide al-Qaeda with Weapon of Mass Destruction.<sup>345</sup> The American President related terrorist organizations directly to rogue states; referring to Iraq, saying,

...terrorists are plotting further destruction, and building new bases for their war against civilization. And our greatest fear is that terrorists

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<sup>343</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., Ibid, p. 175.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid, p. 417.

<sup>345</sup> Ulrich Schneckener, Iraq and Terrorism: How are “Rogue States” and Terrorists Connected? (German, Berlin. SWP Comments 3 (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik): 2003), p. 1.

will find a shortcut to their mad ambitions when an outlaw regime supplies them with the technologies to kill on a massive scale. In one place -- in one regime -- we find all these dangers, in their most lethal and aggressive forms, exactly the kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront.<sup>346</sup>

Furthermore, President Bush emphasized on the evilness of the Iraqi regime and had repeatedly announced that Saddam Hussein had a hand in the ninth-eleventh attacks and he is siding with Al-Qaeda against the United States. Directly, after the attacks, major Medias deliberated the same information, accusing Saddam's intelligence agents of meeting with one of the suicide pilots before the operation, named Mohammed Atta in a meeting held in Prague. However, because lack of evidence, Czech president Vaclav Havel denied the convening of such a meeting, George tenet, a CIA director, had confirmed the truth of this statement. On the other hand, it has been discussed that during the invasion of Afghanistan, more than 100 members of al-Qaeda found shelter in the borders of Iran and Iraq. Moreover, both of National security adviser Condoleezza Rice and Defense Minister Donald Rumsfeld presented well-grounded evidence about the Iraqi governor's involvement with terrorist groups about a decade before the attacks.<sup>347</sup> In the same context, George Bush announces,

... that Iraq is continuing to finance terror and gives assistance to groups that use terrorism to undermine Middle East peace... We know that Iraq and the al Qaeda terrorist network share a common enemy -- the United States of America... We've learned that Iraq has trained al Qaeda members in bomb-making and poisons and deadly gases. And we know that after September the 11th, Saddam Hussein's regime gleefully celebrated the terrorist attacks on America... Saddam Hussein is harboring terrorists and the instruments of terror, the instruments of mass death and destruction. And he cannot be trusted. The risk is simply too great that he will use them, or provide them to a terror network. Terror cells and outlaw regimes building weapons of mass destruction are different faces of the same evil. Our security requires that we confront both. And the United States military is capable of confronting both.<sup>348</sup>

According to Wikipedia, this relation lasted from 1992 to 2003, by the end of this relation; both sides were conspiring against the U.S., according to President Bush. But, despite the

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<sup>346</sup> George W. Bush's Remarks to the United Nations General Assembly (12 September 2002), available at, <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/bushiraqun.html>

<sup>347</sup> Ulrich Schneckener, Iraq and Terrorism: How are "Rogue States" and Terrorists Connected? (German, Berlin. SWP Comments 3 (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik): 2003), p. 1.

<sup>348</sup> President George W. Bush's Address Regarding Iraq (7 October 2002), op. cit.

persistence of the Bush Administration in condemning the Saddam regime of terrorism and its relation with Al-Qaeda, but the “Intelligence Community” did not approve these accusations, and these allegations definitely were not applauded by the international community.<sup>349</sup>

#### **b- Saddam, The possession and development of WMD**

According to Lawrence Freedman, the simplest view for attacking Iraq is that “Saddam Hussein was in defiance of UN resolutions in pursuing weapons of destruction, there was a serious risk these weapons one day might find their way into terrorist hands.”<sup>350</sup> The American government had successfully linked its conflict with terrorism as the one against the spread of weapon of mass destruction. Based on which U.S. foreign policy makers advertized “the idea that Iraq’s clandestine production of such weapons was the equivalent of terrorist activity.”<sup>351</sup> But after the Gulf War, there was no proof that Iraq had WMD, even after the UN investigations provided no evidence that supported the U.S. claims; “such a solution appeared to provide a way of combating both Islamist terrorism and the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction.”<sup>352</sup> There is no doubt that Iraq was the first Arab country to develop and acquire biological, chemical and nuclear weapons; in addition to using them against its neighboring country “Iran” and even against its own people with the U.S. recognition. Yet; eventually, the Bush administration “convinced congress of the imminent threat of Iraq’s plans to use weapons of mass destruction and of its connections with al-Qaeda. Despite entrenched opposition, both at home and in the UN Security Council, the USA and its allies invaded and occupied that nation in early 2003.”<sup>353</sup>

#### **c- Saddam Hussein, the twentieth-first century Hitler**

After the failure of the Bush administration to prove Iraq’s possession of WMD, U.S. decision makers had justified their actions for moral reasons, exemplified in “the ouster of a dictator and the establishment of a democratic regime; principles that had barely been mentioned when the decision to act was being taken.”<sup>354</sup> In fact, Saddam Hussein, since the beginning of the ninety’s, became the new incarnation of Hitler when he resisted the West

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<sup>349</sup> Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda link allegations, available at, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saddam\\_Hussein\\_and\\_al-Qaeda\\_link\\_allegations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saddam_Hussein_and_al-Qaeda_link_allegations)

<sup>350</sup> Lawrence Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid*, p. 153.

<sup>352</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

<sup>353</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>354</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

authority and embraced nationalism.<sup>355</sup> But that had nothing to do with Saddam being brutal or aggressive; says Noam Chomsky, “it was because he stepped on the wrong toes,” it was still the same president that America did business with when he was identified as its ally in the region, before the Gulf War. From an American point of view, Kassab says, « Le président irakien, particulièrement exécré, était l’incarnation des vieux démons que l’on croyait à jamais disparus et qui sont : renaissance arabe et islamique, le nationalisme pointilleux, le refus de l’hégémonie occidentale net pour couronner le tout, une certaine forme d’arrogance qui exacerbait encore plus l’Occident.»<sup>356</sup>

However, from Freedman’s point of view, George W. Bush set into a vengeful mission to avenge his father humiliation during the First Gulf War; saying that the War on Terror was waged because of “the unfinished business of 1991. Bush was outraged that a tyrant who had tried to kill his father was still in place and as defiant as ever.”<sup>357</sup> But in general, based on whatever reason, the American position from the Iraqi president had the support of a lot of countries even those who were against the war in Iraq because of the amount of hatred that the latter had received from everywhere and even from Muslims. “There was little sympathy for Saddam among Southeast Asian Muslims. Even opponents of the war conceded that Saddam was a tyrant and, from the perspective of some Muslims, an un-Islamic leader unworthy of Muslim support.”<sup>358</sup>

In the seventeenth of March, George W. Bush addressed his nation and the entire world, giving the Iraqi President a limit time to disarm; however, in just two days, in the nineteenth of March, after Saddam disobey, “Bush ordered the Pentagon to attack Iraq on March 19. Some 125,000 U.S. soldiers, bolstered by 20,000 British and 500 Australian troops, launched aerial and ground operations that quickly resulted in a military victory. In combat operations lasting some 500 hours, the invading forces defeated and scattered the Iraqi army of some 400,000 soldiers, occupied the country, and demolished its regime, at a cost of 139 U.S. and 33 British fatalities.”<sup>359</sup>

As a conclusion, there is no doubt that the Bush administration used the war on terrorism to take care of its hanging affairs in the region, feeding from the fear of WMD and terrorism

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<sup>355</sup> Mohamed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid. p. 160.

<sup>357</sup> Lawrence Freedman, op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>358</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 60.

<sup>359</sup> Peter Hahn, op. cit., p. 2.

to gain the world's support without even questioning America's actions. It has been argued that "in reality, the twofold threat of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction was nothing more than a pretext to get rid of an enemy who had long been in the Americans' sights...But this vision went far beyond preemptive war: it was a way to establish American supremacy and to transform the United States into an uncontested hegemonic power for decades to come."<sup>360</sup>

## V. Debates over the War in Iraq (A War of False Allegations)

Is the acquisition of Weapons of Mass Destruction or having one more dictator around that big of deal so an entire country is destroyed? Have Iraq, a country that has been suffering since the first Gulf War, along with its ruler "Saddam Hussein" represented a real threat to the world stability and peace? Based on the great powers' reactions, one would have thought that the Globe was a sanctum of angles; that someone must be really ignorant of the world history or going through a denial stage.

Speaking of history, in Shane Harris and Mathew M. Aid words, "the history is one of lies, deception, and incredibly bad judgment that continue to this day." A history that is apparently diagnosed of Alzheimer, because it has been just about two decades; in the eighty's, when Iraq was one of America's favorite ally in the Middle East. Their partnership had developed to the point of joining forces against Iran; in addition to sponsoring and developing Iraq's chemical, biological and nuclear program and supplying the supposed to be dictator of these weapons, knowing that they were going to be used against innocent people. Therefore, with the recognition that anything related to WMD was destroyed back in the ninety's; actually, "by 2002, the Iraqi president did not have militarily significant stocks of chemical or biological agents, and his nuclear program had been halted years earlier."<sup>361</sup> Based on what did the U.S.A. build its accusations against Iraq? "Where was their concern about Saddam Hussein then? (In the 1980s) Based on this history, there is absolutely no reason to take this administration's word on anything related to Iraq."<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, op. cit., p. 417.

<sup>361</sup> Charles Duelfer, No Books Were Cooked, (March 19, 2013). p P. 2. available at, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/18/no\\_books\\_were\\_cooked\\_bush\\_iraq\\_wmd\\_intelligence](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/03/18/no_books_were_cooked_bush_iraq_wmd_intelligence)

<sup>362</sup> Shane Harris and Mathew M. Aid, CIA Files: America Helped Saddam as He Gassed Iran, August 26, 2013

The scary thing about this equation is the most powerful nation that is known for its military power, possession of nuclear weapons and even using them during the Second World War against Japan is raising a campaign against Iraq based on doubts and false allegations. This proves nothing but the U.S. hypocrisy and its powerful impact on the United Nations. However, what is even more frightening, says Enver Masud, is

The prostitution of the UN to the wishes of one superpower endangers the very foundation on which the UN was conceived. It inspires little confidence in less powerful nations when one sees the world's nuclear superpowers, which among them have over forty thousand nuclear warheads, rail sanctimoniously against weaker nations such as Iraq, India, and Pakistan for even attempting to build a single nuclear warhead. And nothing is said of the state of Israel, imposed upon the Middle East by the colonial powers of the West, which is the major source of instability in the Middle East. Israel's nuclear arsenal is not even acknowledged, while a Muslim nation is humiliated by the U.S. led UN searching for evidence of Iraq's nuclear program. ... But in the long run, the transformation of the UN into a new "United Nations of America" may not serve the needs of any nation.<sup>363</sup>

Indeed, America's double standard policy and obvious bias to its allies have put the abused nations most of which are Muslims in total awe from the United States selectivity that was the result of international bullying; consequently, "allegations of chemical and biological weapons (CBW) production by countries with a majority Muslim population receive wide dissemination, media condemnation, a cruise missile assault, and even threats of a nuclear strike. CBW productions by Israel and treaty violations by the U.S. get barely a mention."<sup>364</sup>

Furthermore, according to Jamal R. Nasser, if the Iraqi government truly possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction, it would not have been attacked by the American government; because if that was true, the world was going to live another Cold War. The latter has declared that, "American policy was historically dictated through mutual assured destruction, meaning that the United States and the Soviet Union, both possessing massive amounts of nuclear Warheads, could not attack each other without sparking a worldwide nuclear war." However, the Iraq War proved either that America's fears had gone with the previous war or the allegations against Iraq were false, because "in 2003, the Bush Administration acted as if this long standing reality is not applicable to countries that possess WMD. However, mutual

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<sup>363</sup> Enver Masud, *United Nations of America?* October 1, 1991, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>364</sup> Enver Masud, *Double Standard Targets Muslim Countries*, September 25, 1998, op. cit., p. 77-78.

assured destruction is as large of a factor today as it was in the Cold War... the U.S. invasion of Iraq, then can be explained only if one accepts the notion that the Bush Administration knew that Iraq did not possess W.M.D.”<sup>365</sup>

Therefore, during the ninth-eleventh aftermaths, America had used weapons of mass destruction, even after finding no traces of it, as a bogey to expand the War on Terrorism to Iraq.<sup>366</sup> As a result, in one of the most expensive Wars that America has ever fought since the Second World War, using a budget that has exceeded that of Vietnam.<sup>367</sup> After so many attempts, “For the first time since the withdrawal of the European colonial powers from the Middle East, a Western country has assumed responsibility for the governance of a Muslim country.”<sup>368</sup> Finally, more than half of a century, America managed to fill in the power vacuum in modern Mesopotamia that was the result of the British absence, so “in 2003, the administration of George W. Bush finally decided to replace the British as the major military power in the Gulf. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops were brought into the region and major bases were planted there, and Washington, as London once did, shaped local polities for its own purposes.”<sup>369</sup>

For that reason, both of the events of the eleventh September along with the U.S. War on Terror plus WMD are nothing but a camouflage to take care of old unfinished business; in fact, it has been stated that “Britain heard US drumbeat for invasion before 9/11.”<sup>370</sup> Indeed, the ouster of Saddam Hussein and having Iraq under America’s control are absolutely old news; actually, it is America’s chief aims in the Middle East. Eventually, the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 had officially introduced America to the world as a colonist imperialist power. “Although the United States had been relatively immune from charges of colonialism because of its lack of a colonialist history in the Middle East, it was about to create a colonialist portfolio for itself in Iraq.”<sup>371</sup>

Back to the previous question, is the possession of Chemical, biological and nuclear weapons or even the attempt of having them enough for the destruction of nations? If it is so,

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<sup>365</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>366</sup> Enver Masud, Why Iraq May Be Next, November 19, 2001, op. cit., p. 204-205.

