

US MILITARY OCCUPATION OF IRAQ
AND ITS GLOBAL IMPACT



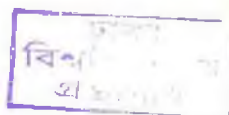
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THE THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DHAKA
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the whole of the research work submitted as a thesis entitled “US Military Occupation of Iraq and its Global Impact” for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of Dhaka, is the results of my own investigations except where due acknowledgement has been given. The thesis or part of it has not been submitted to any other university or institution for any other degree or for the purpose of publication.



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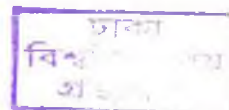
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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “US Military Occupation of Iraq and its Global Impact” is an out-come of extensive research done by Md. Omar Faruk (Registration No. 308, Session: 2003-2004) for the award of Master of Philosophy in Political Science at the University of Dhaka. The research work has been carried out under my supervision. To the best of my knowledge no part of the work has been submitted for another degree or qualification in any other institution.

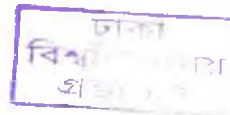
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I express my heartiest gratitude to almighty Allah whose invisible guidance and blessings helped me to begin and complete my M. Phil. course. At the beginning, the task seemed difficult and painstaking. But it became easier with the contributions by persons at different stages. I owe debt to these persons. At first I would like to owe my greatest debt to my favourite and respected teacher, A.K.M. Shahidullah, Supervisor, Professor and Chairman (retired), Department of Political Science for his inspirational guidance, constructive suggestions and continuous encouragements without which a complete shape of the study would not have been possible.

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ABSTRACT

a. Introduction: Occupation of Iraq by U.S.A. is one of the worst crimes in human history. Use of lame excuses for the occupation, avoidance of international popular opinion and international community, by-pass of international organizations, degree and level of destruction, atrocities and inhuman activities labeled in noble names, all are rare in history. Fortunately, I was granted an opportunity to do my M. Phil. degree on the topic “US Military Occupation of Iraq and its Global Impact” under the supervision of Professor A.K.M. Shahidullah, Department of Political Science, University of Dhaka.

b. Justification of the research: In all stages of history powerful states dominated, invaded, occupied and ruled weak states. Powerful states committed aggression against weak states without any hesitation. Peace-loving people of world thought that barbaric aggression will not be practiced by advanced nations in present civilized world. But the most civilized nation; U.S.A, attacked a weak nation; Iraq, and destroyed the nation totally. It is a man-made disaster for human civilization

Before the occupation Bush claimed to bring peace, prosperity and democracy to Iraq. But after the occupation, he presented the nation destruction, oppression, violence, civil war and poverty. Millions of innocent Iraqi civilians were killed and wounded, millions are displaced and Iraq lies in ruins. Missiles from American jets killed Iraqis, torn Iraqis to pieces. This is the meaning of liberty brought by U.S.A. after collapse of Saddam Hussein’s dictatorship in Iraq.

The governments of the United States and the United Kingdom accused Iraq of possessing weapons of mass destruction. But they knew well that there was no weapon of mass destruction in Iraq. This was a lame excuse to justify the war. International community and majority of American people opposed military action and favoured diplomatic solution. But Bush ignored public opinion and invaded the country.

When Bush and Tony Blair failed to procure the support of international community, they pressed the UN Security Council to authorize the use of force. But most of the Security Council members did not agree and in the end the Security Council did not authorize military action. At last Bush bypassed the UNSC and attacked a defenseless country.

The occupation has created a hell for Iraqis. Millions of Iraqi civilians and more than 4,350 US troops have died in Iraq since Bush launched the war. Civilized nations of the world; U.S.A. and U.K, destroyed Iraq and threatened the regional and global security, peace and stability. Of course Iraq became the second victim of US onslaught, the first being Afghanistan where under US initiative and leadership and UN support, U.S.A. created havoc there by killing innocent civilians, men, women and children on plea for searching Osama bin Laden on his involvement in the Twin Tower incident – 9/11 in 2001; the fact being otherwise according to latest CIA report.

From this standpoint, my research work under the title “US Military Occupation of Iraq and its Global Impact” has been considered very important and timely to unfold the super power policy and actions, its duplicity and dualism. If this attitude, policy and action of big and super

powers continue unabated, the hope for international brotherhood and fraternity, peaceful coexistence amongst the big and powerful, small and weak, rich and poor states will be a far cry.

So, it is time for the world population to realize the consequences of war. It is time to realize suffering for the people created by war whether it is in a rich or poor country. It is also time to realize that if great powers continue to behave this way the world will never be a peaceful place for habitation.

c. Objectives: Military strength of U.S.A is beyond question. U.S. president just ordered and the forces started action on March 20, 2003 and occupied Iraq without any major obstacle. But U.S leader failed to realize the effect of action on Iraqis and how a whimsical order brings danger to millions of people. It is very strange that leaders of a nation can destroy another nation for narrow national interest. U.S.A. imposed an aggression on Iraqis for that narrow national interest. The objective of this research is to find out the main motives behind the aggression, to describe the extent of destruction and sufferings created by U.S.A. in Iraq and the effect of the occupation in Iraq, in the Middle East and also in the world.

d. Hypotheses: Bush occupied Iraq to establish it as a client state and set up there military bases to establish its permanent hegemony not only on Iraq but on the whole Middle East, the aim and purpose of which are mainly to ensure easy and undisturbed flow of oil from the Middle East and to make Israel free from any kind of threat from Muslim countries of the area.

Through preemptive strikes in Iraq, U.S.A. tried to acquire its status as a single hyper power and deter other powers.

U.S.A aggressive actions in Iraq created the opportunity and ground for formation and emergence of second joint superpower in collaboration with other great powers though it was not formed or emerged, the reason of which is unknown to the world.

Due to its barbarian policy and inhuman action, U.S.A lost its image as world leader.

Thus the general feeling and opinion amongst the world leaders and strategic experts is that the U.S.A must retreat from Iraq as it did in Vietnam and also cooperate with other nations for its own sake and peaceful coexistence which is the slogan of the 21st century.

e. Methods used in the research: In this research historical and descriptive methods have been applied. I applied historical method of research to learn and understand the origin of the problem and growth of U.S.A.-Iraq relation and later how the relation between U.S.A. and Iraq deteriorated and led up to Iraq occupation and ultimately to destruction of a nation. I also used descriptive method of research to find out lame excuses cited by US-administration for justification of the occupation, to measure degree and extent of destruction, to describe what is happening in Iraq in the name of saving Iraqis and also pointed out consequences of the occupation. At last I summarized my observations in the concluding part.

f. Limitations of the research: Because of dangerous situation in Iraq it was quite impossible to be there to collect information from primary resources. So, the research is based on information collected from secondary sources. It was very difficult to know what was happening inside Iraq. From the very beginning of the occupation U.S.A. checked flow of information and guided the media into purposive directions. Embedded journalism, which U.S.A. imposed in Iraq, released controlled, partial, purposive and distorted information to international community. These information did not match the situation in the ground. Despite that some dailies, weeklies and periodicals like the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Arab News, the Pravda, the Guardian, the Economist, Al-Ahram, the Foreign Affairs, the Political Science Quarterly etc printed reports and articles describing reality in Iraq. More importantly journalist like Robert Fisk and writer like Noam Chomsky played important role in pacifying thirst of world people. Some web sites in the internet and satellite TV like AlJazeera also provided important information. I used these resources extensively in my research.

g. Chapters: The research paper is divided into seven chapters. These are –

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Historical background

Chapter 3: U.S. plea for Iraq aggression

Chapter 4: Extent of destruction of wealth, properties and loss of human life

Chapter 5: Real causes of occupation

Chapter 6: Global impact

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Acronymes/Abbreviations

AI: Amnesty International

CM: Cluster Munitions

CPA: Coalition Provisional Authority

CW: Coalition of the Willing

DU: Depleted Uranium

HRW: Human Rights Watch

IED: Improved Explosive Device

IGC: Iraqi Governing Council

IIG: Iraqi Interim Government

ILA: Iraq Liberation Act

mbd: million barrel per day

ODF: Operation Desert Fox

ODS: Operation Desert Storm

OIC: Organization of Islamic Conference

OIF: Operation Iraqi Freedom

OIL: Operation Iraqi Liberation

ORB: Opinion Research Business

OSP: Office of Special Plans

RCC: Revolutionary Command Council

SIRPI: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

WP: White Phosphorus

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Chapter 1

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The United States of America has the richest economy in the world. The richest country has the largest volume of fuel consumption. From aero planes in sky to vehicles on roads, from industrial fields to household activities, fuel is necessary everywhere. Although only six per cent of the total world population live in the USA, it uses almost sixty per cent of the total world fuel consumption. Mainly fossil fuel is used. Fossil fuel will be used up within very short time. The guardians of the nation in the United States of America are worried about future fuel safety. They are trying to retain the smooth and secure supply of fuel from the Middle East for the future generation. Israel is the watchdog of USA in the Middle East. But it is busy with its own security and can not fully secure smooth fuel supply. USA needs more satellite states in the Middle East to serve its interests. USA chose Iraq to do that job and to set up permanent military base there. Iraqi oil (fossil fuel) is high quality and easy and cheap for extraction compared to other Middle East oil rich countries and therefore Iraq became the target for its high quality for USA.

On March 20, 2003 at 03:15 UTC, George W. Bush announced that he had ordered the attack against targets in Iraq. The US and the UK occupying army and a so called Coalition of Allies invaded the country without any resistance from Iraqi army. They took control of the country and overthrew the government of Saddam Hussein. On May 1, 2003, Bush gave his “Mission Accomplished” speech announcing the US victory in the Iraq war. In fact, it was not a war. It was a massacre. Massacre for the purpose of the expansion of US hegemony.

The 2003 war was not the first US aggression against Iraq. In Iran-Iraq war of 1980 – 1988, USA played a hypocritical role. In the 1991 Gulf war USA played vital role. After that the country suffered for 12-year economic sanction and blocked which was mainly implemented by USA and UK. The cost of this continued UN sanctions on Iraq was heavy and inhuman. Many Iraqi men, women and children died as a result of sanction either for want of food or medicine. In 1998 USA and UK launched Operation Desert Fox and in 2001 it overthrew the Mullah Omar government of Afghanistan. In 2003 USA occupied Iraq without UN approval or support or support from the majority states.

Bush claimed to bring peace, prosperity and democracy to Iraq. But after the occupation, he presented the nation destruction, oppression, violence, civil war and poverty. Millions of innocent Iraqi civilians were killed and wounded, millions are displaced and Iraq lies in ruins. Iraq is the biggest lootocracy in the history of Western colonialism.¹ Missiles from American jets killed Iraqis, torn Iraqis to pieces. This is the meaning of liberty brought by U.S.A. after collapse of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship in Iraq.

According to the President of the United States, George W. Bush and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, the reasons for the invasion were to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), to end Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people from Saddam's autocratic rule. But they lied. All the claims proved to be false. They practiced pure barbarism in Iraq, though they claim to be the civilized nations.

The governments of the United States and the United Kingdom knew well that there was no weapon of mass destruction in Iraq. This was a lame

excuse to justify the war. Memoirs and other accounts suggest that Bush administration officials were discussing a war against Iraq in early 2001 without reference to WMDs² and that President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair talked about an attack on Iraq at the White House on September 20, 2001.³

The military operations were conducted under the codename Operation Iraqi Liberation.⁴ The codename was later changed to Operation Iraqi Freedom to avoid the acronym "OIL".

Before the attack, Washington tried to assemble broader support from the international community to give its military action greater legitimacy and to lend it the appearance of a multilateral action. In November 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush, visited Europe for a NATO summit. There he declared that if Iraqi President Saddam Hussein does not choose to disarm, the United States will lead a Coalition of the Willing to disarm him. U.S. President tried to include Europe and the world in his Iraq war. The Bush administration used the term "Coalition of the Willing" to refer to the countries who supported the military action in Iraq. International community showed no interest to participate his coalition. The U.S. President ultimately failed in assembling the international community in his war.

The invasion of Iraq was strongly opposed by U.S. allies, including France and Germany, Russia and China. They opposed military action and proposed diplomatic solution. People all over the world opposed the war. A month before the invasion, on February 15, 2003, there were many worldwide protests against the Iraq war. 3 million people rallied in Rome. This was listed in the Guinness Book of Records as the largest ever anti-

war rally. Between January 3 and April 12, 2003, 36 million people across the globe took part in almost 3,000 protests against the Iraq war.⁵

But the opinion of the world population could do nothing to stop the war. U.S. President was determined for military intervention. The occupation was led by the United States, backed by British forces and smaller contingents from Australia, Poland and Denmark. The United States also received support from Kurdish troops in northern Iraq.

Not only international community opposed use of force in Iraq. Majority of the American people also opposed military action and favoured diplomatic solution. But public opinion is irrelevant to Bush, who took office as president in January 2001, although he lost the popular vote.

Sometimes Bush expressed that although people now do not agree with him, in future they will appreciate him for his wise decision to go to war and occupy Iraq as it is at the heart of the world's major energy resources.

Bush wanted to occupy Iraq and establish it as a client state and establish there military bases. This step will secure an uninterrupted oil flow. In future U.S.A. will need more oil and Iraq invasion will ensure a secure flow of oil from that area. This intention was proved by US mode of action during the aggression. Although the whole country faced damages and destruction, the oil infrastructure was intact. US commanders saved the oil infrastructure as well as oil ministry carefully from bombing and from looters.

The American drumbeat of war against Iraq was growing louder and louder. Side by side voices against war in the streets of the world had been rising in anger. Bush administration just ignored the world popular opinion.

The global wave of hatred was not a matter of consideration to him. It seemed that he wanted to be feared and he does whatever he wants to do.

When Bush and Tony Blair failed to procure the support of international community they pressed the UN Security Council to authorize the use of force. They threatened that if UNSC failed to agree with them, they would do without any approval. They argued that use of military force was necessary to prevent the Iraqi government from developing or using weapons of mass destruction. They declared that Iraq was in "material breach" of Security Council resolutions and they presented evidence to the Council in the famous meeting of February 5, 2003. Secretary of State Colin Powell said then: "What we're giving you are facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence."⁶

But most Security Council members did not agree and in the end the Security Council did not authorize military action. Now we know that Iraq did not possess any weapons of this type. If Iraq had this type of weapons, Iraq had destroyed all of them in 1991, twelve years before the invasion.⁷ Then the invaders plead that a preemptive strike against Iraq was necessary. According to Bush causes of attack are many. Such as, Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, President Saddam Hussein thwarted the UN weapons inspections, Iraq has links to terrorism, Saddam Hussein ruled Iraq in despotic way, abused human rights and so on.

The occupation has created a hell for Iraqis. Millions of Iraqi civilians and more than 4,300 US troops have died in Iraq since Bush launched the war. The war in Iraq destroyed the country and threatens the regional and global security, peace and stability.

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Chapter 2

Historical Background

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The ancient name of Iraq was Mesopotamia, which means land between the rivers. The rivers are the Tigris and Euphrates. The country has arid desert land at west of the Euphrates, a broad central valley between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and mountains in the northeast. Before 4000 B.C. civilization existed in Iraq. After 2000 B.C. the land became the center of the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian empires. Mesopotamia was conquered by Alexander in 331 B.C. After an Arab conquest in 637–640, Baghdad became the capital of the ruling caliphate. The country was cruelly pillaged by the Mongols in 1258, and during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries Iraq was the object of repeated Turkish-Persian competition.

In World War-I, Britain occupied most of Mesopotamia and was given a mandate over the area in 1920. The British renamed the area Iraq and recognized it as a kingdom in 1922. Modern Iraq sprang from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. From 1918 until independence in 1932, the British ruled Iraq, initially by direct military administration and subsequently under a mandate from the League of Nations. On October 13, 1932, Iraq became a sovereign state, and it was admitted to the League of Nations. Britain again occupied Iraq during World War II because of its pro-Axis stance in the initial years of the war. British forces remained in Iraq until 26 October, 1947 and the country remained under British control. The British considered the occupation of Iraq necessary to ensure access to its oil resources.

After the Second World War, the U.S.A. established itself as the number-one power in the Middle East. American policy in this period was chiefly concerned that countries in the region did not come under the control of

nationalist regimes. They had their first taste of that threat in Iran, when the democratically elected president Mohammed Mossadeq, with mass popular support, nationalized the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. In a coup engineered by CIA operative Kermit Roosevelt, Mossadeq was toppled and replaced by Shah. The Shah's power was underwritten by massive infusions of American aid and upheld by the notoriously savage secret police, Savak.¹

During the Cold War, U.S. concern in the Middle East was preventing Soviet domination. At that time any regime that tried to leave the orbit of the U.S.A., was considered a threat, whether it had relation to Russia or not. In 1957 Eisenhower declared that the United States was "prepared to use armed forces to assist" any Middle Eastern country "requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism."² This is called Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East.

A memorandum based on an emergency meeting between Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Nathan Twining, and CIA director Allen Dulles asserted that unless the United States intervened, "the U.S. would lose influence," its "bases" would be "threatened," and U.S. credibility would be "brought into question throughout the world."³

A pro-British prime minister, Nuri Said, was appointed in 1930 under the British mandate. He held the post of prime minister from 1930 until 1938. Throughout his career Nuri was a supporter of a continued and extensive British role within Iraq. After his appointment, Nuri Said signed Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. This treaty granted Britain the unlimited right to station its armed forces in and transit military units through Iraq. It also gave

legitimacy to British control of the country's oil industry. In 1955 Nuri Said signed Baghdad Pact. In July 14, 1958 a nationalist military coup overthrew Nuri Said. On July 15, 1958 he attempted to flee the country disguised as a woman (with men's shoes). But he could not escape. He was captured and shot dead and buried the same day, but angry mob disinterred his corpse and dragged it through the streets of Baghdad, where it was hung up, burned and mutilated.

After this republican revolution, head of the coup, Colonel Abdul Karim Qassim seized control of country, suspended the constitution and declared Iraq a republic. This was a left-wing military regime. He withdrew from Baghdad Pact in 1959, which was perceived by USA as a severe blow to U.S. prestige in the region and as a threat to American oil interests.

Although the revolutionaries were left-wing military officers, the Baathists opposed the new regime, and in 1959, Saddam was involved in the attempted murder of prime minister Qassim. But the mission was not successful. Abdul Karim Qassim was saved. In that mission Saddam was shot in the leg, but managed to get away to Syria, later he moved to Egypt. While in exile, he was sentenced to death.

Abdul Karim Qassim was killed in another coup 1963. After Qassim was killed army officers, including some with the Baath party, came to power in Iraq. Then in 1963 Saddam returned to Iraq. But the new regime was kicked out quickly. In 1964 Saddam was imprisoned when an anti-Baath group led by Abdur Rahman Arif took power. He established a new government, ended martial law, and within two years he introduced a civilian administration. Arif died in an air crash in 1966. Arif's brother, succeeded him as president, who was ousted in 1968 and replaced by Major

General al-Bakr, who concentrated power in the hands of a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), took for himself the post of head of state, head of government and chairmanship of RCC. It is said that in this revolution Saddam Hussein was the real power behind the scenes.

On July 16, 1979, Saddam Hussein took power as Iraqi President after knocking down his close friend Ahmed Hasan Al-Bakr. Saddam also killed and arrested his leadership rivals. Saddam Hussein hold absolute power by assuming the post of president, prime minister, the supreme commander of the military, general secretary of the Ba'ath Party, and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). The rest of the governmental leadership was Saddam's inner circle.

Saddam's Baath Party was secular and non-Islamic. Relation between Iran and Iraq had been tense for some years. The 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran made secular Iraq more suspicious of Iran's future intentions. In 1980 a full-scale war between Iran and Iraq broke out. The War was a very long one. It began in September of 1980 and lasted until August of 1988. The War strained political and social life of the two strongest states in the region, and led to severe economic dislocations.

There were a number of reasons for the Iran-Iraq conflict. Some of these were very longstanding. Such as the fate of Iran's Khuzestan province and Iraqi access to the Persian Gulf, and Sat-al-Arab issue which was settled long before with the mediation of Algerian president.

Khuzestan province borders with Iraq. It is an oil-rich province with a predominately non-Persian population. Khuzestan's residents are mainly Arabs. They have deep cultural ties to the Iraqi neighbours. Iraq claimed a

historical right to control the province. Iran of course rejected. In addition, Iraq also laid claim to a number of small islands in the Persian Gulf which were occupied militarily by Iran.

Another territorial dispute was over the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Iran and Iraq had long vied for control of the Shatt al-Arab. The dispute supposedly was settled by the 1975 Algiers Accord between the two countries, but when the war began, Iraq revived its claims to complete control of the waterway.

In 1975 Algeria helped to negotiate an agreement on international borders, access to the Shatt al-Arab waterway, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The 1975 Accord states explicitly (article 4), that if any of the two contracting parties violates any article of the Accord, then the whole Accord will stand null and void.

In September, 1980 Saddam Hussein officially abrogated the 1975 treaty between Iraq and Iran and announced that the Shatt al Arab was returning to Iraqi sovereignty. Iran rejected this action. The two sides started to exchange bombing raids deep into each other's territory. This was the beginning of the extremely costly war.

United States became involved with this war in various ways. The historical close relation between Iran and USA came to an end after the success of Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979. During Reza Shah's period Iran was first and closest friend to USA in this region. That relation became reverse after 1979 and USA turned to be the number one friend to Iraq. The success of Islamic revolution in Iran became a threat not only to USA but also to Saddam's secular Iraq. USA believed that it would be practical to instigate

Saddam to attack Iran. USA became successful in its policy. During 8-year Iran/Iraq war USA gave all out support to Saddam. Despite its strong ties with USSR, Iraq turned to the USA for support in the war. USA and western countries supported Iraq massively. USA provided to Iraq satellite data and information about Iranian military movements, prepared detailed battle plan for Iraqi forces, supplied chemical and biological weapons, supplied the materials and technology for the weapons of mass destruction and many other hard wares. In 1982, the USA State Department removed Iraq from its list of “state sponsored terrorism.” In 1984, diplomatic relations between the USA and Iraq were formally restored. The USA was the lone country to vote against a 1986 Security Council statement condemning Iraq’s use of mustard gas against Iranian troops.

With USA, most of the western countries played role in Iraq war. They did brisk trade in supplying necessary items for war to Iraq. Britain and France were the major weapons suppliers to Iraq. It imported uranium from Portugal, France and Italy, and began constructing centrifuge enrichment facilities with German assistance. The USA arranged massive loans for Iraq’s burgeoning war expenditure from American client states Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

In 1987, US President Ronald Reagan allowed Kuwaiti vessels to sail under a US flag. He assured the protection of these vessels. This was a great boon to Iraq; Kuwait was Iraq’s ally in the conflict, and this served as guarantee that a Iraqi oil, carried by Kuwaitis, would continue to move by sea.

Iran attacked one of the tankers in October 1987, and the United States retaliated by destroying Iranian offshore platforms which housed military facilities.

In July 1988, a US Navy frigate, the USS Vincennes shot down an Iranian passenger jet. Nearly 300 people died as a result, and the United States was criticized internationally for the incident. This incident is one of the main reasons for which the war between Iraq and Iran stopped.

USA played dual role in the Iraq-Iran war. The United States was involved in the Iran-Contra scandal. Reagan Administration devised plans to secretly sell US arms to Iran at a profit which then would be funneled to the Contras. Contras are a revolutionary group fighting the Soviet-backed government of Nicaragua. The scandal was unmasked in November 1986. Despite the Iran-Contra scandal, the United States clearly favoured Iraq during the war. Israel took the advantage of supplying U.S. spare parts to Iran so that Iran-Iraq war continues and the two Muslim countries destroy themselves.

During the war Iraq allegedly used chemical weapons (supplied by USA) against Iran. There were numerous uses of chemical weapons by Iraq. Surprisingly enough, Iraq suffered only relatively mild international repercussions. In 1988, Iraqi forces emerged victorious in a series of battles. Iraq gained considerable amounts of Iranian territory. Finally the two sides agreed to stop the war. It ended when Iran accepted United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 598. The cease-fire started on August 20, 1988. During the war United Nations Organization played the role of watchdog and enjoyed the war.

The Iran-Iraq War was one of the bloodiest conflicts of the latter half of the twentieth century. The number of casualties in the war will never be known. The war greatly weakened the two strongest Muslim states in the region. Neither side made significant gains in the war. More than one million Iraqi and Iranian soldiers and 1.5 million civilians were killed in the Iran/Iraq War. After the 2nd World War this War was one of the longest and deadliest wars of the 20th Century. Gregory F. Fegel said that Iran/Iraq war served the purpose of weakening and punishing two of the USA's major rivals for the control of the Middle East and its massive oil reserves.⁴

The war exhausted the treasuries of both Iran and Iraq. There were many billions of dollars in war costs, infrastructural damage, and other losses. Notably, Iraq incurred large debts, particularly to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia; Iraq's need for the revenue that Kuwaiti oil would bring and Kuwait's to forgive Iraq's debt were two key reasons for Saddam's August 1990 invasion of that country.

Success of Iranian Islamic revolution was considered by both Arab countries and USA a great threat to them. Prior to August 2, 1990, the US and its allies found Saddam Hussein an attractive partner. In 1980s, they helped prevent UN reaction to Iraq's attack on Iran. In 1982, Reagan removed Iraq from the list of states that sponsor terror, permitting it to receive enormous credits for the purchase of US exports while the US became a major market for its oil. In October, 1989, senior Bush issued a national security directive, declaring that normal relations between the United States and Iraq would serve longer-term interests and promote stability in both the Gulf and the Middle East.

Western corporations took an active role in building up Iraq's military strength and its weapons of mass destruction. Saddam benefited from U.S. support through the war with Iran and beyond, up to the day of the invasion of Kuwait. President Ronald Reagan and the previous Bush administration provided aid to Saddam, along with the means to develop weapons of mass destruction. They backed him when he was far more dangerous than he was in 2003. They backed him when he murdered thousands of Kurds with poison gas.

Iraq at the time was not a rogue state. Rogue means not under US control. Senior George Bush invited Iraqi nuclear engineers to the US in 1989 for advanced training in weapons production. So deep was Bush's admiration for Saddam that in April 1990, only a few months before Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, Bush sent a high-level Senatorial delegation to Iraq to convey his good wishes to his friend in Baghdad and to assure him that he could disregard the occasional criticisms voiced in the US media. The delegation was led by Senate majority leader Bob Dole, Republican presidential candidate a few years later, and included other prominent Senators.⁵

A few months later Saddam invaded Kuwait, disregarding orders, or perhaps misunderstanding ambiguous signals from the State Department. Saddam instantly switched from respected friend to evil incarnate.⁶

Saddam's conquest of Kuwait was not a new one in his offence list. It was only an addition to his massive crimes. But this offence attracted harsh US and UK reaction. The reaction was not for the scale of offence. Rather it was his stepping out of control. Torture, tyranny, aggression and slaughter

of civilians are acceptable to US-UK, when it is done by their friendly tyrants. In 1990 when Saddam invaded Kuwait, he stepped out of line and became unfriendly. So, US-UK politics and policy related to Iraq dramatically changed.

In July 1990, Saddam Hussein asserted territorial claims on Kuwaiti land. Initiative was taken to settle the matter through negotiation. In July 29, 1990 negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait stalled. A mediation attempt by Arab leaders failed. Iraq massed troops on its border with Kuwait and summoned U.S. ambassador April Glaspie to a meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Two transcripts of that meeting have been produced. In these transcripts Saddam Hussein outlined his grievances against Kuwait. There he promised that he would not invade Kuwait before one more round of negotiations.

Before another round of negotiations on September 23, 1990, US ambassador Glaspie stated : "We have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait."⁷ Saddam Hussain interpreted the statement as a "green signal" for the invasion of Kuwait. And four days later on Aug. 2, 1990, the Iraqi Army invaded and occupied Kuwait and set up a puppet government. Saddam's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 was the second case of post-Cold War aggression. The first was Bush's invasion of Panama a few weeks after the fall of the Berlin Wall, in November 1989.

Within hours of the invasion, Kuwaiti and U.S. delegations requested a meeting of the UN Security Council, which passed Resolution 660, condemning the invasion and demanding a withdrawal of Iraqi troops. On August 6, UN Resolution 661 placed economic sanctions on Iraq.

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi troops was met with immediate preparation for war by the United States of America and the United Kingdom. The United States and the United Nations gave several public justifications for involvement in the conflict. The most prominent reason was the Iraqi violation of Kuwaiti territorial integrity. In addition, the United States moved to support its ally of Saudi Arabia, whose importance in the region and as a key supplier of oil made it of considerable geopolitical importance. United Nations Security Council gave time to Iraq to withdraw by January 15, 1991 and it was warned that if Iraq did not obey the condition, military action would be started from January 16, 1991. Saddam did not follow time line and military action against Iraq started accordingly from 16th January, 1991.

On January 12, 1991 the United States Congress authorized the use of military force to drive Iraq out of Kuwait. . On Jan. 18, 1991, UN forces, under the leadership of U.S. general Norman Schwarzkopf, launched the Gulf War (Operation Desert Storm), liberating Kuwait in less than a week. The expulsion of Iraqi troops from Kuwait began in January 1991.

In the desert borderland of northern Kuwait and southern Iraq the US-led force slaughtered more than 100,000 Iraqi troops with only minimal losses to the coalition forces.⁸ One hundred hours after the ground campaign started, U.S. President Bush declared a cease-fire and on April 6 declared

that Kuwait had been liberated. The Gulf War terminated on April 11, 1991 with a cease-fire negotiated between the U.S. and its allies and Iraq.

The U.S. and its allies maintained a policy of “containment” towards Iraq. This policy involved numerous and crushing economic sanctions, U.S. and UK enforcement of Iraqi no-fly zones declared by the U.S. and the U.K. to protect Kurds in northern Iraq and Shias in the south, and ongoing inspections to prevent Iraqi development of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.⁹

The Iraq sanctions were a near-total financial and trade embargo imposed by the United Nations Security Council against Iraq. They began in August 6, 1990, four days after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and continued until May 22, 2003, after the fall of the Saddam Hussein government in the US-led invasion. Their stated purpose was at first to compel Iraq's military to withdraw from Kuwait and after that to compel them to pay reparations, and to disclose and eliminate any weapons of mass destruction.

In Iraq, a decade of harsh sanctions by UN under US pressure has strengthened Saddam while leading to the death of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis – men, women and children - perhaps more people than have been slain by all so-called weapons of mass destruction throughout history. Many Iraqi children and other Iraqis died for health-related reasons owing to disease from lack of clean water from banning of chlorine, lack of medicine, impoverishment, and other factors. "Sanctions in Iraq Hurt the Innocent"¹⁰ The Iraq sanctions were perhaps the toughest, most comprehensive sanctions in history, marked by two senior UN representatives in Iraq resigning in protest.¹¹

The first director of the program, the distinguished international diplomat Denis Halliday, resigned in protest after two years, declaring the program to be “genocidal.” He was replaced by another distinguished international diplomat, Hans von Sponeck, who resigned two years later, charging that the program violated the Genocide Convention. Von Sponeck’s resignation was followed immediately by that of Jutta Burghardt, in charge of the UN Food Program, who joined the declaration of protest by Halliday and von Sponeck.

Denis Halliday and Hans von Sponeck had numerous investigators all over Iraq, which enabled them to know more about the country than any other Westerners. They were barred from the U.S. media during the buildup to the war. The Clinton administration also prevented von Sponeck from informing the UN Security Council, which was technically responsible, about the effects of the sanctions on the population. “This man in Baghdad is paid to work, not to speak,” State Department spokesman James Rubin explained. U.S.-UK media evidently agree. Von Sponeck’s carefully documented account of the impact of the U.S.-UK sanctions was published in 2006.

Sanctions were originally imposed on Iraq on August 6, 1990 to compel Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait. Iraq refused to withdraw, and was forced out militarily in January 1991 through Operation Desert Storm. Sanctions against Iraq were nonetheless re-imposed after the Gulf War¹² though there was no reason to re-impose sanctions against Iraq after the Gulf war which caused death of millions of Iraqis

The real problem with the sanctions is that they target the wrong people: the poor, young, elderly and otherwise infirm members of Iraqi society. In the past 12 years, as many as 1 million to 2 million Iraqis died as a result of the sanctions, many of them children under the age of 5.¹³ UNICEF stated in 1999 that, as a consequence of economic sanctions, in excess of 500,000 children under the age of five had died in Iraq that wouldn't otherwise have done.¹⁴

These Iraqi victims of sanctions have no control over their government's behavior. U.S. officials have clearly known the lethal impact of sanctions for years and have actively campaigned to maintain them regardless.¹⁵ The sanction-policy was maintained predominantly by the USA and UK.

During the six weeks of the Gulf War, the Coalition dropped more bombs on Iraq than were dropped in the entirety of the Second World War. They deliberately targeted civilian infrastructure: sewage plants, electrical plants, water purification plants. Sanctions have destroyed the economy of Iraq. Under the sanctions Iraq can't import the parts that they need to rebuild these plants.¹⁶

The sanctions devastated the civilian society, killed over a million Iraqis. Maximum of dead were children. The sanctions strengthened Saddam - the tyrant and compelled Iraqi population to rely on him for their survival. Now it seems that sanctions were imposed to punish innocent Iraqis not to weaken Saddam regime. Through this kind of indiscriminate economic sanctions by UNO backed by USA and UK, UNO may be liable to be charged with genocide. But who will demand it?

After the withdrawal of Iraqi force from Kuwait, Saddam was not barred to remain in power. Critics say that USA helped Saddam Hossein to stay in power. During the Gulf war many people all over the world thought that Saddam will be killed by UN forces backed by USA and UK, strangely it did not happen. On the other hand a group of people also thought that Saddam might use chemical and biological weapons against US forces, mysteriously Saddam also did not do this. Now it is beyond suspicion that until that time USA needed Saddam to be used against Iran and Muslim world and Saddam needed USA to face Iran. But in 1998 USA said that Saddam must go out of power. Then USA came with a new course of "Iraq Liberation Act." USA wanted to change Saddam regime and replace it with new pro-US persons. "Iraq Liberation Act" became a law on October 31, 1998 after US President Bill Clinton signed it . This Act declared that "It should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove the regime headed by Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic government to replace that regime."¹⁷

The Act was necessary because between 1980 and 1998 Iraq had:

1. committed various and significant violations of International Law,
2. had failed to comply with the obligations to which it had agreed following the Gulf War and
3. further had ignored Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

In December 16, 1998, President Bill Clinton mandated Operation Desert Fox. The president ordered US Armed Forces to strike military and strategic targets in Iraq. It was a major four-day bombing campaign from

December 16–19, 1998 by the United States and United Kingdom. That operation completed in 70-hour.

The operation began with the basic proposition: Saddam Hussein must not be allowed to develop nuclear arms, poison gas, biological weapons, or the means to deliver them. He used such weapons before against soldiers and civilians, including his own people. During Iran/Iraq war Saddam used poisonous gas and biological weapons against Iran and Iraqi Shiits and Kurds at the behest and knowledge of USA. USA did not protest rather enjoyed the event as Muslims themselves were killing Muslims. This way US policy of dual containment was being implemented by Muslims themselves. When US purpose was over, Saddam became enemy and USA became impatient to overthrow Saddam. So long as Saddam remains in power he will remain a threat to his people, his region and the world. This dual and inhuman policy brought USA hatred all over the world.

The US president described that the USA will maintain a strong military presence in the area, and will remain ready to use it if Saddam tries to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction, strikes out at his neighbors, or challenges allied aircraft. The USA also will continue to enforce no-fly zones in the North, and from the southern suburbs of Baghdad to the Kuwaiti border.

After the completion of Operation Desert Storm, Clinton administration said that it was the best way for Iraq to have a different government to end the threat that Saddam poses to his own people. Clinton pledged to intensify his engagement with the Iraqi opposition groups, prudently and effectively.

President George W. Bush has often referred to Iraq Liberation Act of 1998 to argue that the Clinton Administration supported regime change in Iraq and further that it believed that Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction. The Act was cited as a basis of support in the Congressional Authorization for use of Military Force Against Iraq in October 2002.¹⁸

Bush and his inner circle manipulated intelligence to demonstrate that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction and had close relations with al-Qaeda. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, President Bush began to describe Iraq as part of an "axis of evil." The US vice-president, Dick Cheney, asserted that Saddam had "long-established ties" with the terrorist network.¹⁹ They started to explain regularly that Osama bin Laden's terrorist networks attacked in September 11, 2001 and Saddam Hossein has links with them. In making the case for war in Iraq, Bush administration officials frequently cited what they said were Saddam's decade-long contacts with al-Qaida operatives.²⁰

In fact it is impossible for Osama bin Laden to cooperate with Saddam, because he opposed the Iraqi leader's secular regime. Ba'ath Party ideology was based on socialism, not Islamic thinking. Saddam's ties with Osama bin Laden and ties with 9/11 attack was not true and was proved false. Despite that, Bush remained firm to use Saddam's alleged link to 9/11 attack.

UN Security Council Resolution 1441, passed on Nov. 8, 2002, demanded that Iraq readmit inspectors and that it comply with all previous resolutions. Iraq appeared to comply with the resolution, but in early 2003 President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair declared that Iraq was actually continuing to hinder UN inspections and that it still retained proscribed weapons. Other world leaders, such as French President Jacques Chirac and

German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder sought to extend inspections and give Iraq more time to comply with them. However, on March 17, seeking no further UN resolutions and deeming further diplomatic efforts by the Security Council futile, Bush declared an end to diplomacy and issued an ultimatum to Ṣaddām, giving the Iraqi president 48 hours to leave Iraq, but the leaders of France, Germany, Russia, and other countries objected to this.

In his 12 September 2002 speech, Bush sought to argue systematically that Iraq was in violation of several international laws. Although primary blame lies with Bush, US Congress also supported Bush's war against Iraq. In October 2002 overwhelming bipartisan majorities in the House of Representatives and Senate voted to authorize this war. In October 2002 the U.S. Congress passed a "Joint Resolution to Authorize the Use of United States Armed Forces Against Iraq". The resolution authorized the President to "use any means necessary" against Iraq. With the help of CIA Bush and his gang kept the entire Congress under complete darkness or the whole Congress went mad with Bush. Otherwise Congress would not authorise Bush all power for taking anti-human actions in Iraq.

Between September, 2002 and June, 2003, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz created a Pentagon unit known as the 'Office of Special Plans' (OSP), headed by Douglas Feith. The unit was created to supply senior Bush administration officials with raw intelligence pertaining to Iraq. One former CIA officer described the OSP as dangerous for U.S. national security and a threat to world peace, and that it lied and manipulated intelligence to further its agenda of removing Saddam Hussein. He described it as a group of ideologues with pre-determined notions of truth

and reality, taking bits of intelligence to support their agenda and ignoring anything contrary.²¹

Reason for the 1991 Gulf war was clear. Saddam's Iraq invaded small Kuwait, although Kuwait supported Iraq financially throughout the Iraq-Iran war. From the urgency of collective security it was very essential to restore Kuwait's independence and punish Iraq. World population was eager to see that the UNO takes action when a small member of UNO was conquered by its neighbour. USA led the UN mission of restoring independence of Kuwait. US role in this mission confirmed its position as only one hyperpower. USA became the centre of unipolar world.

But the environment in the 2003 Iraq invasion was different. Causes of invasion were not in suspicion. While others continued to pursue diplomatic efforts, USA alone declared its determination to use force. International community was reluctant to use force against Iraq. Failing to gain support from international community USA tried to gain support at least from its traditional allies.

In November 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush, visited Europe for a NATO summit. There he declared that if Iraqi President Saddam Hussein does not choose to disarm, the United States will disarm him. This declaration hinted the USA is determined to go alone if necessary.

Much earlier than Bush's Iraq occupation it was clear that Bush administration was willing to increase unilateralism in US foreign policy. Bush's decision to withdraw from the ABM treaty in February, 2001 provides a clear evidence.²² Occupation of Afghanistan is another example. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, USA accused Afghanistan that it was harbouring terrorists. Although it was not Afghanistan that had

initiated the attacks, and there was no evidence that they had any foreknowledge of the attacks.²³

In an address to the nation on the evening of September 11, Bush stated his resolution of the issue by declaring that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." This policy was used to justify the invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001,²⁴ and has since been applied to American military action against Al Qaeda camps in North-West Pakistan.

President Bush made an even more aggressive restatement of this principle in his September 20, 2001 address to the United States Congress.²⁵ "We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime"

President Bush addressed the cadets at the US Military Academy at West Point on June 1, 2002, and made clear the role preventive war would play in the future of American foreign policy and national defense.

"We cannot defend America and our friends by hoping for the best. We cannot put our faith in the word of tyrants, who solemnly sign non-proliferation treaties, and then systemically break them. If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long — Our security will require transforming the military you will lead — a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute,

to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives.”²⁶

In a series of speeches in late 2001 and 2002, President Bush expanded on his view of American foreign policy and global intervention, declaring that the United States should actively support democratic governments around the world, especially in the Middle East, as a strategy for combating the threat of terrorism, and that the United States had the right to act unilaterally in its own security interests, without the approval of international bodies such as the United Nations.

In his 2003 State of the Union Address, President Bush declared:

“Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity.”

It will not be irrelevant to mention that there arose two distinct schools of thought in the Bush administration regarding the question of how to handle countries such as Iraq, Iran and North Korea (Axis of Evil states). Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, as well as US Department of State specialists, argued for what was essentially the continuation of existing U.S. foreign policy. These policies, developed after the Cold War, sought to establish a multilateral consensus for action (which would likely take the form of increasingly harsh sanctions against the problem states, summarized as the policy of containment. The opposing view, argued by Vice President Dick Cheney, then-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and a number of influential Department of Defense policy makers such as Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle, held that direct and unilateral action was both possible

and justified and that America should embrace the opportunities for democracy and security offered by its position as sole remaining superpower. President Bush ultimately sided with the Department of Defense camp, and their recommendations.

The National Security Strategy of the United States was formulated from this point of view. It was published on September 17, 2002. It was updated in 2006 and is stated as follows:

“The security environment confronting the United States today is radically different from what we have faced before. Yet the first duty of the United States Government remains what it always has been: to protect the American people and American interests. It is an enduring American principle that this duty obligates the government to anticipate and counter threats, using all elements of national power, before the threats can do grave damage. The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction – and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy’s attack. There are few greater threats than a terrorist attack with WMD.

To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively in exercising our inherent right of self-defense. The United States will not resort to force in all cases to preempt emerging threats. Our preference is that nonmilitary actions succeed. And no country should ever use preemption as a pretext for aggression.”²⁷

George W. Bush and his associates in discussion and expression of foreign policy principles on different occasions prepared ground for Iraq attack

even alone if world body i.e. UNO does not endorse it. Accordingly on March 20, 2003 the war against Iraq began at 5:30 am Baghdad time (9:30 pm EST, March 19) with the launch of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The invasion was a manifestation of the Bush doctrine. Speaking of human rights, rights of self-defense, liberty, democracy and peace by successive US presidents - senior Bush, Bill Clinton and Bush junior resorted to unilateral actions of attacking unarmed Iraq bypassing U.N.O, killing millions of innocent people; men, women, children, causing destruction of wealth and properties of Iraq violating the United Nations (UN) Charter, which prohibits signatories from using aggression against another nation unless for self-defenses.²⁸

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Chapter 3

U.S. Plea for Iraq Aggression

US PLEA FOR IRAQ AGGRESSION

After the collapse of communism in 1990s the whole world opened to market economy and liberal democracy. No visible rival of democracy and market economy existed. Francis Fukuyama declared the end of history. But history itself repeated. End of history did not happen. Rather a new theory and idea in the name of clash of civilizations appeared. Samuel P. Huntington is the inventor of this new idea who revealed clash between Western civilization and Islam.

Rise of political Islam is an important event of this time. Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) already has 57 members. One-fifth of total world population is Muslims. Much of the fossil fuel reserves are situated in the areas, from Indonesia to Morocco, which are Muslim majority countries. Islam has historical background and has future. So rise of political Islam may fill the vacuum that was created after the collapse of communism. This rise may become a challenge for Western democracy and market economy.

For the September 11 attacks al-Qaeda was singled out and declared guilty for the attack. Afghanistan was accused of harbouring al Qaeda. Attack against Muslim world started in 2001 with Afghanistan. Next came Iraq in 2003. Pakistan is already in trouble. Iran is bargaining with USA about nuclear issue and threat of attack continues and no one can say now where it leads and what will be the end.

To gain popular support Bush administration mentioned that the aim of Iraq occupation was noble. But the international community found evil intentions behind the occupation. Bush administration did not mention US

interests in Iraq. The U.S. intention behind Iraq occupation kept hidden but known to every body.

Prior to invasion of Iraq, the US and the UK pressed the UN Security Council to authorize the "use of force" against Iraq. They argued that use of force was necessary to prevent the Iraqi government from developing or using weapons of mass destruction that could be targeted against other nations. Iraq should be punished because of its alleged links to terrorism. They also argued that Iraqi people should be freed from Saddam Hussein's despotism and human rights violation. But most Security Council members were skeptical and in the end the Security Council did not authorize military action. Representative of the U.N Security Council strongly supported the continuation of the inspections. Meanwhile Hans Blix-led United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission report concluded on "no evidence of forbidden military nuclear activities", "no evidence of mass destruction weapon" but "Baghdad must cooperate more."¹ After the 1990-1991 Gulf War, the United Nations located and destroyed large quantities of Iraqi WMD and related equipment and materials throughout the early 1990s. Hans Blix said "There were about 700 inspections, and in no case did we find weapons of mass destruction."² Only in three cases the team found something - a stash of nuclear documents, some Vulcan boosters, and several empty warheads for chemical weapons. More inspections were required to determine whether these findings were the "tip of the iceberg" or simply fragments remaining from that deadly iceberg's past destruction, Blix told the United Nations Security Council.³

Saddam was cooperating with the inspections, despite the difficulties they created for a leader. The primary difficulty with looking for weapons of

mass destruction in Iraq was the problem of proving the negative. It was very difficult to prove that there was no anthrax in all of Iraq. What Blix's inspectors had needed was more time. However, his work in Iraq was cut short when the United States and the United Kingdom took disarmament into their own hands in March 2003.

The threat allegedly posed by Saddam's WMD was the prime reason cited for going to war. But not a single item of banned weaponry has been found.⁴ The former chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix has declared that the war in Iraq was illegal.⁵

USA and UK did not want that Iraq inspection continues for long time. Iraq proved itself free of WMD and every body expected a peaceful solution to follow. In January 2004, the CIA's chief weapons inspector, David Kay, stated that U.S. intelligence about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was almost all wrong. When the final report on the existence of these weapons in Iraq was issued in October 2004, David Kay's successor, Charles Duelfer, confirmed that there was no evidence of an Iraqi weapons production program.

Now, we know that Iraq did not have any relation with terrorists and did not possess weapons of mass destruction and had destroyed all of them in 1991, twelve years before the invasion. It is also true that after the occupation the USA is not establishing democracy there. We know that there is no democracy at war. USA launched the aggression to capture Iraqi oil and establish military base there. But "Americans do not like to think of themselves as aggressors. Although raw aggression is what took place in Iraq."⁶ The existence of these weapons was distorted as a pretext to justify the war. US administration presented bogus evidences to UNO and

pressed it to take action against Iraq for possessing weapons of mass destruction. Neoconservatives in Bush administration created the situation to attack Iraq. Colin Powell later admitted that he had presented an inaccurate case to the United Nations on Iraqi weapons, based on sources that were wrong and in some cases "deliberately misleading."⁷

Robin Cook, the then leader of the British House of Commons and a former foreign secretary, resigned from Tony Blair's cabinet in protest against Britain's decision to invade Iraq without the authorization of U.N. resolution. Cook said at that time that: "In principle I believe it is wrong to embark on military action without broad international support. In practice I believe it is against Britain's interests to create a precedent for unilateral military action."⁸

These two countries – USA and UK - also claimed that they acted in legitimate "self-defense" under article 51 of the UN Charter. But every body now knows that Iraq posed no clear and immediate threat of offensive military action against UK or USA.

Propaganda for the Creation of Environment for War

The battlefield is a great place for liars. Like most acts of aggression, the invasion of Iraq was routinely portrayed as self-defense against an ominous and implacable foe and guided by noble and selfless objectives, although the true motives included, among other things, ensuring U.S. access to Iraqi oil and long term U.S. dominance in the Middle East. USA earlier cooperated with Saddam, gave him arms, aid and military assistance, and

even shielded him from censure by UN human rights bodies when it considered expedient for US interest.

The White House deliberately mounted a dishonest propaganda campaign to sell the Iraq invasion to the US and world public. The administration was putting pressure on intelligence so that they get back the message they want to hear. US Presidential candidate John Kerry alleged that Cheney was continuing "to intentionally mislead the American public by drawing a link between Saddam Hussein and 9/11 in an attempt to make the invasion of Iraq part of the global war on terror."⁹

The administration has tried to create any link between September 11 attack and Saddam Hussein. United States somehow was able to convince for sometimes the US general people and the world public to some extent that Laden and Saddam has some link and Laden's al-Qaeda and Saddam are dangerous for US security. But this did not last long though the electronic media continued the propaganda. Western media like BBC, CNN, Sky News etc. always used to transmit embedded news to the world to hoodwink public opinion.

In the USA, people in general did not support the war, but were controlled by the propaganda campaign. The administration whipped the population to a proper mood of war fever. From early September 2002 grim warnings were issued about the dire threat Saddam posed to the United States and his links to al-Qaeda, with broad hints that he was involved in the 9/11 attacks. Within weeks, with the effects of propaganda, a majority of Americans came to regard Saddam Hussein as an imminent threat to the US and started believing that Iraq was behind the 9/11 terror. Support for the war correlated with these beliefs.¹⁰ In Britain, the population was split roughly

fifty-fifty on the war, but the government maintained the stance of "junior partner" with USA.

Attack on Iraq was considered as a strategic priority of many of Bush's advisers long before his administration was formed. Donald Rumsfeld, the US Defense Secretary, and his deputy - and one of the neoconservative group's leading thinkers Paul Wolfowitz - wanted to use the invasion of Iraq to remake the entire Middle East in American style and interest and secure a reliable source of oil.

The plan was set out by another Rumsfeld associate. Richard Perle, as long ago as 1996. In *A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm*, a document he co-wrote with the Israeli hawkish PM Benjamin Netanyahu, who called for elimination of Saddam's regime in Baghdad as a first step towards overthrowing or destabilizing the governments of Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Iran; in tandem the Israelis should permanently annex the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip. Two years later a letter was written to President Clinton demanding a full-scale, US-led military drive for 'regime change' in Baghdad. Among the signatories were Perle, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz. Bill Clinton rejected the idea but, within moments of the September 11 attack on Washington and New York -- despite the lack of evidence linking Iraq in 9/11 episode -- the same plan was being put to President Bush.¹¹

President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair talked about an attack on Iraq at the White House on September 20, 2001.¹²

On March 20, 2003, the US and the UK occupying army and a so called Coalition of allies (euphemistically called the Multi-National Force) invaded Iraq.

The U.S. invasion of Iraq was the most widely and closely reported war in military history. At the start of the war in March 2003, as many as 775 reporters and photographers were traveling as embedded journalists. These reporters signed contracts with the military that limited what they were allowed to report on. When asked why the military decided to embed journalists with the troops, Lt. Col. Rick Long of the U.S. Marine Corps replied, "Frankly, our job is to win the war. Part of that is information warfare. So we are going to attempt to dominate the information environment."¹³

If the global public sees the war as a "war on terrorism" coupled with an Iraqi communal civil war then it is unlikely to demand the swift withdrawal of the troops. If, however, the public sees the war for what it really is, it will probably demand the immediate withdrawal of the troops.

International coverage of the war differed from coverage in the U.S. The Arab-language news channel Al Jazeera and the German Satellite channel Deutsche Welle featured almost twice as much information on the political background of the war. Al Jazeera also showed scenes of civilian casualties which were rarely seen in the U.S. electronic, print or mass media.

Today the major media outlets in the USA and Great Britain are owned and controlled by a very limited number of wealthy individuals and corporations. Such as the ones owned and run by Ted Turner and Rupert Murdoch. Mainstream Media presents a one-sided, 'official' view of US politics and of US foreign policy, full of lies and omissions, that conforms closely to the governments' own dogma and propaganda.¹⁴

WMD and Links to Terrorism

The US invasion and occupation of Iraq is a pre-decided and pre-planned action. At first Bush administration decided the occupation and then presented baseless reasons for the occupation. Bush administration accused Saddam of possessing Weapons of Mass Destruction and sponsoring terrorism directed by Iraq against the USA. Before the war, Bush and his aides said that the war and occupation was necessary to eliminate WMD threat to the United States posed by Iraq. Washington also claimed that Saddam Hussein was giving support to al-Qaeda and promoting international terrorism that threatened the United States and also had a link to September 11 attack. That turned out to be baseless and bogus. Nothing has been found to link Hussein to September 11. No credible evidence was provided for the alleged link between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden. Saddam Hussein and bin Laden have been ideological enemies for years. There is no reason to believe that their relation changed and improved. When reasons for attack on WMD ground became weak, US tried to link Saddam with 9/11, so that by any situation Saddam may be blamed. The weapons of mass destruction and link to al-Qaeda campaign were simply a means to an end – a "global show of American power" that ultimately proved false.

Four months after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, in his 2002 State of the Union Address, Bush came up with the phrase the axis of evil to label three countries -- North Korea, Iran and Iraq. He judged these countries to be arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger, he said in the address. They could provide these arms to terrorists,

giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack US allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic. So Bush did not remain indifferent rather engaged in a conflict what he said between good and evil.

A flood of propaganda warns that if USA do not stop Saddam Hussein today he will destroy them tomorrow. In October 2002, when Congress granted the president the authority to go to war, it was "to defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq."

There is no reason to believe that Iraq may be any way a threat for USA. No country in Iraq's neighborhood seems overtly concerned about Saddam, much as they may hate the tyrant (Saddam). Certainly that is because the neighbors know that Iraq's people are at the edge of survival. After the episode of 1990-91 Gulf War Iraq has become one of the weakest states in the region.¹⁵

Bush often describes the Iraq War as a "central front in the war on terror." But the world knows that Saddam had no capacity or intention to cooperate with terrorism. What Bush did was an act of aggression which generally means attack on the weak states. "Aggression is, of course, a far more serious crime than international terrorism."¹⁶

General Greg Newbold, the Pentagon's former top operations officer, wrote in a 2006 Time article, "I now regret that I did not more openly challenge those who were determined to invade a country whose actions were peripheral to the real threat--al-Qaeda." In 2005, the Central Intelligence

Agency released a report saying that no weapons of mass destruction had been found in Iraq.¹⁷

The US President in one of his speeches said that the British reported that Saddam had sought uranium from Africa, the Vice President and the Secretary of Defense said that there was solid evidence for connections between Iraq and al Qaeda, and many policy makers insisted that the WMD threat was “imminent.” The intelligence community disagreed, and, indeed, CIA Director George Tenet testified that he privately corrected officials for claims like these.¹⁸ US Intelligence reports consistently denied that there was significant evidence for Saddam’s role in September 11 or that he might turn over WMD to al-Qaeda.

What happened in Iraq confirms that it has nothing to do with bin Laden or Qaeda or 9/11 terrorist attacks. They went against Arabs and against Islam to serve Israel.¹⁹ Some expressed puzzlement that the United States would consider military action against Iraq and not against North Korea, which claimed it already had nuclear weapons and had announced that it was willing to contemplate war with the United States. USA and UK did not take action against North Korea though it claimed possessing of nuclear weapons. So Iraq war is only a war against Iraqi freedom in the name of a created threat that does not exist.

Twin Tower Incident

For a long time the Twin Towers had been regarded as architectural dinosaurs and economic failures by their original owners. So they decided

to demolish the towers. Then they applied to the City of New York to have the Towers demolished, but they were denied permission to demolish the Towers for safety reasons. At last they sold the towers. Larry Silverstein purchased the Twin Towers with 129 million dollars of borrowed money just six weeks before September 11, 2001 attacks. Silverstein then took out Terrorism insurance on the Twin Towers. It is to be mentioned that Silverstein is a close friend Rupert Murdoch who has good relation with Bush. As Silverstein had Terrorism insurance he awarded more than 4 billion dollars for the loss of the buildings.²⁰ From the above mentioned fact it is rational to think that the attacks on Twin Towers were pre-planned actions. There are so many evidences which prove that the attacks were done with the collaboration of Bush administration and if it is a terrorist act Bush must be the real terrorist.

Evidence shows that the Twin Towers could not have collapsed as a result of the airliners that crashed into them. The hits that airliners did could damage small parts of the buildings. There are numerous videos and still photos of the collapse of the Twin Towers. These photos and videos clearly show the 'squibs' of smoke that accompany must be a controlled demolition. Many witnesses reported hearing multiple explosions throughout the Twin Towers just prior to their collapse. Without any doubt it was a controlled demolition.

As these buildings were professionally demolished with explosives it took months to plan and place the explosives. These buildings were so highly secure from the likes of terrorists that it is impossible for terrorists to carry and set explosives inside the towers. Then we are presented with a horrible conclusion that the entire event could only have been planned and orchestrated by some element(s) within the US Government." So, US

government must be guilty and now many Americans do not believe the US government's official version' of the 9/11/2001 attacks.²¹

There were dozens and dozens of reports by rescue workers on the ground at the WTC complex that heard explosions over an hour after the planes crashed into the towers. They felt explosions under their feet that were so powerful that seismographs registered them at 2.1 and 2.3 on the Richter scale. Only explosions could have caused them.²²

It is very hard to explain why any one usable black box was ever recovered from any of the four planes that reputedly were hijacked on 9/11, which could indicate the cause of plane crash.

Another interesting event relating to this incident is that Jews of all ranks working in the trade centre did not go to work at the World Trade Center on that day. How Jews might have been notified to stay home, or how they kept it a secret from co-workers.²³

In fact the attacks on 9/11/2001 were directly perpetrated by US President George W. Bush and his advisors, with the cooperation of the CIA, the FBI, the Pentagon, and the Israeli Mossad. Washington's post-9/11 foreign policy proved that the United States and Israel were behind the attacks.²⁴ Through this action Bush government created situation to have easy control over oil rich Muslim counties in the Middle East.

The 9/11 attacks were created for justification of US covert plans to grab influence over oil politics in the Middle East. The U.S. organized this so that they had an excuse to invade Iraq for the oil.²⁵ Bush administration's selection of Iraq as a target to be invaded is interalia that Iraq has a strong military force parallel to Israel and the Iraqi oil quality is better and cost of

extraction is cheaper. If the USA government directly invaded Iraq, the world public opinion and US public in general might directly oppose the war and tried to prevent. So, the 9/11 'terrorist attacks' was created so that the American public would back the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in the name of "The War on Terror".²⁶

Not only that. Bush administration also was eager to invade Iran. To accuse Iran of terrorist links and get popular support in favour of Iran invasion Bush administration was plotting another attack like 9/11 attack inside US territory. A former Reagan official has issued a public warning that the Bush administration is preparing to orchestrate a staged terrorist attack in the United States, transform the country into a dictatorship and launch a war with Iran within a year.²⁷

Occupation and Democracy

When Bush and Tony Blair invaded Iraq, they insistently repeated a single question: Will Iraq eliminate its weapons of mass destruction? Within a few months it was proved that the single question was intentionally created. Iraq possessed no weapons of mass destruction. Then, very quickly, the real reason for the invasion became Bush's "messianic mission" to bring democracy to Iraq and the Middle East. The USA invaded Iraq to bring what they called freedom and democracy" in Iraq and consequently²⁸ a free and democratic Iraq would serve as a model for the rest of the Middle East. But everybody knows that Bush is not in favour of democracy in Iraq. Because if real democracy is installed in Iraq what would be the impact and

effect on the Gulf countries about their form of government? Will there not be demand and movement for popular governments in the Gulf countries? What would be the stand of United States in that case? Will USA support popular demand for popular governments or protect US puppet dictators? So the genuine perception about Bush intention of installing popular government in Iraq is that Bush wants to establish a façade of democracy and create constant political turmoil in the wake of which USA will reap benefit. Six years of tragic and barbaric actions by occupation forces in Iraq justified this. On the other hand, the world popular opinion and the opinion of the vast majority of Iraqi people are increasingly becoming annoyed with six years of US presence in Iraq and demanding immediate withdrawal of US troops.

It is interesting how the US administration is going to glorify democratic values. It is an open secret that there is no democracy at war. The Bush-Cheney administration has been an administration that has betrayed democracy because it has relied on lies, deceit, propaganda and manipulation in a way that would have been worthy of a totalitarian regime. In the past, colonial powers covered their rapacious designs in the language of "civilizing missions" or "white man's burden." Today, that language has been replaced by "democratization."

Washington favours elections only if they are likely to be won by its stooges. For example, as in Palestine, Yaser Arafat suggested holding elections in the Palestinian territories and it was clear that Arafat would win overwhelmingly. Palestinian people would vote for him in defiance of Israel and the US. The proposal was rejected by Washington. It was only after his death that they accepted that elections be held. It was fairly held

but the election results were not accepted by US and UK administration because it did not reflect their wishes.

Overwhelming majority of Iraqis are hostile to US control of their land. Any truly representative, democratically elected government would try to get rid of occupation. So, US managed the election in such a way so that true representative democratically elected government can not come to the power. US arranged election (farce) brought the comprador class to the power to serve US interests. Iraqis widely believe that the United States does not genuinely support democracy in a post-Saddam Iraq.²⁹ At least after occupation, the way of governing and form of government established by USA showed that USA went to Iraq not to establish democracy but to establish a puppet government by lingering their stay there.

On April 21, 2003, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) was established as a transitional government following the invasion. The CPA vested itself with executive, legislative, and judicial authority over the Iraqi government. The administration was centred in Baghdad, known as the Green Zone. This administration had no relation to Iraqi people, which is the base of democracy.

On May 11, 2003 L. Paul Bremer was appointed governor of Coalition Provisional Authority. The first act of the CPA under Paul Bremer was to issue order of de-Ba'athification of Iraqi society. De-Bathification is similar to de-Nazification. Hitler used Nazi Party to control the German people. After occupation of Germany de-Nazification decree was passed and senior Nazi officials were prosecuted. Baath Party was one of the important instruments of Saddam's control over the Iraqi people. As a process of de-Baathification, Bremer's orders fired all of the top professional ministers

and their staffs within Saddam government, and countless civil servants and 15000 teachers were removed from their posts.

On May 23, CPA formally disbanded the Iraqi army. On July 22, 2003, the CPA formed the Iraqi Governing Council and appointed its members. The Council membership consisted largely of Iraqi expatriates who had previously fled the country during the rule of Saddam Hussein and also with many outspoken dissidents who had been persecuted by the former regime.

On June 1, 2004, the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) announced the formation of the Iraqi Interim Government (IIG).

The US-led Coalition Provisional Authority was dissolved on June 28, 2004 and transferred limited sovereignty of Iraqi territory to the Iraqi Interim Government. Bremer departed from the country on the same day. The interim president was Sheikh Ghazi Mashal Ajil al-Yawer, and the interim prime minister was Iyad Allawi.³⁰

The CPA was divided into four geographic regions. CPA North was headquartered in the northern Iraqi city of Arbil, CPA Central was headquartered in Baghdad at Saddam's former Republican Palace, CPA South Central was headquartered in the Iraqi city of Al Hillah near the ruins of Babylon and CPA South was headquartered in the southern Iraqi city of Basra.

In January 30, 2005 Iraqis went to the polls and elected a 275-member Iraqi Transitional National Assembly that was sworn in on May 3, 2005. On 5 April 2005, the Iraqi Transitional National Assembly appointed Jalal Talabani, a Kurdish leader, President. And Ibrahim al-Jaafari, a Shiite, was

appointed the new Prime Minister of Iraq. The whole of election related affairs was monitored by occupying army so that manipulation of election results became easier.

The Iraqi Transitional Assembly drafted Iraq's new constitution. This constitution was presented to the Iraqi people for their approval in a national referendum on October 15 2005. Under the new constitution, 275-member National Assembly was elected in December 15, 2005 for four year term.

The National Assembly approved a 37-member cabinet. Nuri Al maliki became the prime minister and Jalal Talabani the president. The cabinet was sworn in on May 20, 2006.

This way a puppet government was established in post-occupation Iraq. This was a government imposed from above by the United States as the British did in 1920's.³¹

USA showed the world that they are following democratic process in electing representatives for Iraqis in post-Saddam Iraq. This was a farce. No way this was fair and credible. Normal democratic ritual of voters and candidates were absent in elections. Candidates were terrified to say their names, let alone canvassing for votes. Instead of canvassing for votes, they fend off death threats.³²

"Of the 7,471 people who have filed to run in the election as candidates, only a handful outside the relatively safe Kurdish areas have publicly identified themselves. The locations for the 5,776 polling places have not been announced, lest they become targets for attacks.³³ Former National

Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft warned that the election has "great potential for deepening the conflict."

In place of the Iraqi state, the US established the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), a governing body without Iraqi participation, headed by Paul Bremer, a Pentagon appointee. Bremer set up his offices in Saddam's former Republican Palace and ruled the country by decree, with unlimited powers. To protect the unpopular CPA from a growing Iraqi resistance movement, Bremer organized a tightly-controlled, four square mile security area in the middle of Baghdad known as the "Green Zone." Bremer and the CPA set up a "Governing Council" made up of US-handpicked Iraqis, friendly to the occupation. Many had spent decades in exile and they had few roots in contemporary Iraq. Some, like Iyad Allawi and Ahmad Chalabi, had worked for years directly on Washington's payroll. CPA was created on the basis of sectarian divisions. This government demolished the integrity of the country. By naming the Governing Council on the basis of sectarian affiliation and "balance," the CPA gave prominence to the sectarian dimension of Iraqi politics and deepened sectarian rivalries. "Divide-and-rule" tactics seemed to be at work.

The Bush administration has also argued that other countries are much more likely to support American foreign policy objectives if they are democratic. Democracy means that a state's policy will at least roughly reflect the objectives and values of the population. If so, why would a democratic Iraq share American views on the Arab-Israeli dispute? Would a democratic Iran be a closer ally than the Shah's regime was? If democracy is American desire why USA helped unpopular Parvez Mosharraf government in Pakistan?

The introduction of democracy in other societies also often stimulates and provides access to power for anti-American forces. This is the paradox of democracy. In many cases, if other countries become more responsive to public opinion, they will become more anti-American. In the key Arab states of Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, cooperation with the United States could not be sustained if the public had greater influence and participation in governance.

Democracy means you pay some attention to the will of the population. The crucial question for an invading army is: "Do Iraqis want US to be here in Iraq?" There is no lack of information about the answer. The answer is simple and known to all. Analysts of the Brookings Institution in Washington report that in November 2005, 80 per cent of Iraqis favoured "near-term US troop withdrawal." So the coalition forces should withdraw, as the population wants them to, instead of trying desperately to set up a client regime with military forces that they can control.³⁴

The reality is that the so-called U.S. "democratic occupation", is a euphemism for imperialist occupation and oppression. Iraqis, now, know the meaning of American democracy. The overwhelming majority of Iraqis are innocent victims of the bloodshed. America's plans for establishing democracy have shown themselves to be self serving of American economic and strategic interests rather than the self-determined wishes of the Iraqi people.

No American government has been willing to support U.S. policy to honor democracy in countries like Algeria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. So, USA can not honour popular government in Iraq and no popular government would be pro-American. Then the U.S. intervention has not aimed to support genuine democratic regimes driven by local peoples, but

rather US-friendly regimes installed by USA acting on behalf of the United States.

To decide what is right or wrong for everyone else is not democracy. Each country has its needs, its ways, and wishes and aspirations and it is proud of its ancestry. To decide all the issues facing every nation, putting U.S. soldiers and staff in hundreds of other countries, deciding who should or should not win elections, and if not going US way, to incite and overthrow is not democracy. The USA always acts for its own interests and history bears enough evidence, like, the CIA has subverted and disrupted the democratic process in Italy, Iran, Iraq, Guatemala, Haiti, Ecuador, Zaire, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Indonesia, Greece, Uruguay, Cambodia, Bolivia, Australia, Angola, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and many other countries. Using propaganda, rigged elections, extortion, blackmail, sabotage, assassination, death squads, and torture, the CIA has deposed democratically-elected leaders and governments throughout the world and replaced them with ruthless dictators who were more accommodating to US business interests.³⁵ From numerous examples it is undoubtedly proved that tyranny or dictatorship is not a problem if it serves US interests.

US leaders deliver sweet and attractive words in favour of democracy. But they are not benevolent cooperators for democracy. If they were intended to establish democracy in Iraq they would help Iraq to create a democracy-friendly environment. US could contribute in creating basic democratic institutions like political party, civil society, trade unions, free media etc. But after the occupation they demolished remaining institutions. Noam Chomsky writes "Democratization needs progressive forces. Progressive forces in Iraq - be they feminists, secularists or trade unionists - find their

struggle stifled by the continuous warfare and the unwelcome attentions of both the militias and the occupation forces.³⁶ A labour movement was forming in Iraq, a very important one for democracy. But USA did not allow labourers to be organized. Rather Washington insists on keeping Saddam Hussein's bitter anti-labour laws and activists of labour movements are being killed. Nobody knows by whom. It is a very revealing fact that the Iraqi democratic opposition was not only ignored by Washington but also scrupulously excluded from the media, throughout the Gulf crisis.³⁷

Crusaders said that they invade Iraq to bring there democracy and liberate Iraqis from Saddam's dictatorship. Iraqis, who have been offered liberty and democracy, now want the right to exercise it. They are clamoring for an end to the U.S. occupation of their country. But before liberating Iraqis, liberators are just slaughtering and murdering Iraqis. Now, nobody believes that Bush wanted to establish democracy in Iraq, not even Bush's speech writers. Nowadays US administration talks less of democracy in Iraq. Now it is clear that in the past the British created Iraq for their own interests and now USA occupied Iraq for US interest.

It appears from US six years of occupation of Iraq that the common agenda of U.S government is the revival of the old colonialism masked in the fake rhetoric of "democracy" and "liberation". It is pure hypocrisy to speak of imposing democracy by foreign conquest. Now the only democracy is to make the Americans leave³⁸ Iraq as early as possible and leave Iraq to the Iraqis to govern.

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Chapter 4
Extent of Destruction of Wealth,
Properties and Loss of Human life

EXTENT OF DESTRUCTION OF WEALTH, PROPERTIES AND LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE

The U.S. and UK engaged in a deadly form of massacre in Iraq. With the latest technology and capacity to kill and destroy, they are performing the massacre without any hesitation and mercy for fellow human beings. There was no shortage of bombs and ammunitions to destroy Iraq. The U.S. deliberately bombed and destroyed vital civilian infrastructure, water-treatment facilities, milk factories, power plants, schools, hospitals, pharmaceuticals production facilities, communication centers, mosques, civilian shelters, residential areas, historical sites, roads and bridges, irrigations, private vehicles and civilian government offices.

Immediately after the invasion, US forces and US-trained death squads launched a deliberate and systematic reign of terror designed to terrorise the Iraqi population and destroy the Iraqi nation.¹ The deaths and destructions are not accidental but these are deliberate. The majority of deaths and destructions have occurred after U.S. President Bush declared the end of "major combat operations" on May 1, 2003. That is the massacre that occurred after USA took full control of Iraq. Destruction of wealth and properties also continued unabated after the mission accomplishment speech by George W. Bush on May 1, 2003.

In pursuing a policy of genocide in Iraq the U.S. has committed moral suicide. U.S. is deliberately committing genocide in Iraq while at the sametime manipulating and diverting the world opinion away from its crimes.

UK and USA army who are committing the worst crimes in Iraq are much worse than Nazis. These soldiers in Iraq are representatives of the civil part of the world. But the world does not know what is really happening in Iraq. There were reports that a good number from the soldiers left the job and flew away, became mad, and committed suicide because of the inhuman atrocities committed by US government through them by their government. Americans do not count the civilian dead. As a result, no one knows how many Iraqis have been killed in the six years since the invasion. Lieutenant General Tomy Franks, who led the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan during his time as Head of U.S. Central Command, once announced, “We do not do body counts.”²

The Lancet survey estimates that over 650,000 Iraqi civilians have died as a result of the conflict, with the vast majority of these deaths occurring after May 2003. The second Hopkins study estimated that 655,000 excess deaths had occurred from March 2003 through June 2006.³

A September 14, 2007 estimate by ORB (Opinion Research Business), an independent British polling agency, suggests that the total Iraqi violent death toll due to the Iraq War since the US-led invasion is in excess of 1.2 million (12,20,580).⁴

On January 28, 2008, ORB published an update where the death estimate was revised to 1,033,000 with a given range of 946,000 to 11,20,000.⁵

U.S. forces and their allies have needlessly killed tens of thousands of innocent Iraqis. Iraqi men, women and children are routinely imprisoned, abused and tortured. They routinely killed Iraqi civilians at checkpoints, during house searches, and during military operations of all kinds. Dead bodies found scattered throughout the country. Millions of Iraqis have lost

loved ones. They have a country that is unstable and on the brink of collapse, and their daily lives are marked by crime and deep uncertainty involving life and death.

The blood of the innocent is being spilt abundantly in Iraq. There are no official statistics on the number of innocent civilians dead and injured. The army denied counting Iraqi civilian dead, which might be helpful in dealing with American public opinion. New York Times reported the US military does not count civilian deaths from US attacks, claiming that “investigating deaths caused by any one strike is often impractical in dangerous areas.”⁶

Everyone knows that USA has ability to commit whatever offence it wants. Now it seems that USA has self-imposed right to commit any kind of offence and gave up humanitarian issues while committing offence. Iraqi civilian lives are not as important as US lives, their deaths are just the cost of doing business.

Used Weapons of Mass Destruction and Mass Murders

The US and the UK have used indiscriminate and especially injurious weapons that are restricted by international conventions or widely considered unacceptable and inhumane. The United States has used incendiary devices – MK-77, a napalm-type weapon, as well as white phosphorus munitions. White phosphorus has been used against ground targets in densely populated civilian areas.⁷ These weapons are extremely

cruel – they stick to the flesh and burn victims to death. The US and UK governments initially denied use of these weapons but were later forced to retract.

During the 2003 invasion, the US and the UK also made extensive use of depleted uranium (DU) munitions and Cluster Munitions (CM).⁸ Cluster weapons kill and maim indiscriminately when used in populated areas and also leave unexploded bomblets that later cause civilian death and injury. DU weapons can produce long-term negative health.

The US had used incendiary bombs in Iraq. White Phosphorus (WP) is a wax-like incendiary agent used for signaling, smoke-screening, and incendiary purposes. When exposed to oxygen, White Phosphorus ignites with a bitter, garlic-like smell and burns until the oxygen supply is cut off. It burns the skin of the victims through their clothes, resulting in deep injuries and in abdominal pain, jaundice, necrosis of bones and multi-organ failure (mainly liver and kidneys), after which very few survive.

Like napalm, the use of WP against human beings was initially denied by the US government. A documentary broadcast by Italian State television RAI revealed that US troops used WP against ground targets during initial combat in 2003 and in the battle of Falluja in November 2004. The film showed Falluja residents describing "a rain of fire fell on the city" and it presented footage of civilian bodies burned and melted.⁹

Amnesty International (AI) describes scenes at al-Hilla's hospital, where "bodies of the men, women and children - both dead and alive - brought to the hospital were punctured with shards of shrapnel from cluster bombs." A doctor reported that almost all patients were victims of cluster bombs.

“Injured survivors told reporters how the explosives fell ‘like grapes’ from the sky, and how bomblets bounced through the windows and doors of their homes before exploding.”¹⁰

More than 12,20,580 Iraqis are estimated to have been killed since the US-led invasion. But the silent killers are claiming lives almost unnoticed. Iraqi people are exposed to hazardous particles of uranium from shells fired by US and British tanks and aircraft. The long-term effect is likely to be an entire generation of Iraqi children stunted in their physical and mental development.

Prisons and Prisoners

After the occupation, Iraq turned into an inferno. Millions of Iraqis are now imprisoned and tortured in hundreds of U.S.-run prisons throughout Iraq. These prisons became a worldwide symbol of prisoner abuse and inhumane conditions.

US forces arrest Iraqis without any charge. Heavily-armed soldiers make the arrests. The soldiers often take many people simultaneously into custody. Soldiers arrest Iraqis during neighborhood sweeps and house searches, at checkpoints, and in round-ups of all kinds. In special operations troops detained nearly the entire male population. They always make arrests without judicial warrants or evidence of wrong-doing. Sometimes arrest them simply for being at the wrong place at the wrong time. Prisoners, including women and children are held without due process in flagrant violation of international human rights law.

Many reports and photographs have established US mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners. Prisoners were subject to mental and physical torture and sexual abuses at the hand of U.S. forces and their collaborators.¹¹ The abuse included using dogs to scare and bite prisoners, death threats and sexual abuse. The torture also included physical violence and hanging. Cells are unsanitary, seriously overcrowded. Prisoners, either male or female, were raped repeatedly by Americans.¹²

US officers mistreated inmates at the notorious Abu Ghraib prison by keeping them naked in dark, empty cells.¹³ One US soldier assigned to guard duty at Abu Ghraib wrote in a letter that military interrogators had “instructed us to place a prisoner in an isolation cell with little or no clothes, no toilet or running water, no ventilation or window, for as much as three days.”¹⁴ Amnesty International reported in 2003 that detainees at Camp Bucca were being “held in tents in the extreme heat and were not provided with sufficient drinking water or adequate washing facilities. They were forced to use open trenches for toilets and were not given a change of clothes - even after two months' detention.”¹⁵ Some prisoners have been transferred out of Iraq to secret interrogation centers in foreign locations.¹⁶

World public opinion has condemned the mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners by US soldiers as a war crime and a gross violation of the Geneva Convention. UN secretary-General Kofi Annan has also voiced concern about mass detentions without charge.¹⁷

Destruction of Cultural Heritage

Eight thousand years of history in the fertile valley of Mesopotamia produced some of the world's greatest cultural treasures and sites in Iraq. Millennia ago Iraq was the cradle of civilization. Iraq is rich in important historical sites and artifacts. The country is one of the prime centres of Islamic art and culture. Altogether, there are about 12,000 sites in the country. Iraq 's archaeological sites include more than 150 ancient Sumerian cities and towns as well as great capitals of Babylon , Nimrud and Nineva. This rich heritage also includes collections of extraordinary museums and libraries, as well as historic buildings. During the war and occupation the US and British military destroyed most of these sites. Even the military built bases on the sites of ancient Babylon. The National Library and the National Museum, along with many other important cultural institutions, were badly damaged and looted in the early days of the occupation.

The National Library in Baghdad suffered two fires on April 10 and 12, 2003. About a quarter of the total book collection was looted or burned, including rare books and newspapers. Fire consumed as much as 60% of the Ottoman and royal Hashemite documents, and nearly all government archives of more recent vintage went up in smoke.¹⁸ Virtually, all the collection of maps and photographs were destroyed.

Iraq's national museum in Baghdad has been destroyed. "Once American troops entered Baghdad in sufficient force to topple Saddam Hussein's government this week it took only 48 hours for the museum to be destroyed, with at least 170,000 artifacts carried away by looters."¹⁹ Art

looters took the world-class exhibition objects, rare books, and other high-value items. Thieves took 14-15,000 objects altogether, including coins, sculpture, ceramics, metalwork, architectural fragments and most of the Museum's collection of valuable Sumerian cylindrical seals.²⁰ The occupation forces let loose and allowed the thieves for looting the banks, shops and other valuable items.

The looting of Iraq's museum is a cultural catastrophe.²¹ The looting is a great loss for the world. The loss will be felt worldwide, but its greatest impact will be on the Iraqi people themselves when it comes to rebuilding their sense of identity. Before the war on Iraq, warnings were sent to the British and American governments about protecting Iraq's cultural treasures.²² The Americans allowed the destruction of Iraqi culture.²³ The destruction of the Iraqi culture is a disaster. The tragedy has provoked international uproar. Iraqis are angry. US citizens are also protesting the destruction. "Three White House cultural advisors have resigned in protest at the failure of US forces to prevent the looting of Iraq's national museum. The advisors were all members of the resident's Advisory Committee on Cultural Property."²⁴

U.S.A., a recently civilized nation, does not want to allow symbols of ancient civilization to exist in any country. To erase historical sites and symbols from Iraq U.S.A. has taken all steps. It looted and destroyed symbols of civilizations. But doing all these U.S.A. itself has become the symbol of atrocity in lieu of symbol of civilization and culture. The image earned for USA by George W. Bush through this war, is very dark and cloudy. It will take many decades to regain the lost image. One of the main

objects for recently elected U.S. president Obama, is to restore tarnished and lost image of USA very quickly.

Destruction of Infrastructure and Utilities

The country's infrastructure has been destroyed. The ceaseless attacks and aerial bombings by U.S. and British forces have destroyed Iraq's infrastructure and people's property. Heavy bombardment has caused great destruction in the cities under attack, including historical and religious sites, as well as water, electricity and sewage systems. US-led forces have even bulldozed numerous buildings.

In the first days of the occupation, the Coalition demobilized the Iraqi police force and army. U.S. troops in Baghdad actively encouraged two days of rampant looting. Seventeen government ministries were gutted, including the Ministries of Education, Health, Culture and Trade. But they were quick to secure the oil ministry building (just as they rushed to secure the oil fields in the first days of the invasion).

Coalition military operations have clearly violated the Geneva Conventions, with massive displacement of populations, indiscriminate killings of civilians, and large-scale destruction of habitation and urban infrastructure, including historic buildings and religious sites. Coalition forces have violated further provisions of the Conventions by deliberately targeting hospitals, stopping emergency medical care and blocking the delivery of humanitarian aid. In further violation of the prohibition of

“siege tactics,” they have deprived civilians of food, water, electricity, medical supplies and vital services. As a result of this massacre millions of Iraqis became unemployed and reached as high as seventy per cent today. People are lacking food, shelter, water and sanitation, health care, education, employment and in dire need of different types of essential goods and commodities.

US forces attacked civilian targets with military hardware, dropped cluster bombs in residential areas, beat prisoners, set dogs on detainees, kidnap and take people to be held in concentration camps, force prisoners to stay awake through shining lights in their faces and playing loud music day and night, urinate in their food, abuse female detainees, waterboard prisoner, wire up prisoner’s testicles, force prisoners to strip naked and lie in pyramids on the floor, shoot wounded prisoners of war, deny access to medical treatment, strafe civilian areas with artillery fire, target hospitals and hotels, destroyed water supply with weaponry, destroyed the gas and electricity supply lines, massacre hundreds of thousands of people, entered and damaged property in a sovereign nation after an unlawful invasion. The Bush-Cheney administration has nearly completely destroyed a foreign country that had done no harm to the United States. Many professionals have been targeted because of their work. This includes academics, educators, professors, doctors, journalists, politicians, lawyers and judges.²⁵

Such practices have inflicted collective punishment on Iraqis. This is a grave violation of international humanitarian law.

Oil is Disappearing

Oil resources is being smuggle out of Iraq without any obstacle. Billions of dollars in Iraq's vital oil production have been stolen and smuggled out of the country since March 2003, with astonishingly little action by Coalition authorities or US-imposed Iraqi government. The smugglers' job has been simplified by the absence of meters. Meters are measuring devices to measure oil flows. Usually, oil operations are extensively metered, from well head to refineries to export terminals. But Iraq has had no working meters, making it virtually impossible to monitor the flow of crude or refined products or to trace the location of smuggling operations and corrupt practices.

“It's like a supermarket without a cashier,” comments Mike Morris, an oil industry expert who used to work for the State Department in Baghdad. “There is no metering at the export terminal. And there's no metering at the well heads either. There is no metering at any of the major pipeline junctions.²⁶ The CPA could have installed metering promptly, but strangely they did not. Bremer and his team were advised of the metering problem, but they repeatedly postponed action.²⁷”

In practice, USA is looting and smuggling Iraqi oil. It seems that a drop of oil will not remain for Iraqis if USA stays longer, because one of the main target of US Iraq aggression and occupation was its best quality oil.

Destruction of Health Service System

In Iraq there is blood on streets, blood on market places, blood on residential flats, blood on hospital walls, blood on hospital floor, blood on the doctors, blood on the stretchers. Blood was every where but injured are dying for the want of blood. Occupiers are bombing massively and Iraqis are bleeding lavishly. How pathatic, cruel and brutal it is.

Coalition troops have targeted medical facilities during urban offensives, and repeatedly destroyed and confiscated ambulances, making emergency care impossible. Medical personnel were arrested and the patients were removed.²⁸ The health service is near collapse and hospitals have been reduced to impotence in the face of mounting injuries and disease. Hospitals in the city of Baghdad were put out of use even as war casualties were pouring in.²⁹ Hospitals have been destroyed to erase the number of civilians killed by U.S. troops in hospital data banks.

In the summer of 2006, during an offensive against Ramadi, Coalition Forces captured the city's General Hospital , endangering the sick and rendering health care impossible. Coalition forces have blocked access to humanitarian and medical relief convoys trying to enter cities, obstructing the work of humanitarian agencies trying to assess needs, deliver relief supplies and bring urgent assistance to the population. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW) at least 2,000 Iraqi doctors have been killed and 250 kidnapped since the 2003 U.S. invasion.³⁰

According to the Brookings Institution's Iraq Index- 2007, 2000 Iraqi physicians were killed and about 12,000 left the country from March 2003 through March 2007.³¹

Destruction of Education Institutions and Collapse of Education System

Since 1991, Iraq's educational system was the target of U.S.-British military action. The aim was the complete destruction of the Iraqi society and its knowledge-based resources. Thousands of academics and scientists have been murdered. Some 84 per cent of Iraq's institutions of higher education have been burnt, looted, or destroyed.³² Many of the country's leading academics and scientists have been assassinated and its educational system collapsed.

The education system in Iraq, prior to 1991, was one of the best in the region, with over 100% Gross Enrolment Rate for primary schooling and high levels of literacy, both of men and women. Attendance at school has always been high in Iraq as primary education was compulsory until the U.S. invasion in 2003. The Higher Education, especially the scientific and technological institutions, were of an international standard, staffed by high quality personnel.³³ Iraq was also the largest and preferred destination for students from the Middle East, Africa and the Muslim world. Thousands of students went to Iraq to study and to better their lives. Education was free at all levels.

Iraq's education system has been destroyed. University staff and students are regularly killed or kidnapped, as are their children or wives. Country's leading academics and scientists have been assassinated. The intellectual foundations of Iraq's future are being systematically destroyed. Some 84 per cent of Iraq's institutions of higher education have been burnt, looted, or destroyed.³⁴

Execution of Saddam

The execution of Saddam Hussein took place on December 30, 2006. He was sentenced to death by hanging. He was convicted of crimes against humanity by Special Tribunal for the murder of 148 Iraqi Shi'ites in the town of Dujail in 1982. Although Saddam was supported by USA in time of this atrocities.

Saddam Hussein was President of Iraq from July 16, 1979 until April 9, 2003, when he was deposed during the 2003 invasion of Iraq by U.S.-led Coalition. He was captured in ad-Dawr, near his hometown Tikrit. On November 5, 2006, he was sentenced to death by hanging. On December 30, 2006, he was taken to Camp Justice, located in Kazimain, a north-eastern suburb of Baghdad to be executed at approximately 06:00 local time (03:00 GMT). Camp Justice was previously used by Saddam as his military intelligence headquarters, then known as Camp Banzai, where Iraqi civilians were taken to be tortured and executed on the same gallows.

US imposed Iraqi government released an official videotape of his execution, showing him being led to the gallows, and ending after his head was in the hangman's noose.

Human Rights Watch issued a statement that the "execution follows a flawed trial and marks a significant step away from the rule of law in Iraq."³⁵

Amnesty International issued a statement that it "opposed the death penalty in all circumstances but it was especially egregious when this ultimate punishment is imposed after an unfair trial."³⁶

Two days before the execution, the International Federation of Human Rights released a statement calling "upon Iraq's Head of State to ensure a moratorium on the death sentence pronounced against Saddam Hussein." The organization also said Saddam should be treated as a prisoner of war under the Geneva Conventions.³⁷

On December 31, 2006, at 04:00 local time (01:00 GMT). Saddam Hussein's body was returned to his birthplace of Al-Awja, near Tikrit. His body was transported to Tikrit by a U.S. military helicopter, and was buried near the graves of other family members, including his two sons Uday and Qusay Hussein. He was buried about three kilometers from his two sons in the same cemetery.

The trial and punishment and execution of Saddam Hussein, violating all international law, human rights and Geneva Conventions, is unique in the history. The way he was tried and the extent of his punishment – death sentence was protested and opposed by human rights organizations and Amnesty international, but who heeds since the super power wishes it. This event reminds people the assassination of King Faisal in 1974, killing of Bhutto and Ziaul Haque of Pakistan and Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh.

Saddam Hussein is a Sunni Muslim and for the Muslim few days of the year are secured and glorified and among these days two Eid days are ranking top. It is painful that Saddam was executed at the dawn of Eidul Azha.

Civil War

Large and mixed neighborhoods were the norm in Iraq. Iraqis had been living in peace and harmony for centuries. Sunni and Shiites prayed in one another's mosques. Secular Iraqis could form lifelong associations with others without concern about their chosen sect. Such a well-integrated society erupted into vicious fighting, violent sectarianism, and segregated neighborhoods. It is the occupation which vitiated the land. The Bush Cheney's military invasion of Iraq is responsible for having deteriorated the relations between all religious communities in Iraq and succeeded in unleashing a civil war between Iraqis in many regions of the country. Indeed, the situation in Iraq is worse than civil war.

Sectarianism was not an important issue in Iraq. Even there have been no statistical surveys in recent years to determine the sectarian composition of Iraq. However, when the Coalition Provisional Authority, led by Paul Bremer, formed the first puppet Iraqi government, a precedent was set. The twenty-five seats in the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC) were assigned strictly along sectarian lines based on the assumption that 60 percent of the population is Shiites, 20 percent Sunni, and 20 percent Kurds, who are mostly Sunni. This sectarian line in governing council played vital role to disintegrate Iraqi society.

A common theory heard in the streets of Baghdad is that the US military is deliberately creating a civil war in Iraq to have an excuse to stay. Iraqis of all sectarian and ethnic groups believe that the U.S. military invasion is the primary root of the violent differences among them.³⁸ The US will remain and that the US government plans to maintain permanent bases in the country.³⁹

U.S. forces and their Israeli agents together with the main militia groups are behind the violence in Iraq. The U.S.-backed sectarian death squads have become the foremost generator of death in Iraq. The US death-squads, trained at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and Israel, are present in Iraq. The USA trained and financed secret militias in Iraq. The occupying power secretly smuggle 200,000 Kalashnikovs and tons of explosives into Iraq from Bosnia within one year (2004-05). The USA is backing Iraqi state-sponsored violence against civilians.

The Coalition created or expanded Iraqi irregular forces. Before the invasion, the US and the UK had given covert support to Kurdish Peshmergas - tribal militias in Iraqi Kurdistan. In 2003, they numbered tens of thousands of fighters. Coalition commanders announced that the Peshmergas could keep their weapons and maintain their units, since they were considered as operating under Coalition supervision. Peshmergas enforced Kurdish rule over non-Kurdish minorities in the North. And the Coalition command used Peshmergas to attack insurgent targets in the North and Center. This policy promoted Kurdish separatism and greatly increased Sunni and Shiits resentment against the Kurds.

The US had also armed, trained and funded a sizeable militia of the Iraq National Congress under the leadership of Ahmad Chalabi, an Iraqi exile, who was a Pentagon favorite and tipped as a future prime minister. This militia, called the "Free Iraq Forces," was set up in 2002 and enjoyed multi-million dollar funding by the Pentagon. Many accused them of car theft, fraud, illegal seizure of assets, and murder.

The Scorpions were another irregular Iraqi force, built by the CIA. This force came to light most prominently in the brutal beating (and eventual death) of an Iraqi detainee in US custody in November 2003.

The Coalition also used extensive covert operations, with thousands of special forces, including Army Rangers, Navy Seals, Delta Force, and the UK Special Air Services. Additionally there were CIA and MI6 units, special groups of Military Intelligence and other “black ops” forces. In the name of the search for Saddam and the pursuit of terrorists, these shadowy forces carried out secret military-type operations, seizure of suspects and extremely brutal interrogations in secret camps.

Finally, the Coalition brought to Iraq large numbers of private military contractors, soon to number in the tens of thousands. Some, like employees at Blackwater, DynCorp and CACI International, were former US Special Forces soldiers, police officers, intelligence service personnel and others with special skills in clandestine warfare, interrogation, force protection, and the like. Heavily armed and exempt from any accountability, even under the military justice system, these soldiers of fortune were highly-paid

If Iraqis themselves fight each other on sectarian grounds, they will get no scope to look at USA to force them out of Iraq. Iraqis must be united to force out the occupier. An end to the occupation and complete withdrawal of occupying forces can put Iraq on the path of rebuilding Iraqi society by establishing normalcy in public life which is possible only when Iraqis are united and fight united against the occupying force.

Iraqi Resistance

Before the war started, Bush administration officials were crowing that the Iraqis would "welcome" the U.S. as "liberators".⁴⁰ and would receive the US soldiers with red rose. The US soldiers thought that, as Shiits were oppressed by Saddam administration, it would be easy to occupy the Shiits populated areas without any resistance. But the day-dream turned into nightmare within weeks. The military victory was never in question. The victory put the USA into the quagmire. As Iraqi feel that US actions are threatening their existence, they began targeting Americans directly. The Shiits and Sunnis forgot their differences, became fighters and created strong resistance, who refuse to be treated like dogs.

In the first days of the war, the Vietnamese government issued this statement: "With a huge war machine, the U.S. will gain victory in military terms. However, they cannot avoid political failure."⁴¹

Little more than a week of the collapse of Saddam regime the Vietnamese government's predictions were coming true in Iraq. Bush's army of "liberation" turned into the army of occupation. The Iraqis started to fight the Americans. Iraqis create their own war of "liberation."

The U.S. had enough troops to defeat Saddam regime—it clearly does not have enough to control the country. Weeks into the occupation, the U.S. has proved completely unprepared for the aftermath of a military victory. It is as if they thought everything would be as easy as pulling down a statue with an armored vehicle—pour in troops and some Iraqi exiles and stir. Instead, the U.S. has faced massive opposition throughout Iraq. Iraqis have never passively accepted domination by outside powers, and Washington will face no easy task in imposing it today.⁴²

Iraqi opponent of Saddam, specially the Shiits, now realize that the USA is occupying force – offender, not defender. Iraqis who use force against those who have used force to seize control of their country are fully justified in doing so. Iraqis want the country to be independent again and the Americans to leave. No Iraqi wants the Americans to be there.

To defend their country, the Iraqi people have a legitimate right to resist and use all forms of resistance to this war and occupation. Any resistance to the current aggression is legitimate resistance. “International law grants a people fighting an illegal occupation the right to use all necessary means at their disposal to end their occupation and the occupied are entitled to seek and receive support and helps from all corners.

The U.S and Israeli intelligence is trying to distort the image of the Resistance. The U.S. press and Western media are focusing on civilians casualties with a view to discrediting the Iraqi Resistance. Regrettably much of the coverage of the Iraqi Resistance in the Western media has focused on the U.S. created phantom groups of al-Zarqawi and al Qaeda, described as “radical Islamists” or suicide bombers”. Most of the attacks on the occupying forces are carried out by the main Iraqi Resistance groups, mainly the Red Army of Saddam whom USA feared most. Most of the terrorist acts such as kidnappings and hostages attributed by the Western media to Iraqi “insurgents” were carried out by the U.S. created militias. The strategy is to absolve the U.S. of any crimes and legitimize a prolonged Occupation. Whenever major terrorist operations happened, it was mostly with US knowledge or involvement.

Israel’s Mossad planned major terror operations in Iraq, recruiting 2,000 mercenaries before the war and sending them to various Iraqi cities to offer protection and support to the occupation forces.

Despite attempts to muddy the waters of what is going on in Iraq, it is clear that the resistance is even broader, stronger and getting stronger with every passing day. Iraqi people realized that if sovereignty and independence to be achieved and protected Iraqi resistance to American occupation must be escalated with much more stronger dimension.

The Iraqis and the Iraqi Resistance groups will continue to resist the occupation until the U.S. leaves Iraq and no amount of U.S. firepower will quell the desire of the people of Iraq to achieve sovereignty and national independence.

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Chapter 5

Real Causes of Occupation

REAL CAUSES OF OCCUPATION

During and before Iraq occupation, Bush administration mentioned that the aim of occupation was noble. They argued that use of force was necessary to prevent the Iraqi government from developing or using weapons of mass destruction. Iraq should be punished because of its alleged links to al-Qaeda. They also argued that Iraqi people should be freed from Saddam Hussein's despotism and democracy to be established there. But the real intention behind Iraq occupation always kept hidden but known to all.

Washington supports oppressive harsh dictators across the Middle East. These dictators block democracy and development. Washington is the largest supplier of Weapons of Mass Destruction to the area. So, neither establishing democracy nor finding Weapons of Mass Destruction was the American agenda in Iraq. In fact, U.S.A. occupied Iraq to get full control of Iraqi oil resources.

Since World War II the US government has recognized that the energy resources of the Middle East are a stupendous source of strategic power and one of the greatest material prizes in world history. In President Eisenhower's words, the Gulf region is the "most strategically important area of the world."

In the past, security of oil wealth gave USA many advantages in various fields. US control is even more important now than before. Oil became a diminishing resource in a world economy that is heavily dependent on fossil fuels for its functioning. Furthermore, the global system is less subject to US domination than in the past so that competition for these great material prizes is becoming more intense, and control of "some of the

world's largest oil reserves. At the geopolitical center of the Middle East" is of paramount importance for US power centers.¹

An attack on Iraq was a strategic priority of many of Bush's advisers long before his administration was ever formed. Donald Rumsfeld, the US Defense Secretary, and his deputy - and one of the neoconservative group's leading thinkers Paul Wolfowitz - wanted to use the invasion of Iraq to remake the entire Middle East in America's image and interest and secure a reliable source of oil.²

This plan was set out by another Rumsfeld associate, Richard Perle in 1996. He called for the elimination of Saddam's regime in Baghdad. He said that it would be a first step towards overthrowing or destabilizing the governments of Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Iran; in tandem the Israelis should permanently annex the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip. Two years later a letter was written to President Clinton demanding a full-scale, US-led military drive for 'regime change' in Baghdad. Bill Clinton rejected the idea but, within moments of the September 11 attack on Washington and New York -- despite the lack of evidence linking Iraq and 9/11 -- the same plan was being put to President Bush.³

Though the United States had gone to massacre in Iraq mainly to secure the oil wealth, to bluff the world, the US president Bush mentioned other noble reasons for the occupation. The US army, with the capacity for industrial-scale slaughter, launched the attack to disarm Iraq, free its people and to defend the world from danger. Although the world can not understand how a weak and entirely defenseless nation can be a danger for the world. Iraqis also do not understand the meaning of freedom when a foreign nation invades, bombs, kills and destroys Iraqi in the name of freedom.

USA has nothing to do with democracy or liberation. The U.S. wants to control Iraq in order to reap the financial benefits of Iraq's oil, and it wants Iraqi territory to place its military bases. The ambition surely includes much expanded control over Persian Gulf resources and military bases to impose a preferred form of order in the region.⁴

The United States maintains an ongoing military presence in the Middle East, including longstanding military bases in Turkey, a strong naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean and Arabian Sea, as well as large numbers of troops on the Arabian Peninsula since the Gulf War. The US maintains 737 military bases in 130 countries to defend American economic interests, particularly access to oil.⁵

The United States is not simply concerned with keeping oil flowing out of the Persian Gulf; it also has an interest in preventing any state from gaining control over the region and its resources. And it has an interest in maintaining military access to Middle East because of the region's geostrategically critical location. Through Iraq occupation, USA is going to fulfill that target. The Pentagon is continuing to build huge military bases and the enormous US "embassy" in Baghdad, a city within a city that is quite unlike any authentic embassy in the world. These massive constructions are not being built to be abandoned or destroyed.

The US "New Embassy Compound," in the Green Zone in the center of Baghdad occupies 104 acres (the four square mile) – six times the size of the UN compound in New York.⁶

The Green Zone is itself ringed by miles of concrete blast walls, razor-wire, guard towers and elaborate security entrances. But within the Green Zone, the new US embassy will have an even more elaborate security system and an even stronger walled perimeter with blast walls up to 15-feet thick. The embassy is designed with its own wastewater treatment plant, water wells and electrical generating station, enabling it to be “100 percent independent from city utilities.”⁷

Such mammoth construction projects, costing billions of dollars, strongly suggest that their authors see Iraq as a US client state and as a base for US military operations in the Middle East region. As US Congress Member Ron Paul, a Republican from Texas, observed: “This [embassy] structure in Baghdad sends a message, like the military bases being built, that we expect to be in Iraq and running Iraq for a long time to come.”⁸

Shortly after the invasion of Iraq, Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of the senior planners and analysts, pointed out in the journal *National Interest* that America's control over the Middle East gives it indirect but politically critical leverage on the European and Asian economies that are also dependent on energy exports from the region. If the United States can maintain its control over Iraq, with the world's second largest known oil reserves, and right at the heart of the world's major energy supplies, that will enhance significantly its strategic power and influence over its major rivals.⁹

US forces initially established more than a hundred bases of different sizes in Iraq, including air bases, detention centers, ground force headquarters, logistical depots, and many smaller “forward operating bases” close to the

theater of combat. These enduring bases are located in different areas of the country, permitting military control over each sector of Iraq.

Washington's intention is that Iraq should remain a client state, agreeing to allow permanent US military installations. It is to grant the US the right to conduct combat and air operations at will, and to ensure US priority in accessing its huge oil resources.¹⁰

But Iraqis oppose a long-term US presence in their country and consider bases as a key negative symbol of the occupation. The Middle East is synonymous with oil.¹¹ Every U.S. policy shift, every military intervention, every CIA plot has been carried out to secure one main aim: to ensure the cheap, stable, free and plentiful flow of the world's most important energy resource--oil. The Middle East has 63 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, and its oil is the cheapest to pump and produce. Iraq lies at the geopolitical center of the Middle East and contains the second largest oil reserves in the world, which are, furthermore, very cheap to extract.

Nothing that takes place in the Middle East today can be understood without first understanding the strategic and economic importance of this black gold.¹²

Global oil demand has been increasing by between 1.5 and 2 mbd each year. The U.S. Department of Energy and the International Energy Agency both project that global oil demand could grow from the current 77 mbd to 120 mbd in 20 years, driven by the United States and the emerging markets of South and East Asia.

Total world oil reserves are estimated at 2.5-2.9 trillion barrels, of which half has now been already consumed, while half of the 51 oil-producing

countries reported output declines in 2006. Non-OPEC production is expected to peak and decline within the next five years. Most of the supply required to meet the future demand must come from OPEC, whose production is expected to jump from 28 mbd in 1998 to 60 mbd in 2020. Virtually all of this increase would come from the Middle East.

The occupation allowed Iraqi oil resources open to American investments. The occupation opened Iraq's rich new oilfields to US bidders. It has always been obvious that, one way or another, the U.S. would try to do something to ensure that this enormous prize would be back under U.S. control, and the US has got unfettered access to Iraqi oil. The exploration, production and sale of Iraq oil is in the hands of US companies. Famous seven sisters - Exxon, Chevron, Total, Royal Dutch Shell and BP are benefit from the occupation that granted the licenses to lift the oil on a non-competitive basis.

Currently the revenues from the Iraq oil industry are placed in a 'trust fund' that is jointly managed by the USA and by Great Britain, Iraq's former colonial oppressor. The truth is that the USA, Great Britain, and their Coalition allies invaded Iraq to facilitate the imposition of US military and corporate control over the Iraqi oil fields, which contain the second largest oil reserves in the world. The invasion and occupation of Iraq is part of a larger long-range US plan to gain military political control over the entire oil-rich Middle East.¹³ Alan Greenspan, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve said; "Everyone knows: the Iraq war is largely about oil."¹⁴

Throughout history, even the harshest and most shameful measures are described by noble rhetoric like freedom, independence, civilization.

Invasion of Iraq is also described as a sacred mission. But we should be clear what this occupation is and is not about.

It is not about spreading democracy, because, the U.S. has always preferred dictators. It is pure hypocrisy to speak of imposing democracy by foreign occupation. Iraqis have not assigned Washington the right to decide their fate and future. The US established not democracy but "iron-fisted junta," in Iraq under U.S. colonial tutelage. The U.S. is trying to exploit its wealth, and it does not care much what happens to the people of Iraq.

The war was not fought for international law, self determination and human rights, as the Bush administration claimed. Because the war was not approved by the UN and the occupying force is violating international law.

It is not about deterring a regional threat. Because Israel plays the role of U.S. watchdog in the region, armed to the teeth with the latest weaponry, and lavished with U.S. funds. This country is dominating and threatening peace of the region.

It is not about Saddam Hussein's links to al-Qaeda. Because no such links have been proven to exist and bin Laden is the noble creation of CIA. It is not about weapons of mass destruction. Because there is no evidence that Iraq possesses anything that could possibly endanger the U.S.

Moreover, the regimes –the U.S. and Israel– that threaten the region and the world, possess thousands of nuclear warheads. There are precedence of using these weapons by them against others.

So, this war of US is about U.S. power and wealth. It is about making sure that there are no regional or global competitors to America's "right" to be

the world's sole imperialist power. It is about controlling the world's most strategic resource—oil—by seizing control of a pivotal country that contains the world's second largest reserves of oil. It is about using Iraq as a strategic pivot to attempt to reshape the Middle East. It is about showing the world that the U.S. will ruthlessly smash any regime that thumbs its nose at American might.¹⁵ Hitting Iraq would be a warning to other states with ambitions to attain power and prestige. What happened to Saddam could happen to anyone. The Bush administration by attacking Iraq wanted to others but he failed to learn anything.

USA tended to show that they are going to run the world and have the power to do it and will do it and if anyone gets out of line they smash them. Keeping Iraq in line is meant to show the world that the U.S. has the capacity to police the Middle-East and the world in whatever way it sees fit.

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Chapter 6

Global Impact

GLOBAL IMPACT

United States of America is the only hyperpower in the world. Because of its coercive behaviour with other nations, it is also identified as a “rogue superpower.”¹ But America does not care what the rest of the world think and feel about it. Rather, as a hyperpower, America is ready to exercise its dominance all over the world. Massacre in Iraq is part of American will to establish more dominance in the Middle East. America decided to go to war alone and ignored opinion of allied governments and UNO. It also ignored other international institutions and community. USA drafted a resolution to be tabled in the Security Council meeting with a proposal for UN sanctions for applying force against Iraq. But France, Germany and Russia threatened to oppose and even apply veto and in that matter French UN representative played a leading role. Sensing that USA and UK did not go to Security Council and attacked Iraq, totally by-passing UNSC, on March 20, 2003 in flagrant violation of international organization, law and world public opinion. USA did not heed anti-war popular demonstration all over the world – massive in London, New York, Washington D.C, Rome, Paris, Bonn etc.

The mobilization for war against Iraq provoked the largest anti-war demonstrations the world has ever seen. The war solidified world opinion against America. The war has widened the rift between Americans and Western Europeans, further inflamed the Muslim world, softened support for the war on terrorism, and significantly weekend global public support for the pillar of the post-World War II era - the United Nations Organization. United States’ such behaviour puts the world organization UNO in question and faced challenges from the world public as to what it

does in part U.S. action in Iraq but surprisingly it did not do anything to U.S. and to its ally U.K. in materializing their agenda of massacre and mass killing in Iraq.

The decision to go to war in Iraq in 2003 was a serious violation of international law. This happened because the rogue superpower wanted it happen. Although most of America's closest allies in Europe and other areas, international institutions and community, world public opinion opposed the war.

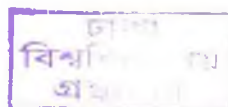
USA thought that this war would perpetuate its position as a hyperpower, would strengthen its economic position and would weaken its opponents. But the course did not proceed in accordance with USA will. In most cases the war impacted adversely for US interest. The impacts are both visible and invisible; instant and gradual; direct and indirect. Some of them are discussed below in short.

Seed of Disaster for American Interest

The invasion of Iraq was an initial triumph that contained the seeds of disaster. Millions of Iraqis are dead but alive persons are not under US control. As the occupying force is destroying the country for present and future generations Iraqis are now resisting the occupation. Consequently, USA became obliged to leave Iraq without fulfilling its agenda after spending billions of dollars. This time USA itself paid the price of arms and

ammunitions used to destroy Iraq which has a negative effect on US economy.

Hatred and anger for USA is perpetually sowed not only in Iraq but also in the entire world particularly in the Muslim world. Before the first Gulf war of 1990, demand for independent Palestinian state gained maturity. After 1990 war, the momentum of the movement for independent Palestinian state decreased and after Iraq occupation of 2003, as Iraq crisis became the burning issue, the issue of Palestinian independent state became a secondary issue in the Muslim world. On the other hand, Israel started completing slow but steady Israeli expansion. Israel continued slow work of taking the land from the Palestinians on the West Bank, the gradual strangling of the Palestinian economy, the parcelling up of their land, the building of new settlements, the pressure on Palestinian farmers to make them abandon their land. In East Jerusalem the Palestinians are being gradually encircled and their living areas being sliced. Gaza strip is known as “the greatest concentration camp in the world” because of the atrocities done by Israel. The map of Palestinian state looks like a fragmented archipelago. Now it is obvious that Israel is paying lip-service to the two-state solution and it is busy with creating a situation on the ground that will render such a solution impossible. As the Palestinians are being weakened and Iraqi military strength demised, Israel, who is the ultimate beneficiary of Iraq occupation, is presented a euphoric situation. Israel is now safer than any time in the past after the formation of the state. In this situation Muslim states became more vulnerable to Israeli strikes. This situation frightened, saddened and angered the Muslim world, particularly the Middle East.



Muslims worldwide are worried but many of America's rival countries are using America's travails in Iraq to extend their power. Most obviously, Iraq's drain on American military resources, time and energy means that the ability to deal with Iran and North Korea has been reduced. Iran is more powerful than it was in 2000, and closer to acquiring nuclear bomb. North Korea also has gone out of US-control. It has already acquired nuclear weapons and trying to acquire more military power. On February 19, 2009, North Korea declared that it is in full-fledged preparations to shoot a satellite into orbit.²

Russia and China have extended their web of alliances and strengthened their regional and international influence. In January 2006, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz of Saudi Arabia visited Beijing, which is expected to lead to a Sino-Saudi memorandum of understanding calling for "increased cooperation and investment between the two countries in oil, natural gas and investment." Already, much of Iran's oil goes to China, and China is providing Iran with weapons that both states presumably regard as deterrent to US designs.³

Global wealth was seen as shifting from the West to the energy-rich Gulf states and Russia, and to Asia, the rising centre of manufacturing and some service industries. There is an Asian energy security grid, based on China and Russia. Iran is moving in that direction, it is becoming the lynchpin of that power grid. This development, including a sovereign Iraq and possibly even major Saudi energy resources, would be the ultimate nightmare for Washington.⁴ Regional integration in Asia and Latin America is a crucial and increasingly important issue that, from Washington's perspective,

betokens a defiant world gone out of control. Energy, of course, remains a defining factor — the object of contention — everywhere.

Meanwhile, in Latin America, left-centre governments prevail from Venezuela to Argentina. The indigenous populations have become much more active and influential, particularly in Bolivia and Ecuador, where they either want oil and gas to be domestically controlled or, in some cases, oppose production altogether.

Mercosur, the South American customs union, a move described by Argentine President Nestor Kirchner as ‘a milestone’ in the development of this trading bloc, and welcomed as a "new chapter in our integration" by Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva.⁵

Failure of UNO

In 1945, the League was replaced with a more robust United Nations. U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull hailed it as the key to "the fulfillment of humanity's highest aspirations."

Now it is Bush, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz, Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell and company of U.S. administration who are committed to ignore UN when it is necessary for their narrow interest. They are committed to an "imperial ambition" in a unipolar world in which the United States has no peer competitor and in which no state or coalition could ever challenge USA. The U.S. and their supporters abandoned the

Security Council procedures and decided to pursue the invasion of Iraq without U.N. authorization.

The beginning of the end of the international security system had come on September 12, 2002, when President George W. Bush brought his case against Iraq to the General Assembly and challenged the UN to take action against Baghdad for failing to disarm. "We will work with the UN Security Council for the necessary resolutions," Bush said. But he warned that he would act alone if the UN failed to cooperate.

Washington's threat was reaffirmed a month later by Congress, when it gave Bush the authority to use force against Iraq without getting approval from the UN first. The American message seemed clear: "we don't need the Security Council."⁶

Two weeks later, on October 25, 2002, the United States formally proposed a resolution that would have implicitly authorized war against Iraq. But Bush again warned that he would not be deterred if the Security Council rejected the measure. "If the United Nations doesn't have the will or the courage to disarm Saddam Hussein and if Saddam Hussein will not disarm," he said, "the United States will lead a coalition to disarm him."⁷

The council responded to Bush's challenge on November 7, 2002, by unanimously adopting Resolution 1441, which found Iraq in "material breach" of prior resolutions, set up a new inspections regime, and warned once again of "serious consequences" if Iraq again failed to disarm. The resolution did not authorize force.

On January 21, 2003, Powell himself declared that the "inspections will not work." He returned to the UN on February 5, 2002, and made the case that

Iraq was still hiding its weapons of mass destruction (WMD). France, Germany, and Russia once more proposed giving Iraq still more time. On February 28, the White House Press Secretary Ari Fleischer announced that the American goal was no longer simply Iraq's disarmament but now included "regime change."⁸

Then, on March 5, 2003, France and Russia announced they would block any subsequent resolution authorizing the use of force against Saddam. The next day, China declared that it was taking the same position. The United Kingdom floated a compromise proposal, but the council's five permanent members could not agree. In the face of a serious threat to international peace and stability, the Security Council fatally deadlocked.

In the face of such opposition, Washington has made it clear that it intends to do all it can to maintain its preeminence. Finally on March 20, 2003, the US and the UK occupying army and a so called Coalition of allies invaded Iraq. Thus the pillar of international security system failed to save one of its member from aggression of another powerful member. This reminds world people the demise of League of Nations.

After the occupation, Sergio Vieira de Mello, the UN's Special Representative in Baghdad, tried to stake out an independent function for the UN, but the US-led administration in Iraq gave him little room for maneuver, rejecting his proposals for broad consultation with Iraqis of all political persuasions. The "vital role" foreseen by the Security Council never materialized. On August 19, 2003, a truck bomb destroyed UN headquarters in Baghdad, killing Vieira de Mello and thirteen members of his staff. This was done by US forces as a retaliation against UNSC stand.

Thereafter, the organization drastically reduced its presence in the country and moved its Iraq operations to Amman, Jordan.

Yet in October 2003, the Security Council took another fateful step with Resolution 1511. In exchange for US-UK promises that a political process would soon lead to elections and a turnover of authority to Iraqis, the Council gave an official UN mandate to the occupation, making the Coalition a “multinational force” (MNF). The US and the UK afterwards stepped up their claims that they were acting on behalf of the UN and that the UN has provided legal authorization for what they do.

Since that time, despite the many violations of international law by USA and UK, the Council has twice renewed the mandate. But it has never exercised any meaningful oversight of the MNF nor has it had a frank and full discussion of the Iraq matter. A few ambassadors, like Juan Gabriel Valdes of Chile and Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico, tried to press the issue early on, but Washington forced their governments to recall them, making it very clear that no dissent would be tolerated. As other ambassadors have reported ruefully since then, Washington does not even accept questions when it presents periodic reports to the Council in the name of the MNF. USA and UK were not controlled by the UNSC. Rather USA and UK used UNSC in their favour. At this point it is easy to conclude that the UN's failure to confront Iraq caused the world body to “fade into history as an ineffective, irrelevant debating society.”

Rise of Terrorism

Bush and his inner circle manipulated the world electronic media and intelligence to demonstrate that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction and had close relations with al-Qaeda. In his June 28, 2001- speech, President Bush asserted that the invasion of Iraq was undertaken as part of "a global war against terror."⁹ In reality the invasion increased the threat of terror. Even before the administration began beating the war drums against Iraq, there were plenty of warnings that U.S. occupation would lead to terror, for deterrence or revenge. In fact Iraq war itself is an act of terrorism and Bush was rated by world public as a number one terrorist.

After fall of Saddam's Baath party government, al-Qaeda network became stronger in Iraq. Iraq itself became a "terrorist haven" for the first time, and suffered its first suicide attacks since the 13th century CK assassins.¹⁰ Iraq occupation provided recruitment, training grounds and technical skills for a new class of terrorists who are 'professionalised' and for whom political violence becomes an end in itself.¹⁹ The appears to have been a huge setback in the war on terror.

The war against Iraq and U.S. military aggression there created waves of new recruits for terrorism and political fundamentalists. It also provided widespread acquiescence or even outright support for these elements among ordinary people in the Middle East. "U.S. aggression could inspire a new generation of terrorists bent on revenge, and might induce Iraq to carry out terrorist actions."¹¹

There seems to be a broad consensus among terrorist experts that the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003 has contributed negatively to the so-called “global war on terror.” According to many analysts, the war and subsequent occupation have increased the level of frustration in the Muslim world over American foreign policy and facilitated recruitment by militant Islamist groups. Moreover, Iraq seems to have replaced Afghanistan as a training ground where a new generation of Islamist militants can acquire military expertise and build personal relationships through the experience of combat and training camp.¹² Nearly every threat we face -- from Afghanistan to al-Qaeda to Iran -- has grown.¹³

The World Divided

Ideological competition between democracy and autocracy was supposed to end with the end of history. Then the idea of clash of civilizations came. Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard University suggested the possibility of clashes between Islam and the West and the likelihood that Muslims worldwide might support terrorism to destroy Western civilization. This idea misled the West. Antony T. Sullivan said that ideas do have consequences, and bad ideas may indeed have very bad consequences.¹⁴ The idea of clash of civilizations prepared the ground for the U.S. Anti-Terrorism Act of 1996. Then Bush, Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld and company of U.S. administration utilized the idea of clash of civilization to fulfill their imperial agenda. The war against Iraq was a part of the consequences of the idea.

On September 11, 2001, two passenger jet airliners crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The hijackers crashed a third airliner into the Pentagon. Excluding the 19 hijackers, 2,974 people died in the attacks. The overwhelming majority of casualties were civilians, including nationals of over 90 different countries. The United States responded to the attacks by launching a "War on Terrorism", invading Afghanistan to depose the Taliban. U.S. officials speculated on possible involvement of Saddam Hussein immediately afterwards. Although these suspicions were unfounded.¹⁵

Iraq had long been a divisive issue for the west. In the 1990s, a wide gap had opened up between the United Kingdom and the United States on one side. They favored not only containing Iraq with sanctions, but also military pressure. On the other side China, France, Russia, and most other nations favored containing Iraq only with economic sanctions. By 2000, the Clinton administration feared that containment was becoming unsustainable. Sanctions were not working. But it could not convince others that this was so.

By 2003 the gap became wider. The war in Iraq weakened Western unity. When the September 11 attack had occurred the world community did not think that Iraq had any link to this incident. So, the world community did not find any necessity to attack Iraq. To the world community tolerance of Saddam's Iraq had not been reduced by the September 11 attacks. But the United States' tolerance had. As Iraq was attacked by the USA the world's tolerance of the United States had decreased. Now the rest of the world see

the United States not as a global leader seeking the global good but as an angry Leviathan narrowly focused on self national interest.

By 2003, few nations were moved by the urgency of the war on terror, by humanitarian concerns in Iraq, or by a desire to see the United States once again lead an international crusade to bring order by force. Few could believe that the United States, especially under Bush, was now suddenly acting on behalf of world order. Hence, many could only explain the war as a war for oil, or for Israel, or for U.S. imperialism. The "war on terrorism" has been exposed as a cover, and the events of September 11 as a convenient excuse, for launching an imperialist war.

Bush's war has weakened ties to allies, dissipated much of the sympathy that the United States had garnered after September 11, and convinced many people that America was seeking an empire with little room for their interests or values. The war and occupation has also inflamed the Muslim world and created new and powerful symbol of Muslim suffering.¹⁶

In fact, Islam does not pose a threat to the security of Western nations. On the contrary, Islam is a religion of compassion and mercy, and followers of Islam condemn terrorist attacks like the one that occurred on September 11, 2001. The aftermath of 9/11 episode and the role of United States in utilizing this it became clear that it was not committed by Islamists but it was created to be used for a plea to attack the Islamists and Islam. What occurred on September 11, 2001 was first and foremost an attack on Islam itself.

Judaism, Christianity and Islam all trace their origins back at least to the Old Testament prophet Abraham. Each of these three religions venerates him. Each of these Abrahamic faiths has similarities with the other two, and each historically has produced civilizations and societies with recognizably similar characteristics.

Those who are most frequently proclaiming that Islam is an enemy of the West are themselves fervent partisans of Israel or, Israelis themselves. Islam is in no way a challenge to the West, but in its political form it may well present a threat to Israel. If so, that is Israel's problem. Israel alone can mitigate any Islamic threat only by dealing justly with all its neighbors, and most specifically with the Palestinians.¹⁷ But does Israel do so or its big boss advises Israel to do so?

There has been significant opposition to the Iraq War across the world, both before and during the initial 2003 invasion of Iraq by the United States. Germany has declared it will not back a UN resolution authorizing war against Iraq, adding its concerns to mounting reservations within the Security Council about military action.¹⁸ After the first UN resolution, the US and the UK pushed for a second resolution authorizing an invasion. The French and German governments, amongst others, took the position that the UN inspection process should be allowed to be completed. They again opposed use of force against Iraq. They want UN weapons inspectors in Iraq to have more time to do their work.¹⁹

On April 2, 2003 UPI reported that "Russia-U.S. ties were further strained by the war in Iraq." Russia placed itself firmly in the anti-war camp by aligning with France and Germany and effectively blocking a U.S.-British bid to win approval for war at the U.N. Security Council.²⁰ This widening

rift between the two countries can lead to another cold war which will be much more dangerous than the previous one.²¹

U.S. relation with China is also turning sour. The Chinese had long complained about the United States' "super-hegemonist" ambitions, and Beijing justifiably considered Washington to be hostile to China's rising power. In the meantime China is already establishing relations with Iran — and even with Saudi Arabia, both military and economic.

Iraq war revealed deep rifts between USA and other world powers. France, Germany, Russia and China are increasingly uncomfortable with a world in which they are expected to serve Washington's interests, for the sole benefit of the U.S. When USA finally declared its decision to attack Iraq, the rift in Washington's relations with other world powers became clear. In this imperialist world order the strategic alliances of the Cold War, from NATO to the UN, seems to collapse. It is to be noted with great surprise and utter despair that though the four big powers - France, Russia, China and Germany – threatened to oppose US prepared SC resolution and even apply veto, but when USA attacked Iraq by-passing them all, they, not to speak of taking stand, did not even condemn the US aggression on humanitarian ground. The U.S.A. harsh and rude policies and aggressive actions in Iraq created the ground and opportunities for the formation and emergence of second joint super power in collaboration with Germany, France and Russia supported by China, the necessity of which is felt keenly and needed urgently for balance of power which could act as deterrent to U.S unipolar super power as USSR was in pre 1990

Arms Race Intensified

Before 1991 Iraq tried to acquire nuclear weapons with US assistance. In the Gulf war one of the American war aims was the physical destruction of the Iraqi military capacity. Just prior to and during the ground war in 1991 Gulf war, the U.S. Command did not permit the Iraqis to carry out an orderly retreat from Kuwait, and killed them regardless.²² In this war Iraq lost more than one lac soldiers and arms and ammunitions. After the retreat from Kuwait sanctions were imposed on Iraq. Later, UNSC compelled Iraq to give up all programmes related to weapons of mass destruction. After the success of Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, Iran became number one enemy of USA, and keeping this in mind USA started arming Baghdad to use against Tehran and Arab countries when necessary. USA also used to supply elements of nuclear weapons to Saddam and made him capable of making nuclear weapons. But after the Gulf crisis in 1990 and with the warning advice from Israel, who treated Iraq parallel to Israel, USA changed its policy and Saddam became its target.

By 2003, nuclear arsenal free Iraq easily fell prey to American Imperialist ambition, although USA claimed that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction and Bush wants to free Iraq from these dangerous weapons. USA easily invaded Iraq without any practical resistance from Iraqi force. The strongest military in world history destroyed defenseless Iraq. Iraq is destroyed but a heightening of the arms race and the escalation of military spending has developed around the world.²³ Sixty years after Hiroshima, whose single bomb killed 237,062 people, a new nuclear arms race has begun.²⁴

America has, and intends to keep military strengths beyond challenge. In June, the 2006 edition of the SIRPI Yearbook was launched on a press

conference in Stockholm, and the conclusion of the SIPRI yearbook is that world military expenditure is on the increase. The United States keeps taking the lead, spending a trillion dollars on arms; its military expenditure amounts to nearly four-fifths of the world total.²⁵

Today, the official nuclear powers could annihilate the world many times over. There are five acknowledged nuclear states: China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, United States. Four other states known to have nuclear weapons: India, Israel, Pakistan, North Korea. There are also forty other states with technical ability to make nuclear weapons.²⁶ As an impact of 2003 Iraq occupation this number will increase. If Iraq had nuclear weapons like North Korea, USA would not dare to invade Iraq. So, nuclear weapons is necessary for defenseless states to achieve deterrent capacity.

November 3, 2006 will be remembered as the day the Middle East changed forever when six Arab states announced their intention to initiate programmes to master atomic technology. Morocco, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, want to start civilian nuclear energy programs, Tunisia and the United Arab Emirates also showed interest. So many states make simultaneous announcements of seeking nuclear power has prompted fears that their true intention could be to master the technology on the path to the first Arab atom bomb.²⁷

The United States military--industrial complex has a completely consistent long-term plan for the Near and Middle East region: arms race, arms race, and once again arms race. The Bush administration announced that it wants to provide Saudi-Arabia, the Gulf states and Egypt with weapons worth \$34 billion. To prevent misgivings from its adversaries' build-up, Israel shall

receive a similar amount of military aid.²⁸ The origins of this plan go back to the first "oil price shock" in 1974 when Henry Kissinger and his aides were looking for ways to recycle the oil states' skyrocketing petro-dollars into the U.S.-dominated financial system. In the second half of the 1970s, the region had become by far the world's largest market for arms imports.

To this day, the U.S. spends billions annually to maintain a large military presence in the Middle East. It provides billions in military hardware to client states, in particular to Israel--which the U.S. carefully maintains as the region's most formidable military power.²⁹

The Middle East is the destination of the majority of American arms exports, creating enormous profits for weapons manufacturers and contributing greatly to the militarization of this already overly-militarized region. Arms sales are an important component of building political alliances between the U.S. and Middle Eastern countries, particularly with the military leadership of recipient countries. The U.S. justifies the nearly \$3 billion in annual military aid to Israel on the grounds of protecting that country from its Arab neighbors, even though the United States supplies 80 percent of the arms to these Arab states.

Before the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran, the United States was the largest single supplier of arms to Tehran. During the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war, Washington covertly supplied arms and military assistance to Iraq.³⁰ Now, at least overtly, Iranian arms market seems to be out of US control. Russians signed a \$300 million weapons agreement to provide military hardware to Iran, making it the third largest customer for Russian arms.

According to declarations made by Iran to the annual UN Arms Register, the Russians already have provided Tehran with 94 air-to-air missiles and missile launchers, more than 100 T-72 and T-76 battle tanks, more than 80 BMP-2 armored combat vehicles, and two 140mm artillery systems. Additionally, Russia has provided Iran with three Kilo class diesel-electric submarines at a cost of \$450 million. Russia sent the shipment of a large batch of renowned S-300 missile complexes as “Christmas present” to Iran. The systems are capable of defending the nation against a possible air strike from the West.³¹

China also has provided Iran with some 25 fighter aircraft, five warships, more than 200 HY-2 Silkworm missiles, and unspecified quantities of 122mm and 130mm field guns.

The source of this competition is fear of invasion. North Korea's boasting of a nuclear arsenal saved it from invasion. As Iraq does not have nuclear arsenal it is invaded. Because of the Iraq invasion, other nations in the Middle East think that strong defense capacity with nuclear arms may provide them security. Possession of nuclear weapons has now become the safest deterrent against any military onslaught.

Through Iraq war, Washington taught the world a dangerous lesson: If you want to defend yourself from U.S. you had better mimic North Korea and pose a credible threat. Otherwise U.S.A. will demolish you. The example of Iraq and North Korea showed that missiles, tanks and other military hardware are best guarantees of survival, security and relative independence. Such sentiments exerted a considerable influence on the market of arms.³² After cold war the arms market became dull for sometime, but after US aggression in Iraq many states will go for arms

build up leading to the possession of nuclear weapons as an umbrella for state security against foreign aggression.

In the light of the war on Iraq, which did not have nuclear weapons, second-tier nations have judged that North Korea was spared invasion because of its nuclear deterrent, and drawn their own strategic conclusions.³³ The conclusion is that they (second-tier nations) also need nuclear weapons to save themselves from attack by U.S.A. or any other super powers. Thus, Iraq aggression by U.S.A has played the role of catalyst in increasing nuclear weapons world wide.

Hatred to USA Increased

It is no surprise that “the global wave of sympathy that engulfed the United States after 9/11 has given way to a global wave of hatred of American arrogance and militarism,” and the belief that Bush is “a greater threat to peace than Saddam Hussein and bin Laden ”

USA is the rogue hyperpower. Washington’s policies are a major cause in fuelling resentment, hatred and anger against the United States. Seven years ago, in his State of the Union address on January 29, 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush warned of an “axis of evil” that was engaged in assisting terrorists, acquiring weapons of mass destruction, and “arming to threaten

the peace of the world.” In Bush’s telling, this exclusive new club had three members: Iran, Iraq, and North Korea. Bush’s policy prescription for dealing with the axis of evil was preemption, and just over a year later he put this doctrine into action by invading Iraq.³⁴

Iran and North Korea still survive with their sovereignty. Now it seems that American ability to deal with Iran and North Korea has been reduced. On October 9, 2006, North Korea announced it had conducted a nuclear test. On 19 February, 2009 North Korea said that it is in full-fledged preparations to shoot a satellite into orbit.³⁵ Iran is now more powerful and closer to acquiring a nuclear bomb. The war in Iraq has made Iran stronger and the United States and Israel less secure, Barack Obama said in a speech to Jewish political activists.³⁶

The illegal Iraq war was justified with lies and exaggerations about Iraq’s so-called weapons of mass destruction and supposed links to al-Qaeda. The result is a worldwide explosion of hatred against the United States. As a consequence, the reputation of the United States has been seriously damaged all around the world.

The world hates the invasion, bombing and occupation of a sovereign country. Much of the world views the Iraq attack as a symptom of increasingly bitter polarization between haves and have-nots, and that America is largely responsible for developing countries missing out on the spoils of economic progress.³⁷ The non-Americans overwhelmingly think that the US bears responsibility for the gap between the worlds rich and poor.

If the question of why people hate America is not new, it has acquired a new resonance since the occupation of Iraq. The global wave of sympathy

that the U.S.A. drew after 9/11 has thus replaced by a global wave of hatred of American arrogance and militarism in Iraq after Iraq war. This wave of hatred is stronger in the Muslim world. When we see on television US planes and tanks used to attack Iraqis, we can understand why people hate Americans. Iraq is now a symbol of Muslims sufferings. An overwhelming majority believe that the United States is trying to harm the Islamic world.³⁸

In the Muslim world, anger toward the United States, emanates primarily from the rage at specific American policies. U.S.A. partiality to Israel at the expense of Palestinians, maintenance of sanctions on Iraq that fail to weaken Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein while resulting in the death of half a million Iraqi children, then illegal occupation and aggression in Iraq and consistent failure to support individual liberty and limited government in Muslim states are among their major grievances.³⁹ This state of affairs will weaken U.S. persuasion around the world and increase the growing resentment held toward the United States.

Hatred is the worst possible and most undesirable basis for human relations, especially relations between nations. Hatred de-humanizes everyone and makes all problems more complex and intractable. Hatred is never, simply, one way traffic. It is relational, reactive condition.⁴⁰ Hatred produces anger and angry persons may turn terror. So, reasons for hatred must be eliminated.

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Chapter 7

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

After Iraq occupation, majority of world population saw Bush administration to be more dangerous than Saddam Hussein. Bush became a problem for world peace. The head of the non-aligned movement described the Bush administration as more aggressive than Hitler.¹ Nelson Mandela called the US attitude to Iraq a threat to world peace. President of Venezuela, Hugo Chavez called Bush "Mr. Danger." It is Bush's United States that poses the greatest security threat to the world.

United States produces, sells, deploys and uses weapons of mass destruction. It has enough nuclear warheads (more than 7,000) which is enough to kill the world's population several times. It dropped more conventional weapons on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. In Vietnam, three million people killed in the name of an ideology of capitalism. Thousands of Vietnamese still die from the effects of American chemical warfare.

In 1999, Samuel P. Huntington argued that much of the world saw the United States as a "rogue superpower," "intrusive, interventionist, exploitative, unilateralist, hegemonic, and hypocritical."² According to a political analyst, the USA is a major exporter of State-sponsored terrorism and is nursing tyrannies all over the world.³ USA overthrew regimes, backed assassinations, supported for murderous actions, helped silencing dissidents, eliminating politicians and sanctioned use of torture and murder of civilians the world over.⁴ A few examples of many are assassination and killing of King Faisal of Saudi Arab, Bhutto and Ziaul Haque of Pakistan, Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh. In recent years, the US has taken or backed actions in Colombia, Nicaragua, Panama, Sudan and Turkey.⁵

Tyranny is not a problem to America if the tyrant is loyal to it. It seems that Israel has got a license from America to kill Palestinians and dominate the Middle East. Whatever offense Israel does, always has American support. This is because Israel is favourite tyrant. America supports and uses tyrannical, brutal, repressive regimes like Israel as they serve American interest. The Israeli military occupation sustained by US military and diplomatic support, although international community does not support it. Because of US opposition, many resolution in the UNO against Israeli terrorism was ignored.

When tyrannical regime becomes unfriendly and does not obey command only then USA opposes tyrannical regimes. USA has used the CIA to foment coups against unfriendly regimes. When necessary, it has intervened directly to punish regimes that have challenged its dominance - as it did to Iraq.⁶ Saddam Hussein was no more loyal. He went out of control and became unfriendly tyrant. So, USA opposed, deposed and hanged Saddam.

Saddam Hussein was twenty-two years old when he was hired by the CIA to serve on a six-man team that tried to assassinate Iraq's Prime Minister Karim Qasim in 1959.⁷ The world knows that Osama bin Laden, a Saudi civil engineer, is another 'enemy' of the USA who began his career as a CIA 'asset.' He is the product of USA. Osama bin Laden was used successfully against Soviet Communism in Afghanistan. He with his group overthrew the communist regime from Afghanistan. In this mission in Afghanistan against communism USA backed him and helped him by all ways and means because at that time communism was the only challenge to capitalism. But when US purpose was over Laden became US enemy and was declared number one terrorist and a threat for world peace.

Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden are perfect examples of US onetime "allies" who accepted American money, weapons, and military training during the 1980s. Bin Laden was utilized to frustrate the Soviet advance in Afghanistan and his operatives were armed with USA made arms. Similarly, USA supported Saddam Hussein in the hope of weakening Iran. USA involvement in Iran-Iraq war strengthened Iraq. The military strength of Iraq, built by USA help, led to its invasion of Kuwait and America played key role in forcing Saddam to quit Kuwait. So, name of diplomacy, duplicity and dualism is Bushism.

The U.S. attacks other states to fulfill its imperial appetite. America is a crude stereotype of a self-interested empire. Bush administration is not a peace-loving regime. Bush's Iraq occupation for oil confirms his evil intentions. The American-led coalition shed Iraqi blood for oil without any hesitation. There is growing fear of US power, which is considered to be the greatest threat to peace in much of the world.⁸

"While the US regularly denounces various countries as 'rogue states', in the eyes of many countries it is becoming the rogue superpower the single greatest external threat to their societies."⁹ The United States is now seen as a major threat to peace and now George W. Bush is more disliked in the world than bin Laden.

The US government wants to act as the world police, though not impartial in behaviour. Rather motivated in attitude and partial in behaviour. It uses its military might to coerce other countries into cooperating with the USA economic and strategic interests. When Iraq seemed not serve US interest, Washington began to practice pure barbarism in Iraq, in the name of so called democratization. It appears that the US is a lawless terrorist state and

this is right and just whatever terrorism it commits. Among the few countries of the world, which are following Machiavellian policy of double standard in national and foreign policy, the United States is the foremost.

The world hates the invasion, bombing and occupation of a sovereign country. Iraqis see the occupation as the poison running through the veins of Iraqi society. The decision to go to war in Iraq in 2003 was a serious violation of international law, and according to Scott McClellan, who worked for Bush for seven years, including three years as White House spokesman, Iraq war is a “serious strategic blunder” and “not necessary.”¹⁰ The cost of this blunder is very high for both USA and Iraq. USA is now in image crisis while the Iraqis are fighting for their normal life.

The Bush-Cheney administration violated the U.N. Charter and the Nuremberg Charter and launched an illegitimate, illegal and immoral war of aggression against Iraq. In fact, the whole invasion is a war crime; the supreme international crime.

Though America has become the only super power, there are other major powers. America alone can not impose all its wishes on the world for long. Other major powers; France, Germany, Russia, China who initially opposed US military action in Iraq but subsequently they did not even condemn US aggression not to speak of taking stand against USA. But the situation is changing and America will not be able to continue for long, they have to leave Iraq without installing democracy but causing innumerable loss of human life, wealth and properties.

Iraq is destroyed. Iraqis now choose to become suicide bombers. They are not worried in sacrificing their own life for their motherland. They are determined to attack and force out the occupying soldiers.

US military supremacy is beyond question. But there is no doubt that in Iraq, the US has failed to win the war finally. Ordinary Iraqis and the Iraqi resistance groups will continue to resist the occupation until the U.S. leaves. No amount of U.S. firepower will quell the desire of the people of Iraq to achieve sovereignty and national independence. The anti-occupation insurgency is getting stronger and the situation on the ground in Iraq appears to be getting worse. Peace cannot return to Iraq as long as the occupation continues, because peace can not be established through violence and force.

Iraqis can not assign Washington the right to decide how their liberty should be served. The U.S. has many plans for Iraq, but all the plans are for US interest. No American plan allows Iraqi sovereignty. If the goal of Americans is to liberate the people of Iraq, Americans must understand and act accordingly i.e. it means to Iraqis liberating them from US occupation at first.

In November 2008, the governments of the United States and Iraq agreed that U.S. troops would leave Iraq by 2011. Does it mean that USA is really withdrawing? Perhaps yes, because, from the United States' point of view, the costs of withdrawal were less than those of staying and the situation at the ground is getting worse day by day. For America the image cost is much more than anything else which will take much time to regain. With the change of US government, the new US president, Barack Obama committed to withdraw US troops from Iraq before December 2011

according to the agreement signed by Bush. Before election, Barack Obama said “I opposed the war in Iraq before it began, and would end it as president.” He continues, “On my first day in office, I would give the military a new mission: ending this war.”¹¹ President Obama declared the beginning of the end of one of the longest and most divisive wars in American history as he announced that he would withdraw combat forces from Iraq by August 2010 and all remaining American troops by December 2011.¹²

Nearly seven years have passed since American troops crossed the border into Iraq, Obama said that “renewed cause for hope” produced by improved security would allow Americans to begin disentangling militarily and turn the country over to the Iraqis themselves. Iraq’s sovereignty is its own. Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq forge a better future – and to leave Iraq to Iraqis. Besides, USA should make it clear to the Iraqi people that it will pursue no bases, and no claim on Iraqi territory or resources.

According to the agreement, the combat mission in Iraq will end by August 31, 2010. The “transitional force” will no longer participate in major combat missions, but will instead train and advise Iraqi security forces, hunt down terrorist cells and protect American civilian and military personnel working in Iraq. Obama promised that all of these remaining forces would leave by December 2011 in accordance with a security agreement with Iraq negotiated by President George W. Bush before he left office in January.

Mr. Obama presented his plan at the same base where, in April 2003, with American forces nearing Baghdad, Mr. Bush declared that “we will accept

nothing less than complete and final victory.”¹³ After six years of occupation, definition of Bush’s complete and final victory has changed. Now his complete and final victory may be defined as millions of civilian deaths in Iraq, total destruction of a state and society, more than 4300 US military deaths, loss of \$657 billion, ecological devastation and an inferno for future generation in Iraq.

World population is waiting impatiently to see American force leave Iraq. Mr. McCain, the former Republican presidential candidate, called the withdrawal “reasonable.” Iraqi government declared that they are ready to takeover the responsibilities from the Americans right now. So, no excuse should be created to linger the stay.

Iraq will not be suddenly turned into a bed of roses once the occupation ends. Some of the violence might also continue. But the Iraqi people will get the chance to resolve their own problems without the presence of a US-led occupation. It is called the right to self-determination. Iraqi people will choose their own government and run their own country and will play leading role in political and economic reconstruction of their own country.

Economic hardship, loss of mental strength in US army, popular opinion against occupation, Iraqi desire for liberation will force out USA from Iraq. Iraq must win freedom, but will bear the scar done by USA. History will see a great nation becomes so brutal to snatch resources from a defenseless nation. US action in Iraq proved that humankind is the severest enemy for human civilization. If disease, pandemic and natural disaster were only enemy for humankind and great nations behaved humanly with humankind, the world could be a peaceful place. If USA wants to regain its position as world leader, it must behave humanly and take human-friendly policies.

USA must not further deteriorate the situation in Iraq and must not promote conflict all over the world.

Seven years of occupation through aggression in Iraq and reckless killing of millions of Iraqi civilians – men, women, children and destruction of huge wealth and properties in the accusation of Iraq's possession of WMD, to overthrow dictatorial and tyrannical ruler – Saddam Hussein, and to install what they called democracy in Iraq, Bush administration has turned Iraq a barren and desert land, economically cripple and militarily weak. On the other hand the richest country in the world, USA, has now become known as a rogue super power to the rest of the civilized world at the cost of 657 billion US dollar. He created a time of tension and misunderstanding between the United States and Muslims around the world although the relationship between Islam and the USA includes centuries of co-existence and cooperation. Respect, veneration, loyalty commanded by USA from nations of the world - big, small, rich, poor - has been replaced by disrespects, hatred, distrust. This is what Mr. Bush has earned for the common and peace loving Americans.

Bush has proved that a ruler can earn a good or bad name for the nation and the country. The world must take lessons that however powerful and mighty a ruler might be, if his policies and actions are aggressive and anti-people, whether in his own country or outside the border, it pays him back very badly. And any world order that elevates one nation or group of people over another will inevitably fail. The world also must take lesson that wisdom should grow with one's power, and the less one uses one's power the greater its earnings will be. It is hoped that the present ruler Obama, a black African and Muslim origin, will take necessary steps to recover the losses and recover the image the United States has lost. Among the top

priorities of Obama's pre-election commitments and post-election activities was how quickly the US forces be withdrawn from Iraq as a process to establishing people's participatory democracy there and restore the image the United States has lost.

Mr. Obama in his election campaign stressed the need for a change in US national and foreign policy, particularly establishing good relation with Muslim countries. After assumption of presidential office he, as a process to fulfill his commitment, signed the order for closing the Guantanamo repression centre and in Iranian national day he sent message to Iranian president wishing best to Iranians and establishing good relation with Iran. In his Cairo speech on June 4, 2009 Mr. Obama said 'I have come here to seek a new beginning between the United States and Muslims around the world; based upon mutual interest and mutual respect.'¹⁴ It is generally believed that Obama, if kept alive, will be able to run a new tide of friendship and peaceful co-existence with all by removing mistrust and misunderstanding created by Bush administration among many countries, particularly Muslim countries.

Six years have already passed since United States attacked and occupied Iraq in the name of installing democratic rule in Iraq, but real democratic government has not yet been established there though the rudiments of it has been initiated. If real democracy has to be established in Iraq, it must be by the Iraqi leaders and people and not by any outside power and it will begin after the US forces leave Iraq. If democracy and democratic rule is established in Iraq, which the world earnestly hopes to see, it will be at a huge cost and loss of men and material of the Iraqis, the example of which will be rare in world history.

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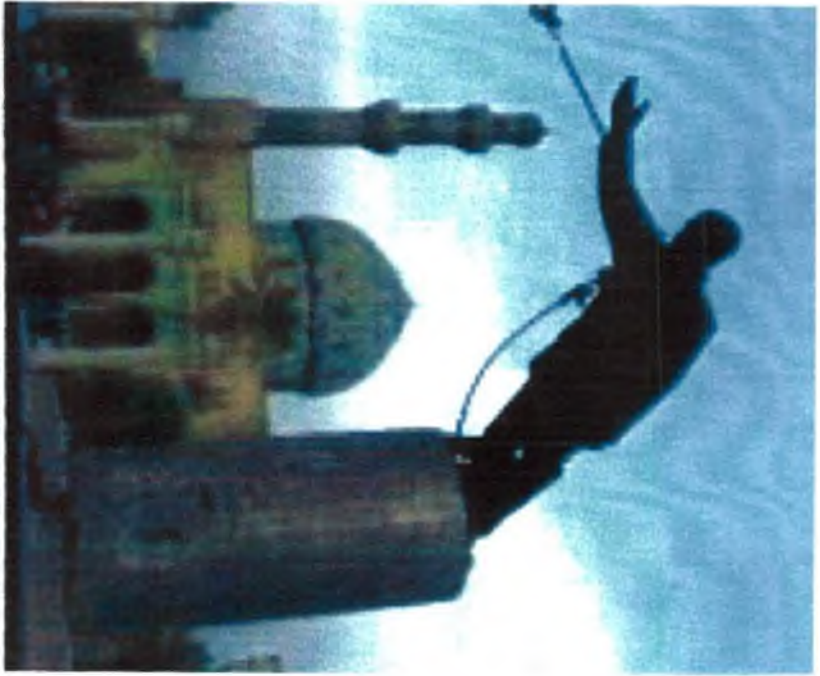
Pictures



March 29, 2003 millions worldwide take to the streets against the occupation of Iraq. In Rome, more than 300,000 people.



Anti-war protesters gathered in Times Square, 2/15/03. Photo by Lina Pallotta.



The toppling of the Saddam Hussein statue in Firdos Square



An IED detonates in South Baghdad



An Iraqi woman crying after her house was hit by a US missile in Baghdad (Al-Ahram, 4/2/03).



An IED detonates in South Baghdad



Picture of national museum damaged by occupying force in Iraq war in Baghdad



War damaged archaeological sites in Iraq. This is the façade of the temple at Umma. Looters destroyed the wall while searching for bricks stamped with cuneiform inscriptions that can be sold on the art market.



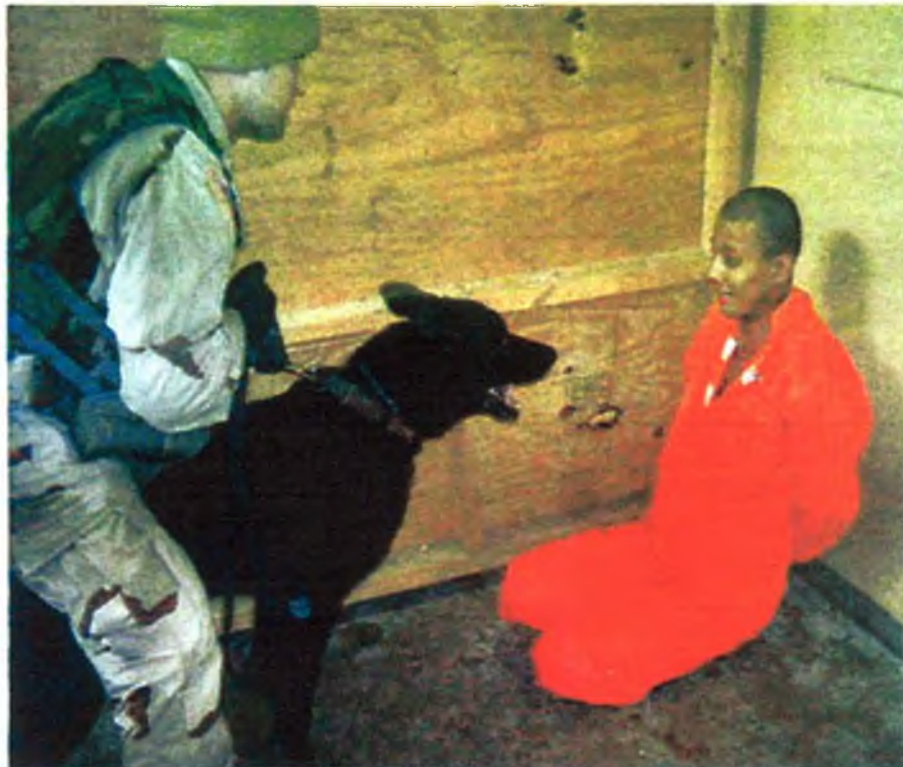
A wounded Iraqi man hugs his wounded daughter inside an ambulance vehicle in central Iraq on Saturday (photo by Damir Sagoly/Reuters, JT, 3/30/03)



Razek Al-Kazem Al-Khafaji, who lost 15 members of his family as his pickup was bombed by a helicopter, throws up his hands as he grieves over his loss in Hilla in the southern province of Babylon on Tuesday. (AFP, Arab News, 4/2/03)



An Iraqi prisoner and American military dog handlers. Other photographs show the Iraqi on the ground, bleeding.



A US Soldier in flak jacket appears to be using both hands to restrain a dog facing an Iraqi detainee in the Abu Ghrib prison

pictures of coffins of US dead soldiers in iraq war







On December 14, 2008, during a press conference marking Bush's farewell visit to Iraq as US president, Muntazar al-Zaidi, a 29-year-old reporter for the private Al-Baghdadia TV station, jumped up and shouted: "It is the farewell kiss, you dog" and threw both his shoes at the US leader – a severe insult in the Arab world. "This is for the widows and orphans and all those killed in Iraq" al-Zaidi yelled.