

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA**

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**Vietnamization and Balkanization of Iraq after
the American Invasion**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master**

By:

Miss. Dalila GHEFSI

and

Miss. Sabra CHEBABHA

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2016 /2017

Dedication

Above all, we should thank Allah and without the Grace of Allah we would not be. We want to express our humble appreciation and sincere gratitude to our parents for making learning and seeking higher education an important priority in our life. It was because of their drive, tireless efforts, unwavering support and enthusiasm, and continuous prayers that enabled us complete the requirements of this degree. We would like to thank our husbands who are very special to us: HASEN and NADJI. We want to extend our appreciation to our sisters and brothers who have never doubted us and who helped us to succeed in our life.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation attempts to show the different aspects of Vietnamization and Balkanization of Iraq after the American Invasion, it serves as a socio-political accusation to reveal the US wrongs in Iraq. In this regard, the study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter discusses why Iraq war is considered as a part of the Bush administration's hidden global agenda to attain American hegemony, that is why America used some pretexts to convince its people and public opinion that this war is for promoting peace. In the second chapter, we describe America's illegal aggressive war in Iraq that caused terrible crimes against humanity including brutal intimidation forms of murders, torture, starvation, and deprivation of jobs; in addition to the destruction of the largest fortress of mankind's heritage. In the third chapter, we investigate how Iraq became an arena for breeding terrorism and how this war turned its courtyards and streets to the scene of the terrorist operations. Besides, the war and its chaotic aftermath triggered a sectarian violence that now haunts Iraq and predicts further intervention in the region's conflicts.

Key words: War on terror, Terrorism, Human rights, 9/11, Sectarianism.

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INTRODUCTION

We like nonfiction and we live in fictitious times. We live in the time where we have fictitious election results that elects a fictitious president. We, we live in a time where we have a man sending us to war for fictitious reasons. We are against this war, Mr. Bush. Shame on you, Mr. Bush, shame on you.

Michael Moore, quoted in Abid Ullah, *The Ultimate Tragedy: Colonialists Rushing to Global War to Save the Crumbling Empire* (Ottawa: Pragmatic Publishing, 2006), p. 57.

The 2003 US invasion of Iraq has become the largest, longest, bloodiest, most gruesome and costly use of armed forces since the Second World War. It changed dramatically the life of so many people and marked the dawn of the new millennium as one the greatest upheavals.

"Iraqi Freedom Operation" or the Second Gulf War are two names given to the American invasion of Iraq on March 2003 against the Baath Party of Saddam Hussein. President Bush declared the beginning of the war on March 20, 2003, after the Banner Mission. The Iraqi army was defeated and Saddam Hussein was executed. The United States of America set a newly established government but turmoil and aggression started to rise between the U.S. military and the new government.

The Iraq war was classified after the war of Afghanistan, both of them are featured by the Bush Doctrine of "Preventive War," it is also known as "The New American Empire." Bush declared Iraq war after the attacks of September 11, 2001 as a part of the Global war on terrorism.¹ The American administration regarded Iran, North Korea, and Iraq as being "The Axis of Evil." Vice president Chenny claimed Saddam Hussein possessed the alleged

¹ Youssef Bassil, "The 2003 Iraq War: Operations, Causes, and Consequences," *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science* (JHSS), Vol. 4, No. 5 (2012), pp. 29– 47; p. 29.

weapons of Mass Destruction to occupy the Middle East and to exploit oil. These factors led the U.S.A to react against Iraq.

The average of turmoil inside Iraq rose after the US invasion of Iraq, a lot of dangers were created by Iraq's sectarian and ethnic factions. Violence is now the most visible indication of a nation in crisis.

We attempt to offer in this dissertation a close qualitative study of Iraq case after the American invasion 2003. This dissertation is going to show the American pretexts and hidden imperial plots that led to the invasion of Iraq. Besides, we shall examine how Iraq war became a supreme crime. We shall discuss the wide destruction of Iraq on different levels and its balkanization into different groups still tearing each other apart until now. We shall see how Iraq became a ground for terrorism.

The main motive behind our choice of working on the American invasion of Iraq is to present the different aspects of Vietnamization and Balkanization of Iraq which is regarded as the most important event in our era.

In this study, we are concerned with why was Iraq war considered as a part of the Bush administration's hidden global agenda to attain American hegemony? Why did the United States of America invade Iraq in 2003? How did this war destruct and Balkanise Iraq? How this balkanization is going on nowadays? How do those different groups deal with each other? How are they tearing and fighting each other? How can we consider the Iraq war as worse war that led to more crimes against Iraqi civilians? How can we consider Iraq as a nation destroyed by American contempt?

From the outbreak of Iraq war till now many authors wrote about this crisis, addressing different aspects and issues concerning this war. For example, Lawrence F. Kaplan and

William Kristol in their book *The War Over Iraq* (2003) argue that no one could have predicted that Iraq would be the first test-case of the post-Cold War era, just as no one could have predicted that Berlin would be the first battlefield of the Cold War. Indeed, the test could just as easily have come elsewhere—in North Korea, the Taiwan Strait or the Golan Heights. But history has conspired to locate the first serious challenge of the twenty-first century in Iraq. The failure to defeat Saddam was a defining moment for the presidencies of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton.

In *The Secret History of The Iraq War* (2004), Yossef Bodansky attempts to suggest the singular importance of the current phase of this ongoing war on terrorism, addressing issues beyond the confines of the Iraqi battlefield. Relying on unique primary source material, he tries to articulate how and why the Arab and Muslim world has embarked on its fateful confrontation with the U.S.-led West over the ultimate fate of Baghdad.

Furthermore, Paul Rogers in his book *A War Too Far* (2006) discusses that in March 2003, the United States and its coalition partners commenced a large-scale military assault on Iraq in order to terminate the Saddam Hussein regime. This followed the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington, the subsequent termination of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the start of the global war on terror. The Iraq War was said to be concerned with Iraq's development and deployment of weapons of mass destruction, but that was disregarded after such systems could not be found and a second motivation, Iraq's support for al-Qaida and other paramilitary groups, was emphasized, even though there was little evidence of any such relationship.

Daniel Lieberfeld in his article *Theories of conflict and the Iraq war* (2005) examines the U.S. decision to invade Iraq from a range of analytic perspectives—realism, liberalism, elite

interests, ideological influences, and personal and social psychology—in order to better understand the causes of the invasion decision and implications of the particular case study for general theories of war causes. The analysis distinguishes among different types of causal influences and traces links among the various analytic perspectives.

The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace (2008) is another book tackles the Iraq war in other aspect, in which Ali A. Allawi tries to achieve, and none have been written from the perspective of an Iraqi insider. He tries to provide readers with an objective and dispassionate narrative that can help them understand the forces that led to the calamitous situation in Iraq. The situation in Iraq is complex, dangerous and fraught with poor alternatives. But it is not hopeless. An informed public would not tolerate the half truths, platitudes and outright deceptions that have characterized the official line on the country.

We shall thus structure this work as follows: **Chapter One: Iraq and the War on Terror, Chapter Two: The Descent of Iraq into Hell** and **Chapter Three: Post-Saddam Iraq: The Cauldron of Sectarian Turmoil and Violence.**

CHAPTER ONE: IRAQ AND THE WAR ON TERROR

This chapter shall look at the Iraq's deterioration before Second Gulf War, pretexts and the hidden imperial plots behind the invasion. This section will focus on US hegemony and her adoption of the idea of liberation and the promotion of democracy, and US offer for disarming Iraq from Weapons of Mass Destruction.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DESCENT OF IRAQ INTO HELL

This chapter will show how Iraq became the worst place on earth witnessing the worst crimes, starting from abusing human rights (concerning women, children, and the case of Abu Ghrib) to the destruction of cultural heritage as the main consequences of the invasion of Iraq.