<sup>367</sup> Julian E. Barnes, Iraq War Costs: New Spending Likely to Drive Cost of Iraq War THATFOR Vietnam War (Washington Bureau: April 11, 2009)

<sup>368</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 51.

<sup>369</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 20-21.

<sup>370</sup> Richard Norton Taylor, Iraq War Inquiry/ Britain heard US drumbeat for invasion before 9/11 (The Guardian: November 2009)

<sup>371</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 131.

America should have started with itself and its best ally "Israel". But generally speaking, was the Iraq War really that necessary? In Gerald Rudolph Ford words, a former American President (1974-1977); when he was interviewed, "the Iraq War was not justified... I don't think I would have gone to war... I would have maximized our effort through sanctions, through restrictions, whatever, to find another answer." The latter, back in 2004, had publically condemned George Bush's justifications for Iraq's invasion."<sup>372</sup>

Whereas, from the Muslims Perspective, rage, anger are not even enough of words to describe their feelings and reactions towards Iraq's occupation; the majority have resented America's war and see it as a crusade against a Muslim country. It has been generally perceived as the old fight of Christianity versus Islam. But from another standpoint, Muslims in general and Arabs in particular have understood the United States emphasis on war as a fight over power or the fight over the Iraqi oil wells, a privilege that they had lost since the seventy's when the Baath Party came to power.<sup>373</sup>

#### **a- The pursuit of oil**

As time went by, America's idealistic slogans of democracy, freedom, peace... have lost credibility; especially, among Muslims who have learned this fact in the hard way. The United States' first war against Iraq might be the best example of the U.S.A. carelessness and selfishness. If anything the Gulf War of 1991; followed by the UN sanctions that had swept the lives of the Iraqis, mainly Children, like a Tsunami, had proved that the American government had no pity for the Iraqis, so why now and what could be the realistic reason based on which America had invaded Iraq? According to Lawrence Freedman;

There is the default explanation for almost anything the United States does in the Middle East, which is to put the whole enterprise down to exercising hegemony over a region that contains almost 70 percent of the world's known oil and natural gas reserves. The oil issue was not a trivial one but secondary in American policy making. At the very least the administration assumed that because of Iraq's oil wealth... there should be opportunities for American companies when it came to developing the oil fields. Some geopoliticians might have

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<sup>372</sup> Bob Woodward, Ford: Iraq war was not justified ( The Washington Post: December 28, 2006)

<sup>373</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 131.



dreamed of substituting Iraqi oil for Saudi oil, although given the state of Iraq was always implausible.<sup>374</sup>

As a response to Alan Greenspan's confession; the former chairman of the Federal Reserve, Bill Moyers chokingly states, "Oh, no, they told us, Iraq isn't a war about oil. ... It's about terror and al Qaeda and toppling a dictator and spreading democracy and protecting ourselves from weapons of mass destruction." In his memoir, the former has announced that "Everyone knows: the Iraq war is largely about oil." Moreover, while being interviewed by the Washington Post, he declares that "If Saddam Hussein had been head of Iraq and there was no oil under those sands, our response to him would not have been as strong as it was in the first Gulf War." thus America's top priorities is undoubtedly the Iraqi petroleum; consequently, the first thing to be protected in Iraq was the Ministries of Oil "even as looters pillaged museums of their priceless antiquities."<sup>375</sup>

Basically, the ousting of Saddam Hussein was more about Economic and political reasons rather than the possession of WMD, his relation with al-Qaeda or the suffering of the Iraqi people. The United States history proves that humanitarian interventions are not its first priorities and if it is so, it has to be related to its interests. The Bush administration's incredible determination in taking war to Iraq is a demonstration to America's determination in its pursuit for its dreams in Mesopotamia, which have become the Iraqis worst nightmares.<sup>376</sup> The United States' main concern is the Iraqi Oil, which has always been the main aim of major powers; unfortunately, the majority of the oil fields that have been at the center of world attraction are placed in the Muslim World. According to Kassab,

Le bloc occidental possède toutes les richesses du monde avec une population qui ne constitue que le tiers de celle de l'humanité... Mais ces Occidentaux qui possèdent la technologie de pointe, les richesses les plus opulentes l'arsenal militaire le plus sophistiqué, sont à la merci de quelques pays musulmans pour leur alimentation en pétrole et dont cinq d'entre eux : l'Arabie Saoudite, le Koweït, l'Iran, l'Irak et les Emirats Arabes Unis, détiennent plus de la moitié des réserves mondiales.<sup>377</sup>

Despite of the collapse of the U.S.S.R. and America's first victory against Iraq in 1991, the U.S.A. had little influence over the region and no access to the Iraqi petroleum since its

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<sup>374</sup> Lawrence Freedman, op. cit., p. 397.

<sup>375</sup> Bill Moyers, It Was Oil, All Along (Al-Jazeera: July 6, 2008), p. 1.

<sup>376</sup> Michael Schwartz, Why Did We Invade Iraq Anyway? Putting a Country in your Tank (Tom Dispatch: October 30, 2007), p. 1.

<sup>377</sup> Mohammed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 47.

nationalization in the 1970s. Therefore, just after wiping out al-Qaeda and toppling the Taliban regime from power in Afghanistan, the U.S. government put its full focus on Iraq. Its main concern; Greenspan suggests, "...that Saddam Hussein, once an ally, but by then a sworn enemy of U.S. interests in the Middle East, would control key oil flows. That, in turn, might allow him to exercise economic, and so political, leverage over the United States and its allies."<sup>378</sup> According to the latter, from an American standpoint,

The goal of unfettered American access to sufficient Middle Eastern oil would, if achieved and sustained, deprive other countries of sufficient oil, or require them to satisfy U.S. demands in order to access it. In other words, ... American access implied a dramatic increase in American leverage over all countries that depended on oil for their economic welfare; that is, a radical transformation of the global balance of power... the actions taken to implement them, rested on a vision of an imperial America that should, could, and would play a uniquely dominant, problem-solving role in world affairs. All other countries would, of course, continue to be "vulnerable to economic crises" over which they would have "little control." Only the United States had the essential right to threaten, or simply apply, overwhelming military power to the "problem" of energy; only it had the right to subdue any country that attempted to create an energy crisis, or that simply had the potential and animus to do so.<sup>379</sup>

Concerning the fuel of wars, nothing has changed since the fall of the "Iron Curtain", except of the methods that are used in fighting a war. "Nations make war, as they have throughout history, to acquire resources, to acquire markets, and to acquire allies who will aid in acquiring resources or markets..."<sup>380</sup> Anti-imperialists' critics have emphasized that America could easily opposites the saying "no pain no gain" quite easily if only knew how to handle rejection and acquired different methods of negotiation; accordingly, « America could gain access to foreign markets without oppressing other peoples. »<sup>381</sup>

## **VI. Iraq after Saddam "the Destruction of a Nation"**

The toppling of Saddam Hussein from power and putting an end to the Baath regime; surprisingly, did no good to Iraq, the Middle East and the Muslim World at large. If it is

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid, p. 7-8.

<sup>379</sup> Michael Schwartz, op. cit., p. 8-9.

<sup>380</sup> Enver Masud, the Third Wave and the New World Order, June 1, 1994, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>381</sup> David Mauk and John Oakland, op. cit., p. 165.

instability and chaos that the United States of America was seeking then the entire world owe them a standing ovation for their hard work. “The act of wresting Iraq from Saddam's grip seems to constitute a "catalytic event" that could have a major and perhaps decisive impact in shaping the future of the Greater Middle East and the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world.”<sup>382</sup>

There is no doubt that the removal of Saddam from power has totally contradicted the American President George W. Bush’s optimistic speeches of freedom and stability; consequently, Iraq has been literally ruined. “The U.S. invasion and military occupation of Iraq undeniably unleashed a tsunami of violence and disorder that has blighted the lives of millions.” Apart from the mass murders that the country has witnessed since 2003 plus the unsafe environment that provided no protection for the minorities in Iraq; for example, “in 2006 and 2007, Baghdad, a city of 6 million, witnessed substantial ethnic cleansing of Sunni Arabs, with the city ending up 75 percent Shiite, according to the U.S. military.”<sup>383</sup> But in general, three of the fundamental basics of the Iraqi nation have been destroyed that raises a lot of skepticism concerning America’s real intentions except that of oil; more like its hidden objectives.

#### **a- From a Cultural Heritage perspective**

Undoubtedly, Iraq has inherited one of the richest cultural histories in the whole world due to the successiveness of different colorful civilizations. Before the successiveness of wars of the last century, modern Iraq was still framed inside the old Mesopotamia thanks to the preservation of a great number of historical monuments and archeological sites from the ancient civilization based on which Iraq enjoyed the wealthiest museums ever; most of this cultural heritage is originally Arabic. However, starting from the beginning of the ninety’s, this heritage has been in great danger. During the two Gulf Wars, Iraq’s historical legacy was intentionally targeted by the forces of coalition and even by Iraqis of highly military positions. So they say “War always carries with it not only suffering and misery for the population but also always hurts the cultural and historical evidence.”<sup>384</sup> Even though, it is

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<sup>382</sup> the Muslim World after 9/11, p. 55.

<sup>383</sup> Juan Cole, op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>384</sup> - - -, Iraq – The Cradle of Civilization at risk: Cultural heritage and historical monuments (H-Museum’s Current Focus: March 21, 2003)

generally agreed that destruction is the wars' best friend, but the massive demolition that the Cradle of Civilizations has witnessed during the twentieth-first century's invasion is absolutely unjustified.

In a salon, titled "Robbing the Cradle of Civilization, five years later", organized by Brian Rose (professor of archaeology at the University of Pennsylvania and president of the Archaeological Institute of America) discussing the looted Iraqi historical and civilizational inheritance, the weeks following the American airstrikes have been described as some kind of a natural disaster. According to George,

It was as if a hurricane had hit the whole building and the rooms and the galleries and the storerooms from inside... It was terrible. Over 120 doors in the administration areas were completely destroyed. And a lot of furniture appeared to have been taken away... Some of the materials that were displayed and still displayed at the gallery were taken away, such as the Warka Vase... And some of the cultural material from the galleries...

There is no precise estimates concerning the amount of robberies, it is estimated to be about 100.000; and that only at the beginning of the war. But according to George, the National Museum of Iraq had lost about 15.000 items.<sup>385</sup> As a matter of fact, more precisely, just in the beginning of the first American aerial bombardment,

The cradle of civilization had been robbed. Baghdad's National Museum of Iraq, among the globe's premier repositories of antiquities, was ransacked over the course of a week in April 2003. Statues were dragged down the steps, artifacts six millennia old were carried off in plastic bags. American soldiers were not dispatched to protect the museum until the thieves were long gone.

The American government response to these thievery was ridiculous, according to the former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, responding to these worries, "Democracy is messy". But the truth is that they really do not care about the "Cradle of Civilization"; certainly, the United States' reaction would differ if these thefts were about the Iraqi Petroleum Ministry and oil in general. Based to Micah Garen; "the U.S. military knew exactly what the problem was back in June of 2003 with the looting at the sites... It was just a

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<sup>385</sup> - - -, Robbing the Cradle of Civilization, Five Years later (Salon, Thursday, Marsb20, 2008, 12:00 P.M.), available at, [http://www.salon.com/2008/03/20/iraq\\_roundtable/](http://www.salon.com/2008/03/20/iraq_roundtable/)

question of priorities. And it was very clear that protecting archaeological sites was not a priority. And I think that was the problem and continues to be the problem.”<sup>386</sup>

#### **a- From a political and Social Perspective**

Politically speaking, since the Iraq war, Iraq had witnessed a radical change that put the country into constant political disorder and social one, as well. The presence of the coalition forces after the war was not welcomed from the Iraqi people and certainly did not please the anti-colonialist groups; as a result, the resentment sentiments have been in constant growth that led to “the emergence of large-scale armed resistance to the coalition forces and the Iraqi provisional government and the coalition response have resulted in significant civilian casualties, destruction of infrastructure, and delays in reconstruction and restoration of basic services.”<sup>387</sup> Within Iraq, according to Juan Cole, since the ousting of the Baath Party from power,

Iraq has been roiled by five great struggles... There has been a political struggle to erect a new government and to control its bureaucracy and security forces. There has been a guerrilla war against the presence of U.S. forces, and there have been three civil wars among Iraqis: one centered with Kurdish struggles with Arabs and Turkmen for the oil province of Kirkuk in the North. Another involved Shiite militias struggling with each other and with the government for control of the oil province of Basra in the South along the Persian Gulf. And in the center of the country, Shiite Arabs, Sunni Arabs battled for control of the capital, deploying the tools of ethnic cleansing, terror, and mass murder.<sup>388</sup>

Still within Iraq, the series of unstoppable violence is motivated by mainly three sectors: the faithful entourage of the former President Saddam Hussein; nationalist anti-colonialism groups; and Islamists, including foreign fighters and terrorists. The end of the Baath regime since the removal of Saddam Hussein had kept the Sunni power from the government, for the first time since the Ottomans.<sup>389</sup> Moreover, the division from the inside has put the country in direct danger, from the Iranian Shiites trying to impose their influence; in addition to the

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<sup>386</sup> - - -, Robbing the Cradle of Civilization, Five Years later (Salon, Thursday, Marsb20, 2008, 12:00 P.M.), available at, [http://www.salon.com/2008/03/20/iraq\\_roundtable/](http://www.salon.com/2008/03/20/iraq_roundtable/)

<sup>387</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 52.

<sup>388</sup> Juan Cole, Engaging the Muslim World, p. 142.

<sup>389</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 53.

promotion of Wahhabism from Saudi Arabia. All of which had no voice during Saddam's reign.<sup>390</sup> According to the 2008 poll, Juan Cole states that, "81 percent of Arabs said they believed that Iraqis were worse off in 2008 than they had been under the regime of Saddam Hussein." When they were asked about their main concerns concerning the consequences of the Iraq War, "Nearly 60 percent chose the answer Iraq will remain unstable and spread instability in the region."<sup>391</sup>

Surprisingly, all of these chaotic and destructive events that the country has been living lately is been argued that it is an outside job; nothing but a satanic scheme to drive the world's and the Iraqis' attention from the American real intentions. James Petras says about the war and the occupation of Iraq that, "it is driven by several major political forces and informed by a variety of imperial interests. However these interests do not in themselves explain the depth and scope of the sustained, massive and continuing destruction of an entire society and its reduction to a permanent state of war." But it is rarely when these forces are discussed overtly.<sup>392</sup>

Among the first that have directly benefited from the Iraqi destruction and division, there is the "pro-Israeli policymakers supported by powerful organizations such as the Zionist Power Configuration (ZPC), whose followers are appointed and highly positioned in the Bush Pentagon as Douglas Faith and Paul Wolfowitz." In addition to many "Zionist insiders" sharing the same purpose concerning Iraq and all of the Middle East. The destruction of the land between two rivers is partially to serve the Israeli agenda and pave the way for its advancement. American Jewish organizations' major aim is "to advance Israel's agenda, which, in this case, was a US war against Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein, occupy the country, physically divide Iraq, destroy its military and industrial capability and impose a pro-Israel/pro-US puppet regime." Based on James Petras, "top pro-Israeli policymakers who promoted the war did not initially directly pursue the policy of systematically destroying what, in effect, was the entire Iraqi civilization."<sup>393</sup>

Secondly, there are others who benefited enormously from the destruction and the division of the Iraqi's political and social structure, they were the "civilian militants" such as

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<sup>390</sup> The Muslim World after 9/11, p. 55.

<sup>391</sup> Juan Cole, Engaging the Muslim World, p. 118-119.

<sup>392</sup> Pr. James Petras, The US War against Iraq: The Destruction of a Civilization (US NATO War Agenda) (Global Research: August 21, 2009), p. 1.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.

Rumsfeld and Vice President Cheney. Their aim was to expand the American empire and strengthen its geo-political position in the region a privilege the U.S. had lost since the seventy's. Therefore, "the civilian militarists sought to extend the American military base encirclement of Russia and secure control over Iraqi oil reserves as a pressure point against China."<sup>394</sup>

Their aim was to establish the American dominance for a long term in the Middle East, but to do that they have to take out some players from the picture known as nationalists, anti-imperialists and anti-American, using the "divide and rule" strategy, this tactic was planned by the Zionist in the Bush administration to reinforce their power in the region. Basically, the United States appointed this mission to its agents in the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agencies, who had recruited and trained about 200.000 Iraqi soldiers (puppets) "composed entirely of Shia Gunmen" and discharged all Sunnis and Christians. In James Petras' words,

The results of the US policies were to eliminate most secular democratic anti-imperialist leaders and movements and to present their murderous net-work of „ethno-religious“ collaborators as their uncontested „partners“ in sustaining the long-term US colonial presence in Iraq. With their puppets in power, Iraq would serve as a launching platform for its strategic pursuit of the other „dominoes“ (Syria, Iran, Central Asian Republics...)... The sustained bloody purge of Iraq under US occupation resulted in the killing 1.3 million Iraqi civilians during the first 7 years after Bush invaded in March 2003.<sup>395</sup>

### **b- From an Academic Perspective**

Before both of the two ill-reputed Gulf Wars plus the imposition of the non-humanitarian sanctions, despite of being under the rule of one of the most dictatorial systems and the most tyrannical president as it is described by the United States, Iraq had been internationally famous of having one of the best educational systems in the Middle East with a higher rate for primary schooling and levels of literacy; the same education and opportunities for both males and females. Whereas, concerning "the Higher Education; especially the scientific and technological institutions, were of an international standard, staffed by high quality

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<sup>394</sup> Pr. James Petras, The US War against Iraq: The Destruction of a Civilization (US NATO War Agenda) (Global Research: August 21, 2009), p. 1.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

personnel.” till the eighty’s, the country between two rivers had provided five percent of its budget to the education domain; a budget that had surpassed that of the developing countries with 1.2 percent. Because of it is well known educational system, Iraq had been targeted by a lot of knowledge seekers from the Middle East, Africa and the Muslim World, at large “to study and better their lives”. Moreover, “Education and health care were free at all levels. In the 1980s, a successful government program to eradicate illiteracy among Iraqi men and women was implemented.” During this period, school attendance of Iraqi children had reached 92 percent, but that was not that surprising because “attendance at school has always been high in Iraq as primary education was compulsory until the U.S. invasion in 2003.”<sup>396</sup>

Because of the disputes between the United States and Iraq in the beginning of the ninety’s and with the escalation of the arguments between the two, America’s emphasis landed on Iraq’s educational system. “... Education is the backbone of any society. Without an efficient education system, no society can function.” Consequently, From the primary schools to the universities, all of which were burnt by the enemy’s fires; statically speaking, it has been counted about 84 percent of the Iraqi educational system including institutions of higher education, have been destroyed; in other words, “some 84 percent of Iraq’s institutions of higher education have been burnt, looted, or destroyed. Some 2,000 laboratories need to be re-equipped...” The Al-Mustansiriyah University; for instance, “one of the oldest schools in the world with a history that goes back at least 1000 years was bombed and partially destroyed... After the 1991 war, UNSCOM inspectors, led by Australian Richard Butler, burned all chemistry books of the University Library. All other universities in Iraq have their science books burned by UNSCOM.”<sup>397</sup>

Because of the imposed sanctions on Iraq plus the sequences of two destructive wars, the Iraqi professionals find it hard to stay at their motherland under constant threat thus they have chosen exile instead. “An estimated 30-40 per cent of Iraq’s best-trained educators left to other countries.” Furthermore, during the sanctions period, Iraq was restricted from having a contact with the outer world. Iraq’s contact with the rest of the world was also restricted and contributed to the deterioration of Iraq’s educational system. To complete Iraq’s isolation and inflict more harm, the U.S-controlled sanctions committee banned all educational materials

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<sup>396</sup> Ghali Hassan, *The Destruction of the Iraq’s Educational System under US Occupation: The Ultimate War Crime, Killing the Children* (Global Research: May 11, 2005)

<sup>397</sup> Ibid.



(including pencils, which allegedly could be converted to “weapons of mass destruction” by Iraqi children, papers and textbooks) from entering Iraq;<sup>398</sup> eventually;

The US imperial conquest of Iraq is built on the destruction of a modern secular republic. The cultural desert that remains is controlled by mega-swindlers, mercenary thugs posing as „Iraqi officers“, tribal and ethnic cultural illiterates and medieval religious figures. They operate under the guidance and direction of West Point graduates holding „blue-prints for empire“, formulated by graduates of Princeton, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Yale and Chicago, eager to serve the interests of American and European multi-national corporations.<sup>399</sup>

By way of conclusion, the invasion and occupation of Iraq were nothing but an American imperialistic plan disguised in the shadow of democracy, freedom and peace. According to Roqayah Chamseddine,

Ten years have passed since “Operation Iraqi Freedom” produced an Iraq that is no more free than a caged bird with broken wings. From the wounds of one disaster emerged another, its repercussions still resonant a decade later... Wars waged under the mendacious guise of humanitarianism are no less imperialistic than those waged expressly for purposes of conquest... The Americans did not leave modern schools or big factories behind them. They left thousands of widows and orphans. The Americans did not leave a free people and country behind them. In fact, they left a ruined country and a divided nation.<sup>400</sup>

## **V. The Truth about the Iraq War “Is It Only for Oil?”**

America’s War on Iraq is both uneven and groundless. It is regarded as one of the most controversial wars that America has ever fought. Besides the false accusations based on which Iraq was attacked, the United States of America was condemned because of its hidden attentions. It is commonly known that oil was the U.S. ultimate goal in waging a war against Iraq, but the truth is that “oil” is no longer a hidden intention more than it is a cover up; therefore, what are American planners real motives?

A lot of people try to associate the Iraq War to Oil, concerning America’s purpose, but this view is not correct; says D. Thaer Duri, because it ignores the historical and geographical

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<sup>398</sup> Ghali Hassan, The Destruction of the Iraq’s Educational System under US Occupation: The Ultimate War Crime, Killing the Children (Global Research: May 11, 2005)

<sup>399</sup> Pr. James Petras, The US War against Iraq: The Destruction of a Civilization (US NATO War Agenda) (Global Research: August 21, 2009), p. 10.

<sup>400</sup> Roqayah Chamseddine, Iraq : The Cradle of Civilization & Graveyard of Imperialism (admin: Mars 19, 2013)

elements of the region. Despite of the importance of Iraqi petroleum fields to world economy but it is only one of the many reasons why America invaded modern Mesopotamia.<sup>401</sup>

The West has been interested in the Arab World way before the oil rush, because of its strategic location. That is to say, that its importance will never extinguished even if there is no oil. It is just the discovery of oil attracted more attention. Actually, the first attempts to control the Arab World began in the sixteenth century by attacking the coasts of the Arab Maghreb; the Spanish occupation of “Sebta and Mlila” is the best example, but the Ottoman Empire besieged all the Arabic land and pushed the invaders away. The moment that the Western countries sensed a plan of unity, they forget about their quarrels and bloody wars and unified for only one mission that is to interpret this plan during which there was no oil. Napoleon colonial campaign of the Arabic land was launched for oil; however, the Arab World is generally recognized for its strategic location that is centralizing the heart of the globe, and some people even compared Baghdad with the umbilicus of the universe; that is it has the key of the world. In other words, whoever will control this region will control the whole universe; in contrast, to its liberation, which means the world liberty.<sup>402</sup>

For that reason, the American imperial project in Iraq, the heart of Eurasia in terms of energy and geography, can be seen as a military domination over the Arab world; eliminating any attempts of unity, from where they can start dominate the entire world. In any case, the interpretation of the American occupation of Iraq means that American had already gripped the Arab Countries and prevent it their advancement and rise.<sup>403</sup> So, basically, oil has never been the reason of the West attraction, but it is most definitely a reward to the Western ambition. But overall, besides oil, is the strategic position of the Arab World, specifically Iraq, the only motives for the constant flow of foreigners in this region?

In the same context, it has been proved that the motive prompted the U.S., its allies and friends to invade Iraq has nothing to do with toppling a sadistic regime or hauled Iraq’s natural energy, but more because of its strategic location; for which is considered the heart of

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<sup>401</sup> Thaer Duri, Iraq is not only a matter of oil, the civilized Dialogue: mobile (5/1/2007), available at, <http://m.ahewar.org/s.asp?aid=85190&r=0&cid=0&u=&i=24&q=>

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

the world, as well as political and historical elements, which demonstrated a danger to world domination.<sup>404</sup>

Iraq is a true piece of art, a mosaic that constitutes of different social and ethnic environments and cultural pluralism; simultaneously, a milieu of problems and dilemmas, making it America's top priorities; especially, because it centers between the two contradicting Islamic poles that are Shia and Sunna, represented by both of Saudi Arabia and Iran. In other words, it is the only country that is all set in terms of geography and population to be a battle field of Muslims and to widen the cleavage in the Muslim World.<sup>405</sup>

From another standpoint, apparently, America is threatened by Iraq. Based on another source of information; the Iraqi civilization, the historical and cultural center of the Middle East and ancient world for thousands of years, unlike of the enclosed Pharaonic civilization was ambitiously expansionism. It is generally as the mother land of expansionist empires since the Babylonians to the Abbasid, one of the dangerous empires from an American point of view that ruled third of the world for more than 524 years. Knowing that the Egyptian Civilization is no danger to the West dominance has always been under the spotlight, but the supposed to be the birth place of all civilizations from which the Western one had emerged has been under detention and kept away from people sight. Moreover, besides all of that dimness, it has been defaced and disregarded. This opacity has also included the role of the Arab and Muslims in enlightening Europe and the World and concentrated on portraying them through the Arabian Nights.<sup>406</sup>

At another level, worked hard in studying, secretively, the details and mysteries of Iraq's history so they can decode the reason of all that greatness and vastness and stop any opportunity for its resurrection; therefore, in the first Gulf War, American troops landed in "tel el-lahm", the land of Ur Kingdom, and directly started exploration and exhuming; the same thing in the Second Gulf War, when the American military controlled both of

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<sup>404</sup> Ad Saad Sleman el-mash'hadani, In the ninth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq .. thoughts and reflections (Iraq electronic newspaper), available at, [http://www.almosul.com/library/articles/12/Iraq\\_Occupation\\_Anniversary.htm](http://www.almosul.com/library/articles/12/Iraq_Occupation_Anniversary.htm)

<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid.

archeologist signatories to cities of Babel and Ur. Eventually, its control over Iraq history will assure Americans full control over the entire Middle East.<sup>407</sup>

From another perspective, Jealousy, envy, inferiority complex, and many other sentiments of resentment towards Iraq, surprisingly, are part of America's agenda of Iraq. Indeed, according to Mohammed Yacine Kassab, since the first Gulf War of 1991, America had another attention apart from the liberation of Kuwait, or the control of the Iraqi petroleum wells. Apparently, all of the U.S. and its allies shared the same feeling towards Mesopotamia, the latter reveals,

Les coalisés avaient à coeur de détruire également l'héritage culturel et historique de l'Irak, un capital inestimable et irremplaçable. En même temps que la mise hors d'état de nuire de la puissance militaire et l'effondrement économique, scientifique, social, en un mot, du capital civilisationnel, les Occidentaux voulaient réduire à néant un passé prestigieux, effacer les traces d'une civilisation qui rayonna si longtemps sur le monde et s'apprêtait à briller de nouveau ... les coalisés éprouvent un profond complexe d'infériorité à l'égard de l'antique civilisation irakienne plusieurs fois millénaire, brillante et raffinée, et reconnue comme telle par le reste de l'humanité. .. Aussi, cette guerre avait pour but d'humilier un peuple, d'annihiler sa personnalité et d'en faire un orphelin sans attache avec son propre génie qui remonte si loin dans le temps.<sup>408</sup>

Ironically, from the ancient time invasions till now, all the destructions that were caused by any occidental coalition that was driven against Iraq were in the name of civilization. In case of the United States, Kassab declares,

Les Etats-Unis ne possèdent pas de l'histoire à proprement parler, ce qui constitue un handicap paralysant et une frustration traumatisante. \_ L'histoire des Etats-Unis reste à faire. En dehors des luttes incessantes contre les Indiens, le problème de l'esclavage et les nombreuses guerres, il n'ya rien de particulier à citer. Cette pauvreté historique est attristante. Aussi face aux Irakiens qui disposent d'un héritage fabuleux, le complexe devient d'autant plus grave que l'écart entre les deux formes de civilisation est important. Effectivement, le président américain a été parmi le trio des coalisés, celui qui manifesta

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<sup>407</sup> Ad Saad Sleman el-mash'hadani, In the ninth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq .. thoughts and reflections (Iraq electronic newspaper), available at, [http://www.almosul.com/library/articles/12/Iraq\\_Occupation\\_Anniversary.htm](http://www.almosul.com/library/articles/12/Iraq_Occupation_Anniversary.htm)

<sup>408</sup> Mohammed Yacine Kassab, op. cit., p. 107.

le plus d'animosité à l'encontre du peuple Irakien et de ses dirigeants.<sup>409</sup>

## Conclusion

For whatever reason, whether it is for oil, Islam, or other objectives, the Second Gulf War has definitely proved that the Iraq War is not pure American; it involved many parts with different aims. That is to say, the consequences of the Iraq War pleased and gave satisfaction to different sides with diverse backgrounds in terms of politics, economy, and religion. But, generally speaking, the Iraq War had definitely proved America's superiority and the commitment of its decision makers to building an American Empire. Eventually, "the 21st Century witnesses the effort of the imperial government of the United States of America to steal a hydrocarbon empire from the Muslim states and peoples surrounding Central Asia and the Persian Gulf under the pretexts of "fighting a war against international terrorism" (Afghanistan) and "eliminating weapons of mass destruction" (Iraq)."<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> Ibid. p. 109.

<sup>410</sup> Francis A. Boyle, *Destroying World Order: U.S. Imperialism in the Middle East before and after September 11* (Atlanta. Clarity Press, INC: 2004), p. 11.

## General Conclusion

E.M. Forster states, “the world is very full of people... most of these people one doesn’t know and some of them one doesn’t like... there are two solutions. One of them is the Nazi solution. If you don’t like people, kill them, banish them, segregate them and then strut up proclaiming that you are the salt of the earth. The other one is much less thrilling, but it is on the whole the way of the democracies... if you don’t like people, put up with them...”<sup>411</sup> Unfortunately, the world has witnessed the popularity of the first solution; however, it should be called the American solution instead of the Nazi’s. Somehow Americans adopted Hitler’s strategy and “picked up where he left off” as Chomsky has said.<sup>412</sup> America is disguised as the democracies; promoting for peace while waging pointless wars and destroying nations, defending human rights while killing people. Well, most Americans will deny these facts, claiming for being the land of the free and liberty as they are advertizing for themselves. But in a way or another, it will always be remembered for being the country who enslaved people for more than 400 years, uprooting them from their motherland and shipping them like goods, the same country that is promoting for equality while Black people and other minorities in the U.S. are no equal to white people and they are segregate against just because the color of their skin, their origin, their political or religious affiliations, and just because they are different and could not match the W.A.S.P. standards. Thus, no one can rely on the American politics or blame its politicians because they are not even fair to their own people. But, if it is so, one must questions America’s good will towards the rest of the world; especially, its intentions towards the Muslim World, and questioning the reasons based on which Iraq was invaded.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, America has been automatically crowned as the world leader. Since then, this country has always represented itself like one of its hero movies; however, the Robin Hood heroism has nothing to do with American colonialism. Building a global empire at the expense of domestic developing countries while promising them of protecting their national territory, freedom, and peace give us a general idea of

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<sup>411</sup> E.M. Forster, *Tolerance in a Crowded World, Two Cheers for Democracy*, 1951 (L’Anglais par la Littérature. Paris: Classiques Hachette), p. 186.

<sup>412</sup> Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam really wants?* p. 7.

America's real intentions; in fact, this superpower is just bluffing to reach its goals and calm down the rising voices around it.

Actually, since 1945, it was like America is competing in one of those beauty pageant or Miss World competition, where she is always that shallow blond girl who speaks of "world peace"; but in reality, if America was a person, she will be such a selfish, ego-maniac, psychopath, schizophrenic person; one of Edgar Allen Poe's darkest and bloodiest characters from the "The Black Cat". Indeed, this country has always been famous of saying something and doing something else. American policy makers are practicing a double faced strategy towards the rest of the world.

This dissertation is built on different points, concerning the American War on terror in the Muslim World, the Iraq War, in particular. The American War on Iraq; the crib of civilizations, the glorious symbol of the Islamic Empire, and the capital "Baghdad" of Islam, has been interpreted differently. For the majority of Muslims, the attack on one of the pillar of Islam is an attack on Islam itself, and so, the war has been regarded as an American crusade, instead. For others, the War on Iraq has been interpreted as a War for Oil. So, based on what Iraq was attacked and why such emphasis on the Muslim World, in general?

Claiming that the Muslim countries are providing al-Q aeda and other terrorist organizations a safe haven and financial sponsorship, and thus are representing a threat to the civilized world is just ridiculous. Logically, military speaking, the Muslim World, which is already suffering the aftermaths of a long history of colonization and division and betrayal within, is no match to America whose defense budget has doubled that of Russia, Japan, and China all put together; whereas, for the allegedly six rogue states "Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Cuba, and North Korea" the comparison is just ridiculous, \$262 billion for America and \$15 billion for all the six countries. Moreover, "Far more acts of terrorism and violent crime in the U.S., according to government statistics, are committed by non-Muslims than Muslims... (See appendix one)... As for fundamentalism, Islam has no parallel to the U.S. Protestant Christian movement...Rather Islam has..."<sup>413</sup>

Over and above, both of al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein did not represent a threat to civilization; not as much as they were a threat to themselves and to their own people, but it just happen that they challenged America's authority. indeed, both of them were once

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<sup>413</sup> Enver Masud, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

sponsored and empowered by the United States with the help of the CIA and they were recognized as their allies in the Middle East, but as soon as they showed the symptoms of rebellion, directly after the demise of the Soviet Union by the beginning of the ninety's, both of them were demonized. So, "as long as they were serving United States interests they were good Muslims," says Shihade, "but the moment they became an obstacle to U.S. interests, they were labeled as the ultimate evil, and used as an excuse to further U.S. hegemony and expansion even against countries and societies that were victims of Al-Qaeda and Taliban brutal politics."<sup>414</sup>

In reality, the Muslim World has always been a battle field because of its priceless and unlimited wealth, the same world that America has promised to make it better, and the same one Americans are pushing it to the edge, sacrificing its peace in the sake of their interests. As it is expected, just like the previous empires that have experienced the Islamic ride, the U.S. is having trouble in taming this inflexible world. But America did not take this rejection so lightly. When he was denied the right to perform in Georgia, Ray Charles came out with a song, singing, "Georgia on my Mind". With different intentions, America did the same thing towards these countries when they resisted her authority and did not allow her to access to their raw materials and conduct their internal affairs freely. But instead of Georgia, America has put the Muslim World on her mind.

Based on the first point of view; the crusade on Islam, I would like to say that this idea has past its time but the truth we have never stopped fighting that war. The common element between all empires is to institutionalize the world based on their institutions and principles. The American Empire is no different from its oldest sisters; it has to dominate all the domains with no exception so that they can have full control. Islam has proved to the world to be a very strong front to break and the backbone of the Islamic nation, which despite of the anti-Islamic campaign administrated by the West to distort this peaceful religion, it is getting stronger and spreading all over the globe. However, I am still not sure if Islam is the main target or just a collateral damage but it is definitely one of the first victims.

Whereas, from the second point of view, it has been generally agreed that "oil" is America's most important aspiration of its foreign policy, Chomsky; for instance, revealed that U.S. planners are attracted to this area to protect their interests; mainly its productive oil fields, but the latter has also revealed that they have 50% of the world's wealth! Therefore, I

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<sup>414</sup> Magid Shihade, op. cit., pp. 883-891, p. 6.



will say greed; it is the fuel of their motivation which is fueling their foreign policy. Let's take a moment to think about it; till now America has everything; it is the first powerful and wealthiest country ever. However, being the world's only "major player" and with the rise of other powers as China and India endorsed by Russia; among the countries that are dependent on Muslims' energy resources, American policy makers are afraid of competition and losing their international position. America could take the short cut and be honest with these countries, the Muslim ones, saying, "I am not here for peace sake but I am here because you have things I want to take, mainly your oil. And because of you stubborn attitude, resisting our power, and because you are surrounded by most of our allies and competitors, we have to control your region and keep you under our supervision." However, if the U.S. put it like that, it is going to blow its cover, jeopardizing its global place, and destroying its reputation and image of being a model of democracy and freedom for the poor and the persecuted. This is why, America has to be at different stages and plays different roles; put on a poker face, so no one can read its real attention.

Nonetheless, if the American war waged against Iraq is just a war for oil, so what the destruction of Iraq has to do with controlling the Iraqi petroleum fields. Based on the third chapter, the Iraqi infrastructure were the American forces' first targets; besides, Iraq's historical heritage, such as the historical monuments, the destruction and the robbing of the cathedrals and Museums; Mesopotamia's source of pride and glory. Moreover, according to the second chapter, Iraq was at center of the great empires' attention before the discovery of oil and centuries before the discovery of the Americas. Furthermore, oil is no longer a hidden intention; peoples of the entire world are quite aware of America's pursuit of oil and of all powers.

All in all, it is an undeniable fact that America is not about to build an empire, but it is already an empire; the most powerful one in our time that is in the process of keeping its dominance for a long term, as long as it could. Therefore, basically, the first condition for the prevalence of any empire is the domination over all the fields as religion, economy and politics. Am I justifying the American exploitation for this world; definitely not, America is the rudest guest that has ever stepped in this quarter of the globe. But it is generally accepted that we are living in a very materialistic world, which is administered through the wilderness rules, so it is normal for the powerful to feed on the weak. Actually, the regions that constitute today's Muslim World had always been a common station for great empires to rest; but with

the spread of Islam, it has been the center of attention of all the other powers because of the Islamic Empire long dominance over third of the world, the style of life and power that Muslims had enjoyed.

That is to say, it is no longer about feeding rather than existence and supremacy. in a unipolar world; despite of the rising competition from other powers as Russia and China, the United States of America finds itself competing with the shadow of one of the greatest empires that the world have ever seen that is the Islamic Empire represented by the symbolic icon of its power and prestige that is Iraq; the example of an immortal civilization. So, even though, this empire that has lost its brightness but it has kept its stardom. To sum, I can say that America's latest war against an Islamic country and one of the first civilization on earth and, which is Iraq, is a pure demonstration of a confrontation between the civilization of power verses the power of a civilization. Nevertheless, is it right to blame America for the entire political, economical and even social decline that the Muslim World is leaving today?

From the beginning, it was not in my intention to dishonor the United States of America, to side with al-Qaeda, or to victimize the Muslim World. It was only to analyze the whole situation from a broad perspective, to analyze the allegations raised against U.S. foreign policy during the War on Terror; to see who is right and who is wrong. The truth is that there are no heroes in this war and no victims, as well.

Although, America has abused its power, yet the excessiveness in using force has never been optional for the majority of empires. It is generally agreed that most of ancient and recent empires are “powerholic”, they have never hesitated showing off their strength. Jamal R. Nasser says “... When Rome is attacked, it responds with deadly forces...”<sup>415</sup> and so did America.

It has been thirteen years since the U.S. has declared war on terror; a period of time that surpassed the years that took both of World War One and Two all put together, yet this conflict still has not reach an end. Although, there is not that much of talk concerning the War on Terror; especially after the Arab Spring, but still there has not been an official conclusion of it. On the other hand, acts of violence are in constant spread at a fast pace all over the world. On the whole, U.S. policy planners' selfishness and determination in their pursuit of building an empire is definitely an idea that has passed its time. The moment that the U.S.A.

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<sup>415</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 1.

or any other great power will understand that the “world is to be shared with others and not dominated,”<sup>416</sup> people will not accept this injustice.

The world is not getting any better. Being that old, the healing process may not work with such an old fellow. The responsible of this mass should be more cautious and conscious for once in their lives of their actions; because if they continue driving that old rusty vehicle on the same bumpy road, the future of civilization and humanity is most definitely gloomy. Fighting terrorism by terrorism is not going to put an end to violence in the world rather than accelerating it. This phenomenon is more like “fire”, and just like fire, it has to be put down with water instead of Gasoline. Nevertheless, unlike the firefighter, who instantly directed the water hose towards the fire then look for what causes the fire, U.S. foreign policy makers should have look for the basis of these aggressive acts to find a solution and stop this cycle of violence, instead of fighting it with an excessive use of power and spreading more terror, causing more destruction and creating new enemies.

At another level, it is not a lie that the Muslim World suffered the most during America’s War on Terror; Afghanistan and Iraq paid the highest price. The United States of America had definitely abused its power towards the Middle Eastern regions. Nevertheless, many others preceded the U.S. did the same thing; as recent as Britain and France. That is to say, it is the same ship with a different captain, so even if it is not America, it is going to be another power; in this case, it is the game that should be hated not the players. So, why throwing the whole load on America’s shoulders, while it takes two hands to clap? Above all, it is not only America’s hard will that that has brought our world into pieces, U.S. planners have just seized the inconstancy and division among Muslims to prevail. Therefore, instead of blaming America for everything, Muslims must stand up for themselves instead of playing the victim role; after all, all the Muslim World witnessed the invasion on Iraq but some preferred to stand still while others sided with the Western powers against Iraq. For that reason, to conclude, Muslims have always been there each other sworn enemies even before the existence of the United States of America, so instead of waiting the change to come from outside, they should start from the inside. In the same context, Shihade says, “people in the Arab and Muslim world should press on their governments to be more transparent in their policy decisions and pursue policies according to their own interests, rather than on behalf of the U.S.,”<sup>417</sup> but definitely not the kind of the Arab Spring; moreover, “... *Allah changeth not*

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<sup>416</sup> Magid Shihad, op. cit., pp. 883-890. P. 8.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

*the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts; and if Allah willeth misfortune for a folk there is none that can repel it, nor have they a defender beside Him.*"<sup>418</sup>

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<sup>418</sup> Quran, Sura 13 «Al-Rad», verse 11, available at, <http://islamichistoryonline.com/quran/>

# Appendix One

## Terrorist attacks and related incidents in the United States

Compiled by Wm. Robert Johnston

last updated 18 May 2013

Note: table includes terrorist events causing fatalities, incidents involving unconventional weapons, politically-motivated murders, and other incidents of political or methodological significance.

Type codes indicate category of attacks/incidents and political nature of organization/individual behind the attack:

- TER = terrorist attack
- THW = thwarted terrorist attack
- CRI = criminal incident
- ACC = accident
- bws = Beltway sniper
- islm = islamist
- left = left-wing
- right = right-wing
- natl = nationalist
- unab = Unabomber
- rel = religious



## Terrorist attacks and related incidents in the United States

date	location	killed	injured	type	description
14 Apr 1865	Washington, DC	1	3	TER- right	President Abraham Lincoln shot by John Wilkes Booth in Washington DC; secretary of state William H. Seward injured separately by accomplice Lewis Powell; Lincoln died 15 April
2 Jul 1881	Washington, DC	1	0	TER	President James Garfield shot by Charles J. Guiteau in Washington, DC, died 19 Sep
4 May 1886	Chicago, Illinois	12	60	TER- left	bomb thrown during labor rally at Haymarket Square kills 7 policemen, many injured; police fire into crowd, killing 4; 8 anarchists accused
28 Feb 1890	Washington, DC	1	0	TER	Kentucky Representative William Taulbee shot outside U.S. Capitol by Charles Kincaid; Taulbee died 11 March
6 Sep 1901	Buffalo, New York	1	1	TER- left	President William McKinley shot by Leon Czolgosz in Buffalo, NY, died 14 Sep
30 Dec 1905	Caldwell, Idaho	1	0	TER- left	Frank Steunenberg, former Idaho governor, killed by bomb

1 Oct 1910	Los Angeles, California	21	20	TER- lef t	bombing by labor activists at The Los Angeles Times building caused partial collapse of the building; two bombs at other locations were defused
14 Oct 1912	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	0	1	TER- lef t	former President Theodore Roosevelt shot and injured in attempted assassination outside hotel en route to speech
3 Jul 1915	Glen Cove, New York	0	1	TER	shooting attack on financier J. P. Morgan in failed hostage taking
22 Jul 1916	San Francisco, California	10	44	TER- lef t	bomb in suitcase explodes at Preparedness Day parade
24 Nov 1917	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	10	2	TER- lef t	bombing at police station
31 Jan 1919	Washington, DC	3	?	TER	3 Chinese assassinated
29 Apr 1919	Atlanta, Georgia	0	2	TER- lef t	mail bomb sent to home of senator Thomas Hardwick explodes, injuring a housekeeper and the senator's wife
2 Jun 1919	New York City, New York	2	3	TER- lef t	anarchist bombings kill a night watchman and a terrorist; additional bombings occurred in Washington, DC, Philadelphia, PA, Paterson, NJ, Cleveland, OH, and two in Pittsburgh, PA



2 Jun 1919	Boston, Massachusetts	0	1	TER- lef t	anarchist bombing at the home of a state representative injured one child; a second bombing at the house of a judge caused no injuries
16 Sep 1920	New York City, New York	38	300	TER- lef t	bomb in horse-drawn wagon exploded near Morgan bank in lower Manhattan
22 Jun 1922	Herrin, Illinois	19	?	CRI	shooting by striking workers at labor protest
18 May 1927	Bath, Michigan	46	58	CRI	explosion of bomb placed in school, followed by suicide bombing
21 Feb 1928	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	silver nitrate poison mailed to 9 New York City officials
15 Feb 1933	Miami, Florida	1	4	TER- lef t	attempted assassination of President-elect Franklin Roosevelt by anarchist Joseph Zangara; Chicago mayor Anton Cermak shot instead, dying 6 March
10 Oct 1933	Chesterton, Indiana	7	0	CRI?	mid-air bombing destroys a Boeing 247
8 Sep 1935	Baton Rouge, Louisiana	2	0	TER	Senator Huey Long shot by Carl Weiss who was shot and killed by bodyguards; Long died 10 Sep
21 Sep 1935	Brooklyn, New York	0	1	TER	plane hijacked from Brooklyn and flown across Atlantic, crashing in Irish Free State; 1 injured

23 Feb 1936	Utuaado, Puerto Rico	0	1	TER- na tl	police officer shot by Puerto Rican nationalists
23 Feb 1936	San Juan, Puerto Rico	1	0	TER- na tl	police officer killed in shooting attack by Puerto Rican nationalists
21 Jan 1938	Seattle, Washington	1	0	THW	peace advocate drowned trying to bomb Japanese steamer
4 Jul 1940	New York City, New York	2	2	TER	bomb explodes at British Pavilion at the World's Fair, killing 2 police officers and injuring 2
8 Jul 1945	Salina, Utah	9	20	CRI	shooting by guard at German prisoners in POW camp
22 Jul 1948	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	Stephen J. Supona dropped homemade bomb from airplane over United Nations building; no damage caused
5 Sep 1949	Camden, New Jersey	13	0	CRI	shooting attack in residential neighborhood
1 Nov 1950	Washington, DC	2	1	TER- na tl	in assassination attempt on President Harry Truman, two Puerto Rican nationalists try to shoot their way into Blair House; 2 killed, including 1 terrorist
21 Dec 1951	Mims, Florida	2	0	TER- rig ht	NAACP state director Harry Moore and his wife killed in bombing of their house

1 Mar 1954	Washington, DC	0	5	TER- na tl	Puerto Rican nationalists fire from gallery of U.S. House of Representatives; 5 Congressman injured
7 Nov 1954	New York City, New York	0	4	TER	bomb explodes in seat at Radio City Music Hall during a movie showing
1 Nov 1955	Longmont, Colorado	44	0	CRI	United Air Lines DC-8 exploded and crashed near Longmont, CO, destroyed by bomb planted by John Graham in insurance plot to kill his mother, a passenger
2 Dec 1956	Brooklyn, New York	0	6	TER	bomb explodes at Paramount Theater
1 Nov 1958	Punta Tabaio, Cuba	17	3	TER	Cubana Airlines flight hijacked from Miami by members of 26th of July Movement; plane crashed near Punta Tabaio, Cuba, killing 17 of 20 aboard
15 Sep 1959	Houston, Texas	6	18	CRI	suicide bombing at elementary school
6 Jan 1960	Boliva, North Carolina	34	0	CRI	National Airlines flight bombed in insurance plot, crashing near Boliva, NC
3 Jan 1961	National Reactor Testing Station, Idaho	3	0	CRI	criticality excursion and explosion at SL-1 reactor, apparently due to intentional removal of control rod in murder/suicide act
1 May 1961	Florida	0	0	TER	Puerto Rican hijacks National Airlines plane to Havana, Cuba

22 May 1962	Unionville, Missouri	44	0	CRI	Continental flight bombed
12 Jun 1963	Jackson, Mississippi	1	0	TER- rig ht	Medgar Evers, NAACP Mississippi field secretary, shot and killed at his home
15 Sep 1963	Birmingham, Alabama	4	23	TER- rig ht	bomb exploded under the steps of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing 4 young girls (ages 11-14) attending Sunday school
22 Nov 1963	Dallas, Texas	1	2	TER	President John Kennedy shot and killed by Lee Harvey Oswald, himself later fatally shot by Jack Rudy before trial
1 May 1964	San Ramon, California	44	0	CRI	Frank Gonzalez, intending to commit suicide, shot pilot of Pacific Air Lines flight, causing plane to crash
22 Jun 1964	Philadelphia, Mississippi	3	0	TER- rig ht	three civil rights workers kidnapped in Mississippi, bodies found 4 Aug, 7 whites convicted of murders
16 Feb 1965	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	three individuals, including members of Black Liberation Front and Montreal Separatist Party, arrested plotting to bomb Liberty Bell, Statue of Liberty, and Washington Monument
21 Feb 1965	New York City, New York	1	0	TER	Malcolm X fatally shot
25 Mar 1965	Selma, Alabama	1	0	TER- rig	civil rights protestor killed by Ku Klux Klan

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11-16 Aug 1965	Los Angeles, California	34	1000	CRI	black riots in Watts; \$20 million in damage
10 Jan 1966	Hattiesburg, Mississippi	1	1	TER-right	firebombing by Ku Klux Klan
15 Mar 1966	Los Angeles, California	2	25	CRI	black riots in Watts
1 Aug 1966	Austin, Texas	19	31	CRI	sniper shooting from tower on University of Texas campus
7 Jan 1967	Las Vegas, Nevada	6	12	CRI	R. Parks commits suicide in bombing of Las Vegas motel
29 Jan 1967	Washington, DC	0	2	TER-national	simultaneous bombing of Yugoslav missions in Washington, DC, Chicago, IL, San Francisco, CA, New York City, NY, Ottawa, Canada, and Toronto, Canada; the Washington bombing injured two embassy employees
2 May 1967	Sacramento, California	0	0	THW	26 Black Panthers walk into California State Legislature in Sacramento carrying loaded guns to read a political statement
12-17 Jul 1967	Newark, New Jersey	26	1500	CRI	black riots
23-30 Jul 1967	Detroit, Michigan	43	2000	CRI	black riots

4 Apr 1968	Memphis, Tennessee	1	0	TER-right	Martin Luther King Jr. shot and killed by James Earl Ray
5 Jun 1968	Los Angeles, California	1	0	TER	Robert Kennedy shot by Jordanian Sinhan Bishara Sirhan, died 6 Jun
1 Jun 1969	Sacramento, California	0	13	TER-left	gunfight at Black Panther Party headquarters, injures 13 policemen
7 Aug 1969	New York City, New York	0	20	TER-left	bombing of Marine Midland Building
6 Mar 1970	New York City, New York	3	0	TER-left	three killed, apparently while building bombs for Weathermen
17 Mar 1970	Boston, Massachusetts	1	1	TER	Eastern Airlines flight hijacked; copilot shot and killed
24 Aug 1970	Madison, Wisconsin	1	0	TER-left	bombing at Sterling Hall kills scientist at University of Wisconsin; bomb planted in protest of Vietnam War
1 Nov 1970	Fort Detrick, Maryland	0	0	THW	US Army learns of Weathermen plot to blackmail homosexual officer at Fort Detrick, MD, to steal a biological weapon for use in the water supply of a major city
1 Mar 1971	Washington, DC	0	0	TER-	Weather Underground bombing of Senate wing

				left	of U.S. Capitol
20 Oct 1971	New York City, New York	0	0	TER	JDL members fire into apartment occupied by members of Soviet UN delegation
1 Jan 1972	Chicago, Illinois	0	0	THW	two teenagers, members of RISE, arrested for plotting to introduce typhoid bacteria into Chicago water supply
22 Jan 1972	Saint Louis, Missouri	2	0	TER-left	two police officers killed
26 Jan 1972	New York City, New York	2	13	TER	Jewish Defense League firebombs two Sol Hurok offices; one killed at each location, with 13 total additional injuries
27 Jan 1972	New York City, New York	2	0	TER-left	Black Liberation Army kills 2 police officers
7 Mar 1972	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	caller threatens to bomb four TWA airliners, one every 6 hours, unless a \$2,000,000 ransom was paid; caller stated bomb was aboard TWA Flight 7 en route from New York City to Los Angeles; flight returned to New York City and the bomb defused
8 Mar 1972	Las Vegas, Nevada	0	0	TER	additional attack on TWA airliner; bomb exploded in emptied airliner in Las Vegas following its arrival from New York City

8 Apr 1972	Harris County, Texas	0	1	CRI	intentional irradiation of child using radioactive sources
15 May 1972	Laurel, Maryland	0	4	TER	Alabama governor George Wallace and 3 others injured, shot by Arthur Bremer
7 Jan 1973	New Orleans, Louisiana	9	13	TER- left t	shootings by former Black Panther member
4 Mar 1973	New York City, New York	0	0	TER- isl m	attempted bombings of three Israeli targets
1 Jul 1973	Chevy Chase, Maryland	1	0	TER- isl m	Israeli military attache Colonel Yosef Alon shot outside his home, claimed by PFLP
6 Nov 1973	Oakland, California	1	0	TER	SLA kills Marcus Foster, black school superintendent
22 Feb 1974	Baltimore, Maryland	3	1	TER	gunman attempts to hijack plane in Baltimore and fly it into White House to kill President Nixon; kills 2 at airport and himself, injures one
17 May 1974	Los Angeles, California	6	0	TER	6 SLA suspects in Hearst kidnapping killed in gun battle with police
6 Aug 1974	Los Angeles, California	3	35	TER	bomb explodes in locker at airport, later attributed to the Alphabet Bomber



21 Aug 1974	Los Angeles, California	0	0	THW	Alphabet Bomber, having threatened to kill the President with nerve gas, arrested with all but one of necessary components
11 Dec 1974	East Harlem, New York	0	1	TER-na tl	FALN bombing injures police officer
24 Jan 1975	New York City, New York	4	63	TER-na tl	FALN bombing of Fraunces Tavern in Wall Street
29 Jan 1975	Washington, DC	0	0	TER-lef t	Weather Underground bombing of U.S. State Department
5 Sep 1975	Sacramento, California	0	0	THW	Secret Service agent prevents Lynette Fromme, a Charles Manson follower, from shooting President Gerald Ford
22 Sep 1975	San Francisco, California	0	0	THW	President Gerald Ford unharmed in assassination attempt by Sara Jane Moore, a political activist
29 Dec 1975	New York City, New York	11	75	TER-na tl	bomb explodes in locker at La Guardia Airport; Croatian nationalists suspected
1 Jun 1976	?	0	0	THW	B. A. Fox threatens to use mail to disperse ticks carrying pathogens
27 Jul 1976	Washington, DC	1	0	THW	gunman scales White House fence, is shot and

					killed by guards
10 Sep 1976	New York City, New York	1	3	TER-na tl	Croatian terrorists hijack TWA jet and have it flown to France; 1 policeman killed by bomb at Grand Central Terminal in New York City
21 Sep 1976	Washington, DC	2	0	TER-na tl	two Chileans killed in car bombing
9 Mar 1977	Washington, DC	0	0	TER-isl m	Hanafi Muslim gunmen seize 3 buildings in Washington, DC, and hold 134 hostages for 39 hours before surrendering
22 Mar 1977	Denver, Colorado	1	0	TER	bombing attributed to Chicano activist
23 Apr 1977	Washington, DC	1	0	TER	bomb explodes in locker at airport
3 Aug 1977	New York City, New York	1	7	TER-na tl	FALN bombs two office buildings; 1 killed at Mobil headquarters, 7 injured
25 May 1978	Evanston, Illinois	0	1	TER-un ab	mail bomb slightly injures campus police officer at Northwestern University
1 Jan 1979	Wilmington, North Carolina	0	0	THW	extortion attempt threatening release of uranium dioxide
3 May 1979	Chicago, Illinois	0	5	TER-na	FALN bombing at Shubert Theatre

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9 May 1979	Evanston, Illinois	0	1	TER-un ab	bomb slightly injures student at Northwestern University
3 Nov 1979	Greensboro, North Carolina	5	11	TER-rig ht	shooting attack at protest
15 Nov 1979	Chicago, Illinois	0	12	TER-un ab	bomb ignites on American Airlines flight which lands safely; 12 passengers suffer from smoke inhalation
1 Dec 1979	Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico	2	10	TER-na tl	Macheteros members ambush Navy bus in Puerto Rico, killing 2 sailors and injuring 10
29 May 1980	Fort Wayne, Indiana	0	1	TER-rig ht	Vernon Jordan Jr., civil rights leader, shot and injured
10 Jun 1980	Chicago, Illinois	0	1	TER-un ab	mail bomb injures president of United Airlines
22 Jul 1980	Bethesda, Maryland	1	0	TER-isl m	Ali Akbar Tabataba'i, former senior officer in Iranian Shah's SAVAK, shot at home by Daoud Salahuddin, a radical black Muslim under instructions from Iran
12 Jan 1981	Muniz ANGB, Puerto Rico	0	0	TER-	Macheteros terrorists bomb 9 Air National

				na tl	Guard jets, causing \$40 million in damage
20 Mar 1981	Mobile, Alabama	1	0	TER- rig ht	Ku Klux Klan attack
30 Mar 1981	Washington, DC	0	4	TER	President Ronald Reagan and 3 others injured in attempted assassination by Hinkley
16 May 1981	New York City, New York	1	0	TER- na tl	bomb explodes in JFK airport terminal
29 Jul 1981	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1	0	CRI	fatal self-inflicted radiation dose using stolen source
20 Oct 1981	New York City, New York	3	0	TER- lef t	Weather Underground member Kathy Boudin captured after killing 3
21 Dec 1981	Warren County, New Jersey	1	0	TER- lef t	UFF members murder New Jersey State Police officer
28 Jan 1982	Los Angeles, California	1	0	TER- na tl	Kemal Arıkan, Turkish Consul-General, assassinated by Armenian terrorists
4 May 1982	Somerville, Massachusetts	1	0	TER- na tl	Orhan Gunduz, honorary Turkish Consul in Boston, assassinated by Armenian terrorists

5 May 1982	Nashville, Tennessee	0	1	TER-un ab	mail bomb injures secretary at Vanderbilt University
16 May 1982	San Juan, Puerto Rico	1	3	TER-na tl	shooting attack on navy sailors
2 Jul 1982	Berkeley, California	0	1	TER-un ab	mail bomb injures professor at University of California
25 Sep 1982	Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania	13	0	CRI	shooting attack
31 Dec 1982	New York City, New York	0	3	TER-na tl	two bombings in Manhattan and Brooklyn by FALN
15 Jul 1983	Los Angeles, California	1	0	TER-na tl	bomb in car kills Armenian Victor Galustian
1 Aug 1983	Detroit, Michigan	3	0	TER-isl m	Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam secretary killed by members of Fuqra, a black Islamic sect; 2 members killed setting fire in AMI temple
7 Nov 1983	Washington, DC	0	0	TER	bombing at U.S. Capitol building; later linked to Revolutionary Armed Task Force
1 Dec 1983	Seattle, Washington	0	0	THW	authorities prevent attempt by pro-Khomeini students to set fire to theater where 500

					anti-Khomeini Iranians were attending a singing performance
31 Dec 1983	New York City, New York	0	1	TER-na tl	FALN bombings at federal and city buildings; 1 policeman injured
1 Apr 1984	New York	0	0	THW	two Canadians arrested in NY attempting to purchase large amounts of pathogenic bacteria (tetanus and botulinal toxin) from a Rockville, MD, firm
18 Jul 1984	San Ysidro, California	22	19	CRI	shooting attack at McDonalds restaurant
18 Jul 1984	Denver, Colorado	1	0	TER-rig ht	Alan Berg killed by white supremacists
29 Aug 1984	The Dalles, Oregon	0	2	TER-rel	followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh use water to infect two officials with salmonella; both sickened, one hospitalized
9-19 Sep 1984	The Dalles, Oregon	0	751	TER-rel	salmonella poisoning in restaurants by followers of Bhadwan Shree Rajneesh
7 Dec 1984	Whidbey Island, Washington	1	0	TER-rig ht	Robert Matthews, leader of The Order, a right-wing group, killed in raid by federal agents
25 Dec 1984	Pensacola, Florida	0	0	TER-rig ht	three abortion clinics bombed

1 Apr 1985	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	letter writer threatens to contaminate New York City's water reservoirs with plutonium unless charges against Bernhard Goetz are dropped; testing was announced to have detected femtocurie levels of plutonium in the water on 26 July
13 May 1985	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	11	0	CRI	police assault on headquarters of radical black group Move starts fire
15 May 1985	Berkeley, California	0	1	TER-un ab	mail bomb injures student at University of California
15 Aug 1985	Paterson, New Jersey	0	1	TER	Tscherim Soobzokov, alleged Nazi war criminal, injured by bombing possibly linked to JDL; died 6 Sep
11 Oct 1985	Santa Ana, California	1	0	TER	Alex Odah, officer of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, killed by bombing possibly linked to JDL
15 Nov 1985	Ann Arbor, Michigan	0	2	TER-un ab	bombing injures two
11 Dec 1985	Sacramento, California	1	0	TER-un ab	Unabomber bomb kills Hugh Scrutton, a computer store owner, with bomb in paper bag behind store
16 May 1986	Cokeville, Wyoming	2	79	TER-rig	two Aryan Nation members take 150 students and teachers hostage at an elementary

				ht	school; bomb accidentally explodes, killing one terrorist and injuring many children; second terrorist commits suicide
5 Aug 1986	Chicago, Illinois	0	0	THW	members of Libyan-linked street gang El Rukn arrested attempting to obtain SAM to attack an aircraft at O'Hare IAP
20 Aug 1986	Edmond, Oklahoma	15	6	CRI	shooting attack by postal employee at post office
5 Sep 1986	New York City, New York	0	30	TER	tear gas bomb set off 5 minutes before end of Russian dance troupe performance at New York City's Metropolitan Opera House by Jewish extremists
29 Sep 1986	Coeur d'Alene, Idaho	0	0	TER- right	four bombs explode in Coeur d'Alene, at department store, restaurant, federal building, and armed forces recruiting station, set by Bruder Scheigen Strike Force II
28 Oct 1986	Fort Buchanan, Puerto Rico	0	1	TER- na tl	Macheteros bombings at military facilities
1 Dec 1986	Arizona	0	0	THW	6 members of Arizona Patriots indicted for planned bombings of the Phoenix ADL regional office, a Phoenix synagogue, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, and the Ogden Utah IRS facility



14 Dec 1986	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	Dennis Malvasi sets bomb in Planned Parenthood building in Manhattan, leaving rental agent handcuffed nearby; bomb fizzles
31 Dec 1986	San Juan, Puerto Rico	97	140	CRI	three employees set fire in Dupont Plaza Hotel; most fatalities were in the hotel casino; the employees were in a labor dispute with the hotel's management
20 Feb 1987	Salt Lake City, Utah	0	1	TER-unab	bombing injures computer store owner
1 Apr 1987	Atlantic City, New Jersey	0	0	THW	apparent Islamic terrorist plot to bomb Atlantic City casinos called off due to alerted authorities
23 Oct 1987	Vermont	0	0	THW	Lebanese national and two others, all members of Syrian Socialist National Party, arrested attempting to enter Vermont from Canada with bomb components
29 Nov 1987	Livermore, California	0	0	THW	bomb exploded in parking lot of Sandia National Laboratories
12 Apr 1988	New Jersey	0	0	THW	Yu Kikumura, member of Japanese Red Army, arrested in New Jersey with bombs to be detonated in Manhattan 3 days later
10 Nov 1988	Norwalk, Connecticut	0	0	THW	animal rights activist arrested leaving pipe bomb at U.S. Surgical Corporation

17 Jan 1989	Stockton, California	6	30	CRI	shooting attack on children in playground of elementary school; gunman then fatally shot himself
10 Mar 1989	San Diego, California	0	0	TER- isl m	pipe-bomb exploded in van of Sharon Lee Rogers, wife of U.S.S. Vincennes captain, planted by pro-Iranian terrorists
13 Mar 1989	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	0	0	THW	US FDA inspectors in Philadelphia discover two grapes laced with minimal amounts of cyanide in shipment from Chile following warning telephoned to U.S. embassy in Santiago
18 Apr 1989	Indianapolis, Indiana	0	1	CRI	child maimed by bomb in toothpaste tube in K-Mart store; apparent teenage perpetrator commits suicide 20 April
19 Apr 1989	Atlantic Ocean, Puerto Rico	47	0	CRI?	explosion in gun turret of battleship U.S.S. Iowa off Puerto Rico kills 47; Navy cites some evidence of sabotage
21 Aug 1989	Atlanta, Georgia	0	15	TER- rig ht	gas canister in parcel explodes at NAACP regional office
17 Dec 1989	Mountain Brook, Alabama	1	1	TER	Judge Robert Vance killed by mail bomb, wife injured
18 Dec 1989	Savannah, Georgia	1	0	TER- rig ht	black civil rights lawyer Robert Robinson killed by mail bomb

31 Jan 1990	Tucson, Arizona	1	0	TER-isl m	Rashad Khalifa assassinated
25 Mar 1990	New York City, New York	87	0	CRI	arson fire in social club
24 May 1990	Oakland, California	0	2	TER-lef t	two Earth First members injured in explosion while transporting bomb in car
18 Jun 1990	Jacksonville, Florida	10	4	CRI	shooting attack at GMAC office
5 Nov 1990	New York City, New York	1	1	TER-isl m	Rabbi Meir Kahane assassinated by Al-Sayyid Abdulazziz Nossair
25 Feb 1991	Brooklyn, New York	1	0	TER-isl m	Mustafa Shalabi killed in Brooklyn by Islamic group members
16 Oct 1991	Killeen, Texas	24	20	CRI	shooting attack at Luby's restaurant
1 Mar 1992	Minnesota	0	0	THW	Minnesota Patriots Council plots to assassinate law enforcement officials using ricin
26 Mar 1992	Franklin Lakes, New Jersey	1	0	TER-isl m	Parivash Rafizadeh, wife of former senior officer in Iranian Shah's SAVAK, shot near her home
19 Apr 1992	Ruby Ridge, Idaho	2	0	CRI	federal marshals in shootout with white supremacist Randy Weaver in Idaho kill his wife and son

27 Apr-2 May 1992	Los Angeles, California	58	4000	CRI	black riots following not guilty verdict in trial of four policemen for beating black offender
1 May 1992	Olivehurst, California	4	10	CRI	shooting attack at high school
25 Jan 1993	Langley, Virginia	2	3	TER-islam	Mir Amail Kansi, an Afghan Islamist, shot several CIA employees in cars in front of CIA headquarters
26 Feb 1993	New York City, New York	6	1040	TER-islam	truck bombing in garage of World Trade Center
28 Feb 1993	Waco, Texas	86	25	CRI	Branch Davidian cult members kill 4 ATF agents, injure 16, when agents raided their compound in Waco, TX; 10 cult members killed; compound was sieged until 19 Apr when another raid was attempted and the compound burned down
10 Mar 1993	Pensacola, Florida	1	0	TER-right	abortionist David Gunn shot and killed by abortion opponent
22 Jun 1993	Tiburon, California	0	1	TER-unab	bomb injures scientist from University of California
24 Jun 1993	New Haven, Connecticut	0	1	TER-unab	bomb injures professor at Yale University

24 Jun 1993	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman and others arrested for role in World Trade Center bombing, thwarting plans to bomb United Nation Headquarters, the Lincoln Tunnel, the Holland Tunnel, the George Washington Bridge, and FBI offices in New York City
1 Jul 1993	Los Angeles, California	0	0	THW	FBI arrests skinheads planning to machine gun worshippers at First African Methodist Episcopal Church in Los Angeles in hopes of starting a race war
19 Aug 1993	Wichita, Kansas	0	1	TER- right	abortionist George Tiller shot and injured at an abortion clinic
14 Dec 1993	Garden City, New York	6	19	TER- left	Colin Ferguson shot and killed 6, injured 17 on Long Island train, professing hatred of whites
1 Mar 1994	New York City, New York	1	3	TER- islam	gunman fires at van of Orthodox Jewish students at the Brooklyn Bridge
26 Apr 1994	Colorado Springs, Colorado	1	1	CRI	mail bomb kills man and injures his wife
20 Jun 1994	Fairchild AFB, Washington	4	22	CRI	shooting attack at base hospital
29 Jul 1994	Pensacola, Florida	2	1	TER- right	abortion opponent shot and killed abortionist and his bodyguard and injured abortionist's wife

12 Sep 1994	Washington, DC	1	0	TER	Frank Corder flew Cessna from MD into White House, striking tree near President's bedroom, killing himself and causing damage to White House
29 Oct 1994	Washington, DC	0	0	THW	lone gunman with semi-automatic weapon fires shots at White House from sidewalk in front on Pennsylvania Avenue
10 Dec 1994	North Caldwell, New Jersey	1	0	TER-unab	Unabomber mail bomb kills New York advertising executive Thomas Mosser
30 Dec 1994	Brookline, Massachusetts	2	5	TER-right	gunman kills 2 abortion clinic workers in MA, then drives to Norfolk, VA, and fires on clinic before arrest
19 Apr 1995	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	169	675	TER-right	truck bombing of federal building, causing partial collapse
24 Apr 1995	Sacramento, California	1	0	TER-unab	Unabomber mail bomb kills Gilbert Murray, president of California Forestry Assn., at office
1 May 1995	Washington, DC	0	2	THW	man with unloaded gun scales White House fence; jumper and Secret Service agent shot and injured by another guard
12 Sep 1995	Essex, Maryland	5	0	CRI	car bombing at shopping mall, apparent murder plot

10 Oct 1995	Hyder, Arizona	1	100	CRI	Amtrak train derailed near Hyder, AZ, by sabotage to tracks with nearby note claiming responsibility by Sons of Gestapo, later attributed to railroad employee
23 Dec 1995	Arkansas	1	0	THW	Thomas Lewis Lavy arrested in Arkansas for possession of ricin, a biotoxin; Lavy commits suicide the next day
27 Feb 1996	Houston, Texas	0	1	CRI	radioactive source theft
1 Jun 1996	New York	0	0	THW	several individuals arrested in plot to kill Republican officials; seized weapons included radioactive materials
1 Jun 1996	New York	0	0	THW	several individuals arrested in New York planning to kill Republican officials; seized weapons included radioactive materials
17 Jul 1996	East Moriches, New York	230	0	ACC?	mid-air explosion of TWA 800, attribution to accidental explosion has been disputed; victims included 20 children and 38 French citizens
27 Jul 1996	Atlanta, Georgia	2	110	TER- right	pipe bomb explodes in park at night concert at Summer Olympic Games; 1 killed, 1 died nearby of heart attack
2 Jan 1997	multiple	0	0	TER	letter bombs received at Egyptian newspaper offices in Washington, DC, New York City, and a prison in Leavenworth Kansas; similar device exploded at Egyptian

					newspaper office in London, UK, injuring 2 guards
22 Feb 1997	Atlanta, Georgia	0	4	TER- right	bomb explodes in Atlanta, GA, nightclub frequented by homosexuals; 4 injured
24 Feb 1997	New York City, New York	2	6	TER- islam	lone Palestinian gunman fired on tourists on observation deck of Empire State Building; Danish national was killed and other tourists injured before gunman killed himself
26 Mar 1997	Rancho Sante Fe, California	39	0	CRI	discovery of mass suicide by 39 members of Heaven's Gate cult, tied by cult members to Comet Hale-Bopp
16 May 1997	?	0	0	THW	James Dalton Bell allegedly investigates toxins for use in assassinating government officials
31 Jul 1997	New York City, New York	0	2	THW	would-be Palestinian suicide bombers are arrested at their apartment while planning to bomb New York subways
29 Jan 1998	Birmingham, Alabama	1	1	TER- right	bombing at abortion clinic kills one guard and injures a nurse; Eric Rudolph suspected in case
24 Mar 1998	Jonesboro, Arkansas	5	11	CRI	shooting attack at middle school by two students; 4 students and 1 teacher killed, 9 students and 2 adults injured



21 May 1998	Springfield, Oregon	4	25	CRI	shooting attacks at residence and high school
24 Jul 1998	Washington, DC	2	2	TER	gunman enters U.S. Capitol building and kills two guards; one tourist and gunman are injured
19 Oct 1998	Vail, Colorado	0	0	TER- left	arson attacks by the Earth Liberation Front at Vail ski resort cause \$12 million in damages
23 Oct 1998	Amherst, New York	1	0	TER- right	abortionist shot and killed at his home
20 Apr 1999	Littleton, Colorado	15	27	CRI	mass shooting at Columbine High School by two students; 12 students and 1 teacher killed, 21 students and 2 teachers killed; both gunmen killed themselves
10 Aug 1999	Los Angeles, California	1	5	TER- right	shooting attack at Jewish daycare by white supremacist
15 Sep 1999	Fort Worth, Texas	8	8	CRI	shooting attack at church service
31 Oct 1999	Atlantic Ocean, Massachusetts	217	0	TER- islam	intentional crash of Egypt Air flight off Nantucket Island by copilot
14 Dec 1999	Port Angeles, Washington	0	0	THW	terrorist arrested crossing from Canada with material to bomb Los Angeles International Airport

7 Feb 2001	Washington, DC	0	1	THW	gunman fires on the White House from outside the perimeter fence; gunman is shot and injured by a guard
11 Sep 2001	New York City, New York	2759	8700	TER- isl m	crashing of two hijacked planes into World Trade Center towers, causing fires and collapse
11 Sep 2001	Alexandria, Virginia	189	200	TER- isl m	crashing of hijacked plane into Pentagon
11 Sep 2001	Somerset County, Pennsylvania	45	0	TER- isl m	crashing of hijacked plane into rural area of Pennsylvania, following attempt by passengers to regain control of aircraft
18 Sep 2001	West Palm Beach, Florida	1	10	TER	anthrax-laced letters mailed to West Palm Beach, Florida, USA, and New York City, New York, USA
9 Oct 2001	Washington, DC	4	7	TER	anthrax-laced letters mailed to Washington, DC
22 Dec 2001	Atlantic Ocean, Florida	0	1	THW	British citizen prevented from igniting shoe bomb on flight from Paris to Miami
8 May 2002	Chicago, Illinois	0	0	THW	US citizen arrested for seeking to use dirty bomb in US
4 Jul 2002	Los Angeles, California	2	4	TER- isl m	Egyptian gunman kills two Israelis, injures four at the El Al ticket counter at the Los Angeles International Airport

5 Sep 2002	Clinton, Maryland	0	1	TER- b ws	owner of Italian restaurant shot in robbery by Beltway snipers
10 Sep 2002	Lackawanna, New York	0	0	THW	6 U.S. citizens arrested for terrorist connections
21 Sep 2002	Montgomery, Alabama	1	1	TER- b ws	liquor store employees shot in robbery by Beltway snipers
2 Oct 2002	Glenmont, Maryland	1	0	TER- b ws	1 killed at grocery store by Beltway snipers
3 Oct 2002	Aspen Hill, Maryland	5	0	TER- b ws	5 killed in separate shootings by Beltway snipers
4 Oct 2002	Spotsylvania County, Virginia	1	0	TER- b ws	1 killed at shopping mall by Beltway snipers
7 Oct 2002	Bowie, Maryland	0	1	TER- b ws	1 child injured at a middle school by Beltway snipers
9 Oct 2002	Manassas, Virginia	1	0	TER- b ws	1 killed at gas station by Beltway snipers
11 Oct 2002	Fredericksburg, Virginia	1	0	TER-	1 killed at gas station by Beltway snipers

				b ws	
14 Oct 2002	Falls Church, Virginia	1	0	TER- b ws	1 killed at shopping mall by Beltway snipers
19 Oct 2002	Ashland, Virginia	1	0	TER- b ws	1 killed at restaurant by Beltway snipers
22 Oct 2002	Aspen Hill, Maryland	1	0	TER- b ws	1 bus driver killed by Beltway snipers
19 Mar 2003	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	US citizen arrested for planning to sabotage Brooklyn Bridge
1 Jun 2003	Alexandria, Virginia	0	0	THW	11 arrested for planning attacks on U.S. servicemen
8 Jul 2003	Meridian, Mississippi	7	8	CRI	shooting attack at factory
28 Nov 2003	Columbus, Ohio	0	0	THW	arrest of terrorist plotting to bomb shopping mall in Columbus
1 Aug 2004	Albany, New York	0	0	THW	2 arrested plotting assassination of Pakistani diplomat
1 Aug 2004	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	2 arrested planning to bomb Penn Station during Republican National Convention

3 Aug 2004	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	terror cell leader arrested in London for planning attacks on financial centers in the US
21 Mar 2005	Red Lake, Minnesota	10	7	CRI	shooting at Red Lake Indian Reservation school
1 Aug 2005	Los Angeles, California	0	0	THW	4 arrested plotting attacks on Los Angeles targets
29 Nov 2005	Santa Cruz, California	0	4	TER- left t	4 injured, including several children, by incendiary attacks by suspected animal rights activists
5 Dec 2005	Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting attacks on refineries in Wyoming and New Jersey and on the transcontinental pipeline
Feb 2006	Toledo, Ohio	0	0	THW	3 arrested plotting attacks on U.S. military abroad and on domestic targets
5 Mar 2006	Chapel Hill, North Carolina	0	9	TER- isl m	man drives vehicle into pedestrians at the University of North Carolina
Apr 2006	Atlanta, Georgia	0	0	THW	2 arrested plotting attacks on U.S. Capitol and World Bank headquarters
22 Jun 2006	Chicago, Illinois	0	0	THW	7 arrested planning to bomb the Sears Tower
1 Jul 2006	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	1 arrested planning to bomb train tunnels

28 Jul 2006	Seattle, Washington	1	5	TER- isl m	gunman fires on women at the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle
9 Aug 2006	?	0	0	THW	British authorities arrest 24 terrorists planning to use liquid explosives on airlines to attack US targets
27 Sep 2006	Bailey, Colorado	2	5	CRI	hostage taking and shooting attack at high school
2 Oct 2006	Nickel Mines, Pennsylvania	6	5	CRI	hostage taking and shooting attack at Amish schoolhouse
Dec 2006	Chicago, Illinois	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting grenade attack on Chicago area shopping mall
16 Apr 2007	Blacksburg, Virginia	33	17	CRI	shooting attack at Virginia Polytechnic Institute
9 May 2007	Cherry Hill, New Jersey	0	0	THW	6 arrested plotting armed attack on Fort Dix
3 Jun 2007	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	4 arrested in Trinidad plotting to bomb fuel pipelines near JFK airport
1 Aug 2007	Clinton, Michigan	0	1	CRI	radioactive source theft
24 Feb 2008	Los Angeles, California	0	1	TER- lef t	animal rights activists attempt home invasion of biomedical researcher, injuring the researcher's husband
Jun 2008	Columbus, Ohio	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting attacks on U.S. and

					European targets
27 Jul 2008	Knoxville, Tennessee	2	7	TER	gunman fires on congregation at a church
10 Mar 2009	Alabama	11	6	CRI	multiple shootings at residences and businesses in Samson and Geneva, AL
3 Apr 2009	Binghamton, New York	14	4	CRI	shooting attack at immigrant center
20 May 2009	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	4 arrested plotting bombing attacks on New York Jewish centers and attacks against Air National Guard aircraft
31 May 2009	Wichita, Kansas	1	0	TER-right	1 doctor killed (George Tiller) in shooting attack at Reformation Lutheran Church
1 Jun 2009	Little Rock, Arkansas	1	1	TER-islam	1 Army private killed (William Long), second injured in shooting attack at Army Navy Career Center
10 Jun 2009	Washington, DC	1	1	TER-right	1 guard killed (Stephen Johns) in shooting attack at the Holocaust Museum
11 Sep 2009	Owosso, Michigan	2	0	TER-left	abortion protester shot and killed outside a school; the gunman also killed an area businessman
23 Sep 2009	Springfield, Illinois	0	0	THW	US citizen arrested plotting to detonate car bomb at the federal building in Springfield, IL

24 Sep 2009	Dallas, Texas	0	0	THW	terrorist arrested planning to bomb Dallas Fountain Place
21 Oct 2009	Sudbury, Massachusetts	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting attacks on shopping malls and assassinations of two politicians
5 Nov 2009	Foot Hood, Texas	13	44	TER- isl m	shooting attack at Soldier Readiness Center at Foot Hood
25 Dec 2009	Michigan	0	3	TER- isl m	Yemeni terrorist attempts to detonate bomb on flight from Amsterdam to Detroit; bomb only ignites, and passengers and crew subdue the terrorist
18 Feb 2010	Austin, Texas	2	13	TER	suicide crash of small plane into federal office building
4 Mar 2010	Alexandria, Virginia	1	2	TER	shooting at gate outside Pentagon; gunman killed
1 May 2010	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	failed car bombing in Times Square by Pakistani terrorists
Jul 2010	Anchorage, Alaska	0	0	THW	2 arrested plotting mail bomb assassinations
1 Sep 2010	Silver Spring, Maryland	1	0	TER	3 hostages held by gunman at Discovery Communications headquarters; gunman killed by police
17 Sep 2010	Washington, DC	0	1	THW	attempted shooting at Capitol Hill; gunman shot and injured by guards



Oct 2010	Washington, DC	0	0	THW	Pakistani-American arrested plotting bombing attack on Washington subway
29 Oct 2010	?	0	0	THW	thwarted attempt to bomb multiple US-bound airliners with parcel bombs sent from Yemen
Nov 2010	Portland, Oregon	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting bombing at Christmas tree lighting ceremony in Portland
Dec 2010	Maryland	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting bombing of military recruiting center
8 Jan 2011	Tucson, Arizona	6	13	TER	shooting attack at political event at a supermarket; U.S. District Judge John Roll killed, U.S. Representative Gabrielle Giffords injured
Feb 2011	Lubbock, Texas	0	0	THW	1 arrested plotting bombings of domestic targets
May 2011	New York City, New York	0	0	THW	2 arrested plotting attacks on a Manhattan synagogue
Jun 2011	Seattle, Washington	0	0	THW	2 arrested plotting attack on Seattle military recruiting station
27 Jul 2011	Killeen, Texas	0	0	THW	thwarted attempt to attack restaurant near Fort Hood with bombing and shooting attack; Naser Abdo arrested
6 Sep 2011	Carson City, Nevada	5	7	CRI?	shooting attack at restaurant, killing 4 (2 died)

					immediately, 2 died later of injuries) and injuring 7 others; casualties included 3 Nevada National Guard soldiers killed and 2 injured; gunman also died of self-inflicted wounds
20 Jul 2012	Aurora, Colorado	12	58	CRI	shooting attack at movie theater; suspect was arrested afterwards; suspect had booby-trapped his nearby apartment with explosives which were successfully disarmed by police
5 Aug 2012	Oak Creek, Wisconsin	7	4	TER-right	6 killed, 4 injured in shooting attack at a Sikh temple shortly before worship service on Sunday morning; one of those injured was a police officer, another was president of the temple; the gunman was shot and killed at the scene by police
14 Aug 2012	LaPlace, Louisiana	2	4	TER	2 police officers killed, 1 injured while investigating attack that injured another officer; 7 arrested, 2 of whom were injured in the shootout; several of those arrested had ties to the sovereign citizen movement
15 Aug 2012	Washington, DC	0	1	TER-left	1 guard shot and injured while subduing gunman at Family Research Council offices
14 Dec 2012	Newtown, Connecticut	28	3	CRI	shooting attack at elementary school kills 20 children and 6 adults; shooter killed

					himself and had killed his mother earlier that day
15 Apr 2013	Boston, Massachusetts	3	264	TER- isl m	two bombings at Boston Marathon kill 3 (including 1 child) and injure 183 (including 8 children)
17 Apr 2013	Washington, DC	0	0	THW	two letters testing positive for ricin mailed to Mississippi Senator Roger Wicker and President Obama are found at mail screening facilities; a third letter to an official in Mississippi was awaiting testing; an individual in Mississippi is arrested and charged in the case
18-19 Apr 2013	Watertown, Massachusetts	2	2	TER- isl m	1 police officer killed, one injured during manhunt for the Boston Marathon bombers; one terrorist killed and one injured and captured
12 May 2013	New Orleans, Louisiana	0	19	CRI	two gunmen fired on crowds at Mother's Day parade; 19 injured, including 2 children

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Wm. Robert Johnston. Last modified 18 May 2013. Available at, <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/wrjp255a.html>



# Appendix Two

## The Truth about Islam

Aside from the enormous number of the lost lives during the Global War on Terrorism in the Whole World; especially in the Muslim World, Iraq and Afghanistan are undoubtedly at the top of this list. In addition to the cultural loss, political instability and social chaos, one of the major victims of this war has to be Islam; a religion of more than one billion believers has been internationally ridiculed and demonized and the followers of this religion are regarded as some sort of “Satan’s worshipers”. But, in reality, “The story of Islam is similar to those of Judaism and Christianity.” Most likely, it is a continuation or a correction to those two religions, which have been denuded from their essence and the truth of their teachings. “Muslims believe in the Jewish and Christian legends of creation; the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden followed by the eviction are retold in the Islamic holy book “the Quran”... (But)...Islam is misunderstood and its teachings often misconstrued, “Allah” is seen as some strange God created by Muslims when Allah is simply the Arabic word for God. Even Mohamed, the messenger of Islam, is attacked and ridiculed... the doctrines and rites of Islam embodied the major features of Judaism and Christianity. They also introduce modifications to them.”<sup>1</sup>

### **The Impact of Islam:**

“The greatest Historical achievement of the Arabs was the globalization of Islam. Islam was carried within a century to distant Indonesia and Spain... the Arab-Islamic Empire lasted for hundred years and spread to distant places, reaching the outskirts of Paris and deep into central Asia. During the expansion of the Islamic Empire, in many cases, Muslims absorbed rather than destroyed; transforming old knowledge into a distinctive civilization ... and contributed in many areas to the development of world civilization ... without the background of the Arab-Islamic contributions, the renaissance would have been in doubt... in mathematics, Islamic scholars developed the field of algebra and provided the world with the

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<sup>1</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, op. cit., p. 98.

decimal point and its modern numerals. Imagine the budget of the U.S. using Roman numerals or a computer program without the zero or the decimal point. In medicine, the Islamic Empire had hospitals and was practicing surgery at the time when Europeans were still practicing witchcraft in healing. In the natural sciences, Islamic scientists taught us about physics and the element. In philosophy, it was Islamic scholars who introduced the works of Aristotle, Socrates, and Plato to a sleeping Europe in its Dark Ages. In Sum, the Islamic Empire rivaled the greatest ages of Rome and successfully assimilated and globalized classical literature, Hellenistic philosophy, Byzantine institutions, Roman law, and Syriac and Persian scholarship and art.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Jamal R. Nasser, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

## ***The Truth about Islam***

*Islam means “submission to the Will of God.” In its ethical sense Islam signifies “striving after the ideal.” A Muslim is one who submits to the Will of God. “Islam” and “Muslim” derive from the same word as the Arabic for “peace.” The traditional Muslim greeting is “Peace be unto you.”*

*Islam offers hope for salvation to the righteous and God-fearing of all religions. Muslims believe in the Divine Revelations of many prophets including Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, but do not believe that God assumed human form. The Quran, Muslims believe, is God’s Word and Final Revelation to The Prophet Muhammad. Revealed over a period of twenty-three years,*

*The Quran was compiled and distributed to distant lands within twenty-five years of The Prophet’s death in 632 CE. This is the only Quran recognized by Muslims. Comprising laws, moral precepts, and narratives, The Quran’s timeless text remains an inspiration and guide for more than one fifth of humanity. Together with The Quran, the epitome of Classical Arabic, Muslims lives are guided by the examples and sayings of The Prophet. Thousands of sayings have been attributed to The Prophet. Some are accepted as authentic; some traced to The Prophet’s companions; some are the subject of debate. Some examples:*

*“The first thing created by God was the Intellect.”*

*“The most excellent Jihad is that for the conquest of self.”*

*“The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr.”*

*“One learned man is harder on the devil than a thousand ignorant worshippers.”*

*“Riches are not from an abundance of worldly goods, but from a contented mind.”*

*“Reflect upon God’s creation but not upon His nature or else you will perish.”*

*“He who wishes to enter Paradise at the best door must please his mother and father.”*

*“No man is a true believer unless he desires for his brother that which he desires for himself.”*

*“When the bier of anyone passes by you, whether Jew, Christian, or Muslim, rise to your feet.”*

*“The thing which is lawful, but disliked by God, is divorce.”*

*“Modesty and chastity are parts of the Faith.”*

*“Heaven lies at the feet of mothers.”*

*“Women are the twin-halves of men.”*

*“Actions will be judged according to intentions.”*

*“That which is lawful is clear, and that which is unlawful likewise, but there are certain doubtful things between the two from which it is well to abstain.”*

*“The proof of a Muslim’s sincerity is that he pays no attention to that which is not his business.”*

*“That person is nearest to God, who pardons . . . him who would have injured him.”*

*“Yield obedience to my successor, although he may be an Abyssinian slave.”*

*“Assist any person oppressed, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.”*

*“The creation is like God’s family . . . the most beloved unto God is the person who does good to God’s family.”*

*Islamic Law is based upon The Quran, examples and sayings of The Prophet, consensus among the*

*learned, analogical deduction, and individual reasoning. Islamic society comes closer than any*

*other society to the ideal democracy. All persons are equal before God; goodness is the only criterion of worth. There is no priesthood in Islam; even a child, with greater knowledge of The Quran than his elders, may lead them in prayer. To become a Muslim one need only profess,*

*“There is no god but God; Muhammad is the Messenger of God.”<sup>3</sup>*

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<sup>3</sup> Enver Masud, *The Truth about Islam: The War on Islam (The U.S.A. the Wisdom Fund : 2000-2010)*, p. 351.



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# Abstract

Being a world leader, the U.S. along with its allies declared war on terrorism at a global stage. But overall, America's War has been seen as a mere disguise for the continuity of the American empire. The emphasis on the Muslim countries; mainly Iraq, raised a lot of speculations concerning the United States' real intentions; especially among Muslims. From one hand, the attack on one of the former Islamic empire's pillar has been interpreted as an attack on the Islamic Nation and Islam, as a whole. From the other hand, America has been openly accused for using the War on Terror to get rid of the obstacles preventing it from having full control over the Babylonian natural richness. Therefore, is the American War on Terrorism nothing more than an ideal that has nothing to do with fighting terrorism as has to do with combating Islamism? Generally speaking, this thesis will be devoted to U.S. foreign policy and its overseas relations with the Muslim World; mainly with Iraq from post-World War Two till the ninth-eleventh aftermaths.

## Key words:

America; The Muslim World; Iraq; Islam; Saddam Hussein; Terrorism; U.S. War On Terrorism; U.S. Foreign Policy; U.S. Imperialism; Oil.