CHAPTER THREE: POST-SADDAM IRAQ: THE CAULDRON OF SECTARIAN TURMOIL AND VIOLENCE

We shall discuss in this chapter the Balkanization of Iraq as it is among the main consequences of this war. Iraq became a fertile ground for jihadism, Al-Qaeda, and the horrors of suicide bombing. Furthermore, sectarian division and sectarian violence emerged after this war which created terrible fighting between the different groups such as the Shi'a and Sunni, they are still tearing each other till now which weaken Iraq nowadays and made it among the worst places over the world during 21th century.

The approach that seems appropriate for this research work is a Qualitative method. The primary aim of Qualitative approach is to provide a complete, detailed description of underlying reasons, opinions, events, and the results of Iraq war.

CHAPTER ONE: IRAQ AND THE WAR ON TERROR

The Iraq coalition war that started on March 20, 2003 led by the United States intended to withdraw Saddam's regime and establish a new government. The Americans invaded Iraq on a belief that they had a duty to reorder the world, to promote democracy, peace, human rights, and to put an end to the human's suffering. In fact, the invasion led to great upheavals in the country. There is a consensus that the real goal behind the invasion was to achieve some imperial goals, America used some pretexts to convince its people and public opinion that this war for promoting peace.

Therefore, in this chapter, we will discuss how Iraq was deteriorated before the Second Gulf War, then we will tackle various pretexts that used by USA to achieve its hidden imperial plots.

1. Iraq's Deterioration before Second Gulf War

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion of Kuwait in early August 1990. Arab powers such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt were warned by these events and asked for help from The United States and other Western nations. UN Security Council considered Iraqi regime not only a regional but also an international threat when it invaded Kuwait.

By mid-January 1991, Hussein rejected United Nations Security Council demands to withdraw from Kuwait. Operation Desert Storm began with a massive U.S-led air raid. U.S. president George H. W. Bush announced a cease-fire on February 28, most Iraqi forces in Kuwait had flee. Iraqi troops were then forcefully withdrawn by the Allied Forces, and as a condition of surrender, Iraq agreed to rid itself of all lethal weapons by totally rendering them

harmless or destroying them. This was then to be enforced by the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 687, which called upon Iraq to fully disarm.²

On August 6, 1990 the UN passed resolution 661, levying economic sanctions against Iraq in order to compel it to leave Kuwait. Resolution 661 was also issued to ban all trade with Iraq, including an oil and arms embargo, and curtailment of international flights and financial transactions.³ It also froze Iraqi government assets abroad.

In order to comply with the UN sanction requirements, President Bush ordered all economic transactions with Iraq by U.S. citizens and organizations to be prohibited. By 1991, U.S. authorities promptly ended all trade between Iraq and U.S. corporations or citizens.⁴ The UN sanctions were originally designed to force Iraqi troops withdrawal from Kuwait. However, these sanctions were maintained after the end of the Gulf War to assure Iraqi disarmament and compliance with all relevant UN resolutions.

In fact, the economic sanctions hurt the average Iraqi citizens more than it hurts the Iraqi regime. So great were Iraq's humanitarian problems that the United States and the United Nations quickly recognized that allowance had to be made so that the Iraqi people would not starve and to exempt food from the embargo, ease restrictions on essential civilian needs, and unfreeze many of Iraq's foreign assets for the purchase of food and medicine.⁵

On August 16 and September 19, 1991, the Security Council adopted Resolutions 706 and 712. It approved the oil-for-food program, and permitted Iraq to sell up to 1.6 billion dollars worth of crude and oil products over six months. The "oil-for-food" program reflects a

² "Persian Gulf War," *History*, <http://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war>, Accessed on 05.02.2017.

³ Nathaniel Hurd, "U.S. Diplomatic and Commercial Relationships with Iraq, 1980- August 2, 1990," *Voices in the Wilderness* 15 July, 2000. <http://www.casi.org.uk/info/usdocs/usiraq80s90s.html>, Accessed on 07.02.2017.

⁴ Kenneth Katzman, "Iraq: Compliance, Sanctions, and U.S. Policy," *Congressional Research Service* 29 May 2001, pp.01-14.

⁵ *Ibid.*

longstanding U.N. Security Council effort to alleviate human suffering in Iraq while pressing Iraq to comply with all relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions.⁶

Saddam, however, refused to implement the oil-for-food program until 1996. He rejected the amount of oil allowed by the United Nation for Iraq to sell oil in order to buy food. He also feared that the administration of the program would threaten his authority and weaken his control over the political situation in Iraq and his regime's overall security. Thirty percent reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission. Pollack, a noted former CIA intelligence analyst and expert on Middle East politics and military affairs, explains that on April 14, 1995, the Security Council passed Resolution 986. It adopted new formula for oil-for-food that allowed Iraq to export two billion dollars worth of crude every 180 days under UN supervision.⁷ The resolution gave Baghdad primary responsibility for distribution of humanitarian supplies.

Hiro, a British Pakistani author, journalist, and commentator, adds that a year later, Iraq declared that it was now ready to implement the oil-for food deal and therefore would be increasing the monthly food ration by thirty five percent. The human toll imposed by the U.N. economic sanctions was real. Real suffering, real hunger, and real death were taking place, reaching gigantic proportions. The only recourse available to Iraq was to accept the Security Council resolution, which authorized Iraq to sell oil to finance the purchase of food, medicine, and other humanitarian goods as well as pay off war reparations and fund the work of UNSCOM.⁸

⁶ Kenneth Katzman, "Iraq: Compliance, Sanctions, and U.S. Policy," *Congressional Research Service* 29 May 2001, pp. 01-14.

⁷ Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* (New York: Random House, 2002), pp.27-28.

⁸ Dilip Hiro, *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/ National Boos, 2002), p.141.

2. The Pretexts behind the Invasion

US administration provided before, during and after the fall of former regime in Baghdad on 2003 a number of justifications to convince the American public and the world of the legitimacy of the war. These justifications can be summarized as follows.

2.1. The Doctrine of Good Intentions

The countries that use the doctrine of good intentions present their enemies as wicked ones, they use it as a system to justify their invasion to other countries. That was how Saddam Hussein was presented as threat to U.S. survival, being held accountable for the 9/11 attacks and ready to attack again. That the U.S. has planned to establish democracies in Iraq and Afghanistan.⁹ Kishore Mahbubani, president of the U.N. Security Council (2001-2002), said that “Americans are full of good intentions, they are incapable of occupying other countries. America should get out of this business completely.”¹⁰

The U.S. good intentions states that Americans are not evil people, they conquer countries to help people not to rape and plunder. Setting stability and functioning Iraqi democracy was the primary goal of President George W. Bush’s administration. All these features make America as an exceptional and idealistic nation over the world.¹¹ Obama said it well: “Just because we have the best hammer, does not mean that every problem is a nail.”¹² By contrast, America destroyed both Saddam’s army and his Ba’ath party at the beginning, that way denouncing the occupation to failure, regarding U.S. foreign policy and goes on to compare the invasion of Iraq with the Vietnam war, both of which are said to have been mistakes

⁹ Noam Chomsky, “Doctrine of Good Intentions,” *Khaleej Times* 3 September , 2005. <http://www.voltairenet.org/article128282.html>, Accessed on 11.02.2017.

¹⁰ Kishore Mahbubani, “America Broke Iraq: Three Lessons for Washington,” *The National Interest* 1 July, 2014. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/america-broke-iraq-three-lessons-washington-10785>, Accessed on 11.02.2017.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

undertaken with the best of intentions.¹³ These mistakes led U.S.A to get away with major war crimes. The United States of America made bad consequences by its good intentions, it used the idea of good intentions to invade Iraq.

2.2.Preventive War

Homeland defense and missile defense are part of stronger security, and they're essential priorities for America. Yet the war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action. And this nation will act.

George W. Bush, quoted in Thomas Lai, "American Foreign Policy: The Bush Doctrine and Preventive War," *LIU CW Post*, pp. 01-18; p. 01.

A preventive war or preventative war is a war initiated to prevent another party from acquiring a capability for attacking. The power being attacked has either a latent threat capability or has shown through its posturing that it intends to follow suit with a future attack. Preventive war aims to forestall a shift in the balance of power by strategically attacking before the balance of power has a chance to shift in the direction of the adversary. Preventive war is distinct from preemptive war, which is first strike when an attack is imminent. International law distinguishes between preemptive war, which is legal, and preventive war, which is not.¹⁴

The Iraq war is the second after the war of Afghanistan which is characterised by the Bush doctrine of "preventive war" and about what some call the "new American empire." Moreover, this war is involved in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) that George W.

¹³ Kishore Mahbubani, "America Broke Iraq: Three Lessons for Washington," *The National Interest* 1 July, 2014. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/america-broke-iraq-three-lessons-washington-10785>, Accessed on 11.02.2017.

¹⁴ Robert J Delahunty and John Yoo, "The Bush Doctrine: Can Preventive War be Justified," *Berkeley Law Scholarship Repository*, Vol.32, No.3 (2009), pp.844-865.

Bush declared in response to the attacks of September 11, 2001. The doctrine of preemption gained renewed reputation following the U.S. invasion of Iraq, Bush administration claimed for the necessity to intervene to prevent Saddam Hussein from deploying weapons of mass destruction.¹⁵ The 2003 invasion of Iraq was claimed as a preemptive war by the Bush administration. Supporters of the war have argued that it was justified, as Iraq harboured Islamic terrorist groups that share a common hatred of Western countries, but this justification used as a pretext to enter Iraq.

In support of an attack on Iraq, U.S. President George W. Bush stated in an address to the United Nations on September 12, 2002, "the Iraqi regime is a grave and gathering danger."¹⁶ He added in an introduction to the "National Security Strategy of the United States," published in September 2002, that the United States will act against "emerging threats before they are fully formed." The problem with the National Security Strategy was set in order to justify stretching the definition of preemption to include preventive war against non-imminent threats, the administration needed to be right about the dangers facing the U.S. The administration then associated the threat of nuclear terrorism with the rogue state/proliferation problem. They then applied the preventive war remedy to the lesser of the two dangers.¹⁷

Despite the Bush Administration's successes against al Qaeda,¹⁸ a so-called preventive war undertaken to protect American or allied civilian populations from an emerging threat that weapons of mass destruction might be used against them, this was just a claim and stratagem. Preventive war was just a title that was given by America to justify its crimes in Iraq and why

¹⁵ Christopher Cerf and Micah L. Sifry, eds, *The Iraq War Reader: History, Documents, Opinions* (New York: Touchstone, 2003), p. 736.

¹⁶ "President's Remarks at the United Nations General Assembly," *The White House* 12 September, 2002. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020912-1.html>, Accessed on 13.02.2017.

¹⁷ "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," *The White House* 17 September 2002, pp. 01-31; pp. 13-16.

¹⁸ David Simonds, "The Growing, and Mysterious, Irrelevance of Al-Qaeda," *The Economist* 22 January, 2009. <http://www.economist.com/node/12972613>, Accessed on 22.02.2017.

not will be used to justify the U.S. attack on its targets in the future. It is like forest' law; if you do not devour, you will be devoured.

After the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration reacted and set new policies to protect themselves from the threat, it created new agency, the Department of Homeland Security and pushed **The Patriot Act** through Congress. Second, it invaded Afghanistan and deposed of the Taliban Regime there that had sheltered Al-Qaeda. Third, it announced a new strategic doctrine of preemptive action, more specifically preventive war, which would take the fight to the enemy rather than relying on deterrence and containment. Fourth, it invaded and deposed of the regime of Saddam Hussein due to the belief that he had or was planning to acquire WMDs.¹⁹

The United States has strong influence over the world continued by a false faith, a mythical exceptionalist belief in the principles of liberty, and the value of a free society as Bush states:

Our nation's cause has always been larger than our nation's defense. We fight, as we always fight, for just peace_ a peace that favors liberty. We will defend the peace against the threat from terrorists and tyrants. We will preserve the peace by building good relations among the great powers. And we will extend the peace by encouraging free and open societies on every continent.²⁰

America used its mythical principles of liberty and peace to mislead its people and the western countries about its illegal use of military power to destroy the Iraqi army, Iraq' infrastructure and depose Saddam Hussien. Then, it intended to rebuild a new government under U.S. control to serve the American interest in the Middle East and of course to serve

¹⁹ Thomas Lai, "American Foreign Policy: The Bush Doctrine and Preventive War," *LIU CW Post*, pp. 01-18; p. 03.

²⁰ "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," *The White House* 17 September 2002, pp, 01-31; p 01.

Israel's plan which is working on spreading its power over the Arabic and Islamic world then make Israel the leader in this region.

2.3.The Idea of Liberation and the Promotion of Democracy

Democracy promotion is among the abundant supply commodities in US foreign policy lexicon and among US presidents' vocabulary. From its inception, the Founding Fathers held the idea that America is an exceptional country, which based on this ideal that humans have inalienable rights. This notion was an internal boon for the founding fathers in order to solidify the rule of democracy. United States has had a greater impact on global democratization, for better or for worse, than any other country during the past century.²¹

Linking between Saddam and Al-Qaeda and Saddam's possession of weapons of mass destruction were used to justify the Bush's invasion of Iraq at the beginning, but after that Bush justified occupation of Iraq by the name of promoting democracy after failing to prove weapons of mass destruction and Saddam-Al-Qaeda ties.²² Therefore, democracy promotion became the tertiary goal for occupation of Iraq.

The best way to promote democracy is done indirectly through trade, investment, and foreign aid but imposing democracy in Iraq made the sense of democracy meaningless. Constructing of a new democratic government in Iraq is one of the political objectives that will serve U.S. interests and eliminate the threat to sever all Islamic regimes neighboring Iraq. The emergence of terrorist threats, which were expressed with the attacks on the World Trade Center, and the outbreak of the war against terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan, it has allowed the Bush administration to become a bulwark against terrorism in the eyes of millions of the Americans. The suppression of an anti-Israel is also a factor to consider, as Saddam Hussein's

²¹ Thomas Carothers, *US Democracy Promotion under Obama: Revitalization or Retreat?*(Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012), p. 05.

²² Mohammad A. Mousavi and Heydari "The Nature of US Democracy Promotion Policy: Reality versus Illusion The case of Iraq," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 1.20 (December 2011), pp.110–121; p, 110.

regime was considered anti- Israel that supports all attempts to the destruction of Israel. Stopping the persistence of Iraq was a must for stabilizing the neighboring political environment.²³

President George W. Bush himself declared, “All Iraqis must have a voice in the new government, and all citizens must have their rights protected.”²⁴ As members of a prosperous democratic society, U.S. citizens innately believe that democracy would be good for Iraqis too. The most optimistic have even offered a vision of a future Iraq as a “City on the Hill” for the Arab world that would inspire democracy throughout the Middle East and beyond.²⁵

All the problems of the Middle East would be solved by building democracy in Iraq after the U.S.-led war to depose Saddam. Iraq is hardly ideal soil for growing democracy, but it is not as infertile as other places where democracy has taken root. Iraq’s people are literate, and the country’s potential wealth is considerable. Creating democracy in Iraq would not be quick, easy, or certain, but it should not be impossible either.²⁶ All that were just claims and arguments that were given by America to strength its position in attacking Iraq, America did not and does not think of applying democracy in Iraq, because the application of democracy in Iraq will produce an Iraqi national system rejects the US presence and thus puts US interests in Iraq in danger. Therefore, promotion of democracy in Iraq was just a deception.

2.4. Weapon of Mass Destruction

Britain forces bunched with the United States of America to invade Iraq in March 2003. The potential target was to rid Saddam Hussein of his weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and to stop the relationship between rogue states and the forces of international terrorism. The

²³ Youssef Bassil, “The 2003 Iraq War: Operations, Causes, and Consequences,” *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (JHSS)* 4.5 (Nov. - Dec. 2012), pp. 29–47; pp. 30–31.

²⁴ “George Bush's speech to the American Enterprise Institute,” *the guardian* 27 February, 2003. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/feb/27/usa.iraq2>, Accessed on 24.02.2017.

²⁵ James Fallows, “The Fifty-First State?” *Atlantic* November 2002 , pp. 53–64. www.theatlantic.com/issues/2002/11/fallows.htm, Accessed on 23.02.2017.

²⁶ Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, “Democracy in Iraq?” *The Washington Quarterly* 2003, pp. 119-136 ; p. 120.

events of 9/11 were used by the Bush' administration as pretext to attack Iraq and change Saddam Hussein' regime. Americans considered the development of WMD by Iraq to be a serious danger.²⁷

The Iraq's WMD program was obscure during 1990, but the use of Saddam Hussein' The chemical and biological weapons during the Iran-Iraq war revealed to the world Saddam's ability to use weapons of mass destruction against military and civilian targets. Two factors led the United States to insist that the elimination of WMD be a part of the cease-fire agreement following the Gulf War. First, Saddam Hussein had recently reiterated his commitment to his WMD program, mentioning Israel as a potential target. Saddam spoke to his military commanders and announced that Iraq's had developed new chemical weapons. Second, during the Gulf War itself Iraq targeted Israel with SCUD missiles. Though none were armed with chemical or biological warheads, Iraq's ability to launch medium range ballistic missiles and hit Israel was now clear.²⁸ The claim that Iraq had massive stockpiles of chemical and biological agents, nothing has been found, despite searches at hundreds of sites targeted before the war by US intelligence reports.

President Bush repeatedly affirmed that Iraq was an imminent danger to his country. His critics claim that he played upon the fear of the U.S. people.²⁹ Vice President Cheney affirmed on March 16, 2003, on the eve of the war, that the strongest reason for going to war was that "we believe [Hussein] has, in fact, reconstituted nuclear weapons."³⁰ His affirmation contradicted all the evidence. Just two weeks earlier the International Atomic Energy Agency

²⁷ Steven Kettell, *Dirty Politics ? : New Labour, British Democracy And The Invasion Of Iraq* (London and New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2006), pp. 01-54.

²⁸ Avigdor Haselkorn, *The Continuing Storm: Iraq, Poison Weapons and Deterrence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 01-18.

²⁹ "Meet the Press," *NBC* 14 September, 2003.

http://www.nbcnews.com/id/3080244/ns/meet_the_press/t/transcript-sept/#.WLwTp_k97IU, Accessed on 14.02.2017.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

had reported, “There was no indication of resumed nuclear activities.”³¹ Six months later, after the war had already been “justified” and executed, Cheney was questioned on the Meet the Press television program about his statement affirming that Hussein had possessed nuclear weapons on the eve of the war. He simply replied, “I misspoke.”³²

If there were doubts about Hussein’s possession of weapons of mass destruction, surely after the coalition troops took control of Iraq the truth would come to the surface. High officials of the Bush administration had repeatedly affirmed that they knew where the weapons were. Powell, an American statesman and a retired four-star general in the United States Army, had shown the United Nations pictures of the buildings and mobile units where weapon production was supposedly taking place. Donald Rumsfeld, defense Secretary, constantly repeated that he knew where the weapons were located. Just two weeks into the war he affirmed, “We know where they are. They are in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south and north somewhat.”³³

As months went by, no weapons of mass destruction were found. After two months, administration spokespersons argued that more time was needed. “Come back in six months, if we haven’t found the weapons by then, there will be a credibility problem.”³⁴ Six months came and went no weapons of mass destruction were found. More than a year later, there is

³¹ “Meet the Press,” *NBC* 14 September, 2003.
http://www.nbcnews.com/id/3080244/ns/meet_the_press/t/transcript-sept/#.WLwTp_k97IU, Accessed on 14.02.2017.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ “This Week with George Stephanopoulos,” *ABC* 30 March, 2003.
<http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/texttrans/2003/03/20030330202613attocnich0.3604242.html#axzz4aSUIG5Yy>, Accessed on 22.02.2017.

³⁴ Richard W. Stevenson, “Iraq Illicit Arms Gone before War, Departing Inspector States,” *New York Times* 24 January, 2004. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/24/world/iraq-illicit-arms-gone-before-war-inspector-states.html>, Accessed on 27.02.2017.

still a serious credibility problem.³⁵ Since the war began, however, every element of the Bush administration campaign on weapons of mass destruction has been shown to be false.

However, the events of September 11, 2001 served to bring the absence of weapons inspectors in Iraq into sharp relief. In his State of the Union address in January 2002, President Bush described Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as constituting an axis of evil. In a June-2002 speech, President Bush said that America must oppose [WMD] proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror and confront the worst threats before they emerge as each case requires. In addressing the UN General Assembly on September 12, 2002, President Bush stated that their greatest fear is that terrorists will find a shortcut to their mad ambitions when an outlaw regime supplies them with the technologies to kill on a massive scale.³⁶ Weapons of mass destruction in Iraq was Bush's big lie, because George W. Bush was planning to invade Iraq and remove its government well before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. This war was a war of aggression, no WMDs and no connection to Al Qaeda.

3. Hidden Imperial Plots

At the forefront of US strategic goals toward Iraq specifically, the destruction of the elements of power in this great country and elements of his strength lies in: the people of Arabic tradition and different religions for thousands of years. Iraq floats on a lake of oil also the Iraqi ground is penetrated by two great rivers, and its territory includes a variety of planting fertile plains, lakes and mountains. Moreover, Its cohesive national army was able to achieve a strategic balance with his enemies.

³⁵ Richard W. Stevenson, "Iraq Illicit Arms Gone before War, Departing Inspector States," *New York Times* 24 January, 2004. <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/01/24/world/iraq-illicit-arms-gone-before-war-inspector-states.html>, Accessed on 27.02.2017.

³⁶ Steven Kettell, *Dirty Politics ? : New Labour, British Democracy And The Invasion Of Iraq* (London and New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2006), p. 57.

3.1. Saddam for Oil

I am saddened that it is politically inconvenient to acknowledge what everyone knows: the Iraq war is largely about oil.

Alan Greenspan, quoted in Antonia Juhasz, "Why the war in Iraq was fought for Big Oil," *CNN* 15 April, 2013.

Iraq is considered as the second largest oil reserves over the world, the oil industry experts report that The Iraq's reserves will raise to more than 200 billion barrels of high-grade crude by new reconnaissance. The four giant companies of the US and the UK have been keen to get back into Iraq. There was a general feeling that the George W. Bush invasion of Iraq was not about the weapon of mass destruction or Saddam Hussein's human rights, indeed, the Iraq attack was all about oil. The Bush administration's primary goal in invading Iraq was to ensure the maintenance of the US dollar as the world's reserve currency, and thereby maintain US global hegemony. Currently, the US dollar is the currency of choice for oil transactions and the value of the dollar as essential to the U.S. economic security.³⁷

The manner of oil's selling was the primary motivation of USA's invasion of Iraq, it was about who gets it, when they get it, how much they get, how much they pay, and, most importantly, how they pay for it. The decline of the dollar lead to the collapse of U.S. economy, the health of U.S. economy depends on the international central focus of the dollar, this affects not only economy, but all other fields. Hillary Clinton insisted that the Iraq had connection to the threat to the dollar.³⁸ As the intuitive connection between oil and the Iraq war has been quite widespread.

Western oil companies are only getting started since Operation Iraqi Freedom bombed Baghdad. Firstly, Iraq's domestic oil industry was closed to Western oil companies, but after

³⁷ David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 80-81.

³⁸ Bart Gruzalski, "The USA Attacked Iraq Because Saddam had W\$D," *Counter Punch* 22 March, 2013. <http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/03/22/the-usa-attacked-iraq-because-saddam-had-wd/>, Accessed on 13.02.2017.

the invasion, foreign firms dominate it. As the West's largest oil companies have been located in Iraq such: ExxonMobil, Chevron, BP, and Shell to manage American oil companies. Oil was not the only goal of the Iraq War, but it was certainly the central one, as Gen. John Abizaid, former head of U.S. Central Command and Military Operations in Iraq, stated: "Of course it's about oil; we can't really deny that."³⁹

The function of the western oil companies shifted from administrators of Iraq's oil ministry to "advisers" to the Iraqi government. Saddam Hussein and the nation's legal system were two major obstacles that faces Western oil companies operating in Iraq. The Bush administration decided to solve this problem by changing Iraq's oil laws through the U.S.-led coalition government of Iraq.⁴⁰

America wanted to remove Saddam from his regime to get the Iraq's oil, oil has become an essential element of the global economic hegemony of the US dollar and its financial sector, and this hegemony is crucial to maintaining economic strength and stability.

3.2. US Hegemony

The United States of America emerged as economic, political, technological, and military dominant power after the second world war, as the American hegemony spread over the world. It established the greatest naval in order to protect its infrastructure, its housing stock or its demographic profile, also to get back the military's reputation that was degraded in Vietnam. The defeat of Soviet Union by the United States of America in 1991, the American hegemony reached its peak. The attacks of September 11, 2001, signaled the emergence of a

³⁹ Bart Gruzalski, "The USA Attacked Iraq Because Saddam had W\$D," *Counter Punch* 22 March, 2013. <http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/03/22/the-usa-attacked-iraq-because-saddam-had-wd/>, Accessed on 13.02.2017.

⁴⁰ Antonia Juhasz, "Why the war in Iraq was fought for Big Oil," *CNN* 15 April, 2013. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/19/opinion/iraq-war-oil-juhasz/>, Accessed on 23.02.2017.

new kind of threat to global stability but these attacks were the very moment that sought to restore lasting American hegemony.⁴¹

These events were used as another lie to strength the U.S position toward the Iraq' occupation and to justify the war crimes in front of international laws. From the war on terror to the wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq, the US has utilized its military capabilities in which America became the center of international attention. As the peak of U.S influence in the Middle East was reached in the wake of the first US war on Iraq, The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War as different elements of a strategy to build an American empire.⁴²

Since Vietnam war was considered the cause of the American hegemony's decline this led to build a "New American Century" project in a world without any Soviet threat. The US under Bush asserted its global hegemony through the invasion of Iraq, as the Bush doctrine and the 2002 National Security Strategy, formulated in response to the 9/11 attacks, by "preventive war" instead of traditional containment.⁴³ The Bush administration had great greed to get control through war over the energy resources in the Middle East.

3.3. Making "Dough" from Reconstruction

After the invasion of Iraq and 12 years of the sanctions that were imposed by United Nations, the Iraq's infrastructure was destroyed such as schools and hospitals that needed to be rebuilt, besides to establishing roads and bridges for restoring water supplies, sanitation and electrical systems. Moreover, restoring oil production and technology because they were

⁴¹ Salvatore Babones, "American Hegemony is here to Stay," *The national interest* 11 June, 2015. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/american-hegemony-here-stay-13089>, Accessed on 29.02.2017.

⁴² Stefan Veldhuis, "U.S. Hegemony and the Iraq War," *All Academic Research* 06 January, 2010. http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/3/9/6/5/2/p396529_index.html, Accessed on 05.02.2017.

⁴³ Raymond Hinnebusch, "The American Invasion of Iraq: Causes and Consequences," *Perceptions* (Spring 2007), pp. 09-27; pp. 09-11.

important for Iraq's growth, then the cost of rebuilding Iraq was estimated between \$84 billion and \$500 billion.⁴⁴

Since 2003 the country's electricity, water, sewage and health system infrastructure reached the bottom that was why Iraq did not have its share in the reconstruction. Urban centers such as Fallujah, Ramadi and Najaf was destroyed by the US military operations against the Iraqi resistance, the resistance also destroyed Iraq's oil installations. Most of the money including US 38 billion was used to reform the Iraqi Army and Police instead of civilian reconstruction.⁴⁵

In April 2003, \$2.5 billion was given by the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund (IRRF) for food, medicine, and water. In addition, Congress added \$18.4 billion to the IRRF to help Iraq with general reconstruction needs in November 2003. As of February 2006, it paid \$10.5 of the \$18.4 billion funding projects in the security, economic, and political spheres. 83% of the \$18.4 billion was obligated to projects.⁴⁶ All those reconstructions were just for USA benefit.

The goal of The United States of America invasion of Iraq was about the destruction of the country and the people under the pretexts of bringing democracy and fight terrorism in the region. Many crimes were committed against Iraqis, Iraqi infrastructure was destroyed, and the human rights were violated. All that made Iraq as the worst county over the world.

⁴⁴ "Companies battle to rebuild Iraq," *World Business* 14 January, 2004.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2003/BUSINESS/04/21/iraq.rebuild/>, Accessed on 26.02.2017.

⁴⁵ "Reconstruction of Iraq," *Global Policy Forum*. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/humanitarian-issues-in-iraq/reconstruction-of-iraq.html>, Accessed on 14.02.2017.

⁴⁶ "Rebuilding Iraq: U.S. Achievements Through the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund," *U.S. Department of State* (February 2006). <https://2001-2009.state.gov/p/nea/rls/rpt/60857.htm>, Accessed on 14.02.2017.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DESCENT OF IRAQ INTO HELL

America's illegal aggressive war in Iraq caused terrible crimes against humanity including brutal intimidation forms of murders, torture, starvation, and deprivation of jobs; in addition to the destruction of the largest fortress of mankind's heritage.

Therefore, in this chapter, we will discuss how the United States of America and coalition forces made the Iraqi war as a supreme crime that violated the international laws. Then, we will discuss how America devastated the cultural legacy of Iraq. In short, the chapter is a socio-political accusation of American wrongs in Iraq.

1. Iraq War as a Supreme Crime

What has happened in Iraq is a great sin and a great crime. The invasion and occupation have stained the concepts of democracy, freedom and liberty.

Neil MacKay quoted in Consumers for Peace, "War Crimes Committed by the United States in Iraq and Mechanisms for Accountability," *Association of Humanitarian Lawyers* (October 10, 2006), pp. 01-38; p. 03.

When The United States and the coalition forces began to invade Iraq in 2003 and overthrowing Saddam Hussein, a lot of problems emerged in the country starting with the crimes against humanity and destruction in all fields. The country witnessed the massive amounts of casualties in its history, it was even worse than Vietnam war.

1.1. Humanitarian Crises

America and Britain aimed to create "shock and awe" among Iraqis and to terrify them by the invasion of March 2003. The invading forces caused massive amounts in civilians death,⁴⁷ as 1,2 million citizens were killed, 2,000 doctors killed, and 5,500 academics and intellectuals

⁴⁷ Consumers for Peace, "War Crimes Committed by the United States in Iraq and Mechanisms for Accountability," *Association of Humanitarian Lawyers* (October 10, 2006), pp. 01-38; p. 06.

assassinated or imprisoned. Also, there was a shortage of clean water, high corruption and people live in poverty and unemployment.⁴⁸ Moreover, Iraq's urban areas were bombed and the basic infrastructure was destroyed by using dangerous weapons and the illegal ones such as: depleted uranium.⁴⁹ UK and US forces used huge quantities of extremely toxic and radioactive uranium in the heart of Iraqi cities that remains active for millions of years.⁵⁰ Many have also shown signs of torture and mutilation; then America and its ally Britain breached the international humanitarian law.

Concerning the Iraqi health system, it used to be the best in the region, but violence of the war made it the worst over the world. Drug usage increased among men and women, especially in the capital, Baghdad. According to doctors' situation, in 2005, 32,000 registered doctors including Sunnis, Shiites and Christians left or were driven from their occupation. Before the war 30,000 physicians were registered in Iraq's main medical union, but in 2007 there were 8,000.⁵¹

Moreover, the deterioration of the health sector in Iraq, 6, 9 million Iraqis need immediate access to essential health services but because the country is facing financial problems, it can not provide a sufficient aids. Iraqis are in a catastrophic situation with medical professionals fleeing the country after their colleagues were killed or kidnapped.⁵² Iraq's medical infrastructure was broken with hospitals and other protected medical facilities were attacked such as attacks on Fallujah's medical infrastructure was followed by attacks on hospitals in

⁴⁸ Lieven De Caute, "A Forgotten Humanitarian Disaster," *Global Policy Forum* March 25, 2009. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/167/35741.html>. Accessed on 02.03.2017.

⁴⁹ Consumers for Peace, "War Crimes Committed by the United States in Iraq and Mechanisms for Accountability," *Association of Humanitarian Lawyers* (October 10, 2006), pp. 01-38; p. 06.

⁵⁰ Christian P. Scherrer, "Invasion of Iraq, the U.N., U.S. Unilateralism and Crimes against Humanity: Perspectives for Accountability," *Association of Humanitarian Lawyers* (October 10, 2006), pp. 01-40; p.01.

⁵¹ Nasir Ahmed Al Samaraie, "Humanitarian Implications of the Wars in Iraq," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 89, No. 868 (December 2007), pp. 929-942; p. 936.

⁵² "Iraq's Neglected Health and Humanitarian Crisis," *The Lancet*, Vol. 385, No.9985 (13 June 2015), p2324. [http://thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(15\)61089-3/fulltext?rss%3Dyes](http://thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(15)61089-3/fulltext?rss%3Dyes), Accessed on 04.03.2017.

Haditha, Al-Qaim, Tall Afar, Ramadi. For instance, these actions led to broad condemnation for U.S. violations. In this case, the UN expert human rights body issued Resolution 2005/ 2: prohibition of military operations directed at medical facilities.⁵³ UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said that the U.S./British invasion of Iraq was illegal under international law.⁵⁴

Concerning with Iraqis' financial situation, the UN Development Program (UNDP) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) counted twenty percent of Iraq's citizens were poor at the end of 2005, two million Iraqis lived on \$1 per day or less and the average person income felled from \$255 in 2003 to \$144 in the first half of 2004. Eleven percent of the poorest households were headed by women, that percentage led to growth of inequalities at that time.⁵⁵

After Iraq invasion the most devastating problems that no one can imagine happened including the most violent acts like the bombing of the Mosque of Samara; this bombing resulted in the appearance of sectarian conflicts, that led to many people flee outside the country. So, violence became the primary driver for population displacement in Iraq.⁵⁶ Iraq experienced several waves of displacement, hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians displaced inside and outside Iraq, about 1.5 million people displaced in the three years following the invasion and 250,000 displaced from the October 2004 siege of Fallujah. The U.S invasion accelerated displacement in Iraq and these movements led to the increase of demand of basic

⁵³ Consumers for Peace, "War Crimes Committed by the United States in Iraq and Mechanisms for Accountability," *Association of Humanitarian Lawyers* (October 10, 2006), pp. 01-38; pp. 11-12.

⁵⁴ Nicolas J. S. Davies, "The Crime of War: From Nuremberg to Fallujah: A Review of Current International Law Regarding Wars of Aggression," *Third World Traveler* (February 2005), http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/International_War_Crimes/Nuremberg_Fallujah.html , Accessed on 06.03.2017.

⁵⁵ Consumers for Peace, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ "Humanitarian action in Iraq: putting the pieces together," *Humanitarian Policy Group* March 2008, pp. 01 07; p. 01.

services,⁵⁷ but The U.S. department did not care about displaced people and tried to stop reaching aids to them, we can describe the Iraq's displacement crisis as massive one.

The second Gulf war was the deadly one, which led to indirect effects including social chaos, displacement, the interruption of food and water supplies, infectious diseases, and inadequate medical care, besides to electricity and health services deterioration.

2. Abusing Human Rights

It was discovered that freedom in this land is not ours. It is the freedom of the occupying soldiers in doing what they like...abusing women, children, men, and the old men and women whom they arrested randomly and without any guilt. No one can ask them what they are doing, because they are protected by their freedom.... No one can punish them, whether in our country or their country. They expressed the freedom of rape, the freedom of nudity and the freedom of humiliation.

Sheik Mohammed Bashir, quoted in Mark Danner, "Abu Ghraib: The Hidden Story," *The New York Review of Books* 07 October, 2007.

Human rights are the rights that are payable to each person to just being as a human being. The concept is based on the recognition of human rights for all members in society that deserve to enjoy certain basic freedoms. The adoption of these rights including: security, safety and the ability to make decisions that govern their lives.

At a time when America set up itself as a guardian of human rights in the world, it is committing many inhumane violations against humans throughout the globe. But America has a long history of violations of the privacy of individuals and states, and this case appeared in the United States and allied forces invasion of Iraq, where the human rights situation in the country became dreadful.

⁵⁷ Consumers for Peace, "War Crimes Committed by the United States in Iraq and Mechanisms for Accountability," *Association of Humanitarian Lawyers* (October 10, 2006), pp. 01-38; p. 13.

2.1. The Case of Abu Ghraib

Abu Ghraib prison was one of the most scandalous prisons in Iraq during the government of Saddam Hussein with persecution and killing under poor conditions, Abu Ghraib became a U.S. military prison.⁵⁸ It witnessed a list of human rights violations against prisoners by the United States Army and the Central Intelligence Agency, these abuses were condemned inside and outside the United States. This prison was used to abuse, torture and execute approximately 7,490 prisoners by the U.S. military in poor conditions.⁵⁹ There were three groups were imprisoned at Abu Ghraib by the U.S. military forces, which included: Common criminals, leaders of the insurgency, and individuals who committed crimes against the the U.S. forces.⁶⁰ Abu Ghraib prison was a place of ill fame under the U.S. occupation and, in this case, the Bush administration activities in Abu Ghraib seriously broke the international humanitarian law.

Abu Ghraib prison was a US Army detention center for captured Iraqis from 2003 to 2006, 1A and 1B were cell blocks inside the prison to abuse the prisoners.⁶¹ Many photos were taken in this prison to reveal how Iraqi detainees were sexually abused, awed with dogs, and savagely restrained.⁶²

In addition to many abuses were taken place there, for instance: hitting, slapping, and jumping on detainees' uncovered feet. Moreover, taking photographs and videos for undressed male and female prisoners, dead Iraqi detainees, and forcing male detainees to masturbate themselves at the moment of photographing. Additionally, photographing the

⁵⁸ Seymour M. Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," *The New York* 10 May, 2004.

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/05/10/torture-at-abu-ghraib>, Accessed on 09.03.2017.

⁵⁹ R. L. Brownlee, "Detainee Operations Inspection," *Department of the Army the Inspector General* (21 July, 2004), pp. 01-101; pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰ Seymour M. Hersh, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ "Iraq Prison Abuse Scandal Fast Facts," *CNN* 05 Mrach, 2017.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/30/world/meast/iraq-prison-abuse-scandal-fast-facts/>, Accessed on 08.03.2017.

⁶² Brian Martin, *Justice Ignited: the Dynamics of Backfire* (Lanham, MD : Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), p. 90.

prisoners in different sexually positions, keeping detainees without clothing for several days, obliging men to wear women's underwear. Furthermore, putting naked detainees on boxes, with sandbags on their heads, and attaching wires to their fingers and toes to simulate electric torture.⁶³ Political detainees who were taken to the jail of Abu Ghraib vanished and only their screams could be heard through the iron bars, and their families did not find anything about them.⁶⁴ The illegal abuses of Iraqi detainees were taken place in detention sites under direct US authority and in detention centers administered by British forces.⁶⁵

All in all, the prison of Abu Ghraib will be a stain in the history of the United States because of the crimes that were committed against Iraqi prisoners. In addition, many photographs revealed how America violated the international human rights law there.

2.2. Women and Children: First Line of Victims

Being a woman in Iraqi society was difficult before the war, but the US invasion made life even worse in Iraq and particularly women situation. Violence against women in Iraq is a serious problem that affects communities across the country, The Baghdad Women's Organization evaluates at least 200 Iraqi women are taken into slavery every year, but the U.S.-based Human Rights show that the number is massive especially when the Iraqi displaced women in neighboring countries such as Syria and Lebanon are also counted. Women suffer from physical, sexual and psychological harm in which daughters of some

⁶³ "Iraq Prison Abuse Scandal Fast Facts," *CNN* 05 March, 2017.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/30/world/meast/iraq-prison-abuse-scandal-fast-facts/>, Accessed on 08.03.2017.

⁶⁴ Jamie Tarabay, "Abu Ghraib Closes, Bitter Memories of Torture Remain," *Al Jazeera America* 16 April, 2016. <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/4/15/abu-ghraib-s-infamousend.html>, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

⁶⁵ "Torture and Prison Abuse in Iraq," *Global Policy Forum*, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/humanitarian-issues-in-iraq/torture-and-prison-abuse-in-iraq.html>, Accessed on 13.03.2017.

families obliged to practice fornication.⁶⁶ Violent crimes against women and girls continues to be a serious problem in Iraq.

Women were the first target in Iraq, and the first who affected by the situation of Iraq, The maternal mortality ratio among women in Iraq increased by sixty five percent since 2003. Hundreds of thousands of women had to live enormous bad social consequences from missing their relatives as their children or husbands to prisoners of war. Furthermore, women presented half of displaced refugees. Women were the first target of violence, threats, risk of torture and sexual abuse from armed groups, this led to the increase of sexual violence and rape rate after 2003, and two thousand of Iraqi women were kidnapped since 2003 as well. Besides, the environment of fear and violence affected Iraqi women, who were unable to study and learn, work or even make their political decision. What's more, women political leaders avoided to appear because of the attacks on them.⁶⁷

'No Place to Turn: Violence against Women in the Iraq Conflict' is a report documented the violence that was used against women during the war, it reported that nearly 14,000 died since 2003. In addition to, bombings, shelling and air attacks on civilian areas that killed huge number of Iraqi women.⁶⁸ Because of the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, many Iraqi women were kidnapped, killed, raped, and even sold to foreign countries for sexual matter, an unidentified Iraqi woman said:

Kidnapping and raping women has become so widespread that every woman worries that she may become the next victim. Very few women are seen on the streets. It was not

⁶⁶ Rachele Klinger, "Iraqi Women Forced into Sexual Slavery," *Global Policy Forum* 2 December, 2009. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/humanitarian-issues-in-iraq/iraqs-humanitarian-crisis/48513.html>, Accessed on 04.03.2017.

⁶⁷ Nasir Ahmed Al Samaraie, "Humanitarian Implications of the Wars in Iraq," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 89, No. 868 (December 2007), pp. 929–942; p. 937.

⁶⁸ Minority Rights Group, "No Place to Turn: Violence against Women in the Iraq Conflict [EN/AR]," *Relief Web* 16 Feb, 2015. <http://reliefweb.int/report/iraq/no-place-turn-violence-against-women-iraq-conflict-enar-0>, Accessed on 06.03.2017.

like that before the war, no! Many are frightened to step out of their home.⁶⁹

Sexual abuses were major problem that faced Iraqi women, ‘No Place to Turn: Violence against women in the Iraq conflict’ study noted that several Iraqi women were sold to illegal markets in Yemen, Syria, Jordan and the Gulf States as sex workers, and they usually released that they were deceived by false promises. Furthermore, female detainees were abused by U.S. guards in different prisons such as: Abu Ghraib and Al-Kadhimiya.⁷⁰

In the matter of Iraqi children situation, Red Cross states that the war resulted five million orphans, many of them are houseless. Also, a third of Iraq's children suffer from starvation, and Iraqi girls are uneducated.⁷¹ Thirty percent of Iraqi children under five are affected by diarrhea, measles, respiratory infections, malaria, undernutrition, tuberculosis and cholera, which increased the children mortality. As well as, one in ten Iraqi children suffers from a chronic disease.⁷² Additionally, UNICEF report in 2006 noted that one-third of children without regular access to sufficient food and this led to malnourishment.⁷³ Additionally, there were two million displaced children between 2003 and 2013. Children are now even trafficked to be used as suicide bombers.

Again, the use of toxic materials during the 2003 Iraq War put the life and health of children at danger, these materials caused epidemic of congenital birth defects in Iraq cities.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ “Violence against Women in Iraq under US Occupation,” *Global Research* 17 March, 2006. <http://www.globalresearch.ca/violence-against-women-in-iraq-under-us-occupation/2118>, Accessed on 05.03.2017.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Lieven De Cauter, “A Forgotten Humanitarian Disaster,” *Global Policy Forum* 25 March, 2009. <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/167/35741.html>, Accessed on 05.03.2017.

⁷² Nasir Ahmed Al Samaraie, “Humanitarian implications of the wars in Iraq,” *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 89, No. 868 (December 2007), pp. 929–942; p. 935.

⁷³ Consumers for Peace, *op. cit.*, p.13.

⁷⁴ Human Rights Now (HRN), “Iraq: Grave Human Rights Violations during the War and Occupation in Iraq,” *UN Human Rights Council* (25 February - 22 March ,2013), pp.01-03; p. 01.

Indeed, children mortality is increasing after March 2003, but no one know their stories and their misery.⁷⁵ As Chris Floyd described:

Line up the bodies of the children, the thousands of children — the infants, the toddlers, the schoolkids — whose bodies were torn to pieces, burned alive or riddled with bullets during the American invasion and occupation of Iraq. Line them up in the desert sand, walk past them, mile after mile, all those twisted corpses, those scraps of torn flesh and seeping viscera, those blank faces, those staring eyes fixed forever on nothingness. This is the reality of what happened in Iraq; there is no other reality.⁷⁶

Some of the issues are facing Iraq's 15 million children now including: each year, around 35,000 children die at early ages; over 1.5 million children under the age of five die because of starvation; 2 million children dropping out of school; safe water is available for 2.5 million children; child labor exists from the age 5 to 14 and their number is estimated to 800.000.⁷⁷

Furthermore, the Iraqi educational system was affected and declined after the international sanctions and total ban that imposed on Iraq, also the educational institutions witnessed quick decline and disability to serve basic requirements.⁷⁸ What is more, the Iraqi Ministry of Education announced that only thirty percent of the 3.5 million children of school were attending classes.

As of now, less than one third of all Iraqi children get safe water. Moreover, less than seventy five percent go to schools. Thousands of children are circling around the rubbish trying to collect subsistence, in addition to thousands are begging or stealing for the same purpose. What is more, many Iraqi children in main Iraqi cities like Baghdad and Basra are

⁷⁵ Seiji Yamada, Mary C. Smith Fawzi, Gregory G. Maskarinec, and Paul E. Farmer, "Casualties: Narrative and Images of The War on Iraq," *International Journal of Health Services*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2006), pp. 401–415; p. 405.

⁷⁶ Bie Kentane, "The Children of Iraq: Was the Price Worth it?" *Brussels Tribunal* (10 May , 2012), pp. 01-21; p.01.

⁷⁷ "Iraq," *Child Victims of War*. <http://childvictimsofwar.org.uk/get-informed/iraq/>, Accessed on 11.03.2017.

⁷⁸ Nasir Ahmed Al Samaraie, "Humanitarian implications of the wars in Iraq," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 89, No. 868 (December 2007), pp. 929–942; p. 933.

deprived of their basic rights. These children are affected in their behaviors and psychologies by lack of stability and violence environment in the country.⁷⁹

3. Destruction of Cultural Heritage

One of the gravest casualties of the 10-year US-led war in Iraq is the destruction of the country's cultural heritage.

Ihsan Fathi, quoted in "US Illegally Obtained and Kept Thousands of Iraq's Cultural Treasures," *RT* 9 April, 2013.

Any occupation or any armed conflict endangers the cultural heritage of any community, and harm to such culture heritage exhausts human kind.⁸⁰ Destroying cultural heritage is more than just material damage.

Besides to looting and destroying Iraq's cultural heritage, the illegal business in artifacts in the country is increasing, promoted by wicked people ready to buy precious and adorable objects from the Middle East without carelessly to their source. This trade includes illegal digging, the plundering of museums, libraries, stores and homes. Pieces exported outside are usually broken and disappeared, few ever coming again to where they properly belong.⁸¹

The national library and the national museum were among many cultural foundations with historic cities that were destroyed at the beginning of the war. Some scholars of archeology alarmed about the danger that faced Iraq cultural heritage during and after the war. This war opened the door to looters to plunder Iraq's archeological locations.

⁷⁹ Nasir Ahmed Al Samaraie, "Humanitarian implications of the wars in Iraq," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 89, No. 868 (December 2007), pp. 929-942; p. 938.

⁸⁰ "The Protection of Cultural Heritage in Conflict," *British Institute of International and Comparative Law* (24 April, 2013), pp. 01-13; p. 03.

⁸¹ "Stop Trafficking Cultural Heritage in Iraq and Syria," *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*, <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/awareness-raising-initiatives/help-stop-the-destruction-of-cultural-heritage-in-syria-and-iraq/>, Accessed on 03.03.2017.

The national museum as home to the largest collection of Mesopotamian artifacts with historic buildings was looted.⁸² After Baghdad Museum was stolen, the Iraq manipulated government claimed that the number of thieves rose and the stolen objects rediscovered by the coalition forces. During the fall of the regime, a group of traders annexed the most excellent objects. Coming after, they arranged expansive chaotic diggings in archeological sites, particularly Assyrian and Babylonian. Furthermore, the U.S. army devastated large number of Omiya and Abbasside memorials during crashes against the resistance.⁸³

What is more, Mufid Jazairi, the Minister of Culture of the Iraq Government Provisional Council, stated that they had no information about the nine thousand to ten thousand works of art taken from the Baghdad Museum. As he noted “We are going to find many of the works of art when the security conditions improve.” Additionally, the pillage of the Iraqi works of art was well prepared previously and accomplished in collaboration with the U.S. troops.⁸⁴

Furthermore, Piero Cordone, Italian ambassador and archeologist, tried to stop the chaotic diggings but he neglected the idea when his companion was attacked by U.S. soldiers who killed his translator. The Coalition forces took carefulness destroy historic sites.⁸⁵ Following the American military occupation of Baghdad, there were at least eighty percent of the one hundred and seventy thousand objects were looted at the National Museum of Antiquities.⁸⁶ The plundering of the Iraqi museums is a crime against humanity.

In addition, Saddam Hussein had tried to reconstruct Babylon as a model for his government but the catastrophe to archaeological sites was broad. At the ancient site of

⁸² “Destruction of Cultural Heritage,” *Global Policy Forum*, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/humanitarian-issues-in-iraq/consequences-of-the-war-and-occupation-of-iraq/destruction-of-iraqs-cultural-heritage.html>, Accessed on 15.03.2017.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Patrick Martin, “The Sacking of Iraq’s Museums: US Wages war against Culture and History,” *World Socialist Web Site* 16 April, 2003. <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2003/04/muse-a16.html>, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

Babylon the U.S. army built a base there.⁸⁷ Further, the U.S Air Force established a military base where the city of Eridu had existed for six thousand years, the location where biblical Abraham had lived and this is an enormous shame.⁸⁸ The United States of America waged war not only for controlling the wealth of Iraq, but it was also against Iraq culture and history.

The national library burned twice and quarter of its book collection was burned and plundered including sixty percent of the Ottoman and royal Hashemite documents, government archives, maps and photographs.⁸⁹ The national manuscript library building and the entire library of the university of Baghdad's College of Arts were damaged by fire. Moreover, fire damaged the manuscript collections of the Beit al Hikma, the house of science, also the library of religious endowments. Furthermore, there were some Baghdad's libraries were pillaged such as: the Iraqi academy of sciences library, the al-Mustansiriya university library, and the Baghdad medical college library. Additionally, Basra's university and municipal libraries were singed with the central library of the university of Basra.⁹⁰

Concerning museums, from fourteen thousand to fifteen thousand objects of the national museum like: coins, sculpture, ceramics, metalwork, architectural fragments, cuneiform tablets and most of the museum's collection of valuable Sumerian cylindrical seals, were taken by robbers. Likewise, the Mosul museum was attacked by plunderers and thieves, and they looted many precious objects. What's more, they destructed some most beautiful historic buildings and old city neighborhoods in Iraq.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Susan B. Downey, "The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq," *AJA ONLINE* October, 2010. <https://www.ajaonline.org/book-review/712>, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

⁸⁸ "Destruction of Iraq Cultural Heritage," *Voltaire Network* 24 May, 2004. <http://www.voltairenet.org/article30408.html>, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

⁸⁹ "War and Occupation in Iraq: Destruction of Cultural Heritage," *Global Policy Forum*, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/168/37146.html>, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ "War and Occupation in Iraq: Destruction of Cultural Heritage," *Global Policy Forum*, <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/168/37146.html>, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

As well, in 2005, the minaret of the great mosque of Samarra as the largest mosque in the world was exploded.⁹² The American occupation caused looting and destructing of Iraq cultural heritage from the first weeks of invasion, it destroyed the main ancient sites and cultural institutions in this nation.

America is the enemy of humanity, she violated all international laws. The United States of America destroyed Iraqi government, institutions, burned documents, bankrupted banks and heritage museums in various provinces. All these events made Iraq as a state of chaos, political and sectarian turmoil and it is until now suffering. Iraq is now seen as a society made up of ethnic and sectarian groups, making the idea of "Iraqi identity" in doubt. Under the US occupation, which began in 2003, institutions were developed to manage the transitional period between Saddam Hussein's regime and the formation of a new government. However, attempts to form the state faced many challenges. There has been a struggle over which "group" will have the largest share of power, which sect will be dominant.

⁹² Diane Tucker, "Brutal Destruction of Iraq's Archaeological Sites Continues," *The World Post*, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/diane-tucker/brutal-destruction-of-ira_b_290667.html, Accessed on 12.03.2017.

CHAPTER 3: POST-SADDAM IRAQ: THE CAULDRON OF SECTARIAN TURMOIL AND VIOLENCE

When I interrogated Saddam, he told me: “You are going to fail. You are going to find that it is not so easy to govern Iraq.” When I told him I was curious why he felt that way, he replied: “You are going to fail in Iraq because you do not know the language, the history, and you do not understand the Arab mind.”

Nixon, John . “Saddam Hussein's CIA Interrogator: He should have been Left in Power.” *Time*, Dec 16, 2016.

After the entry of US troops into Iraq to topple the Baath regime, Iraq became biggest arena for breeding terrorism and turned its courtyards and streets to the scene of the terrorist operations that hid all the beautiful signs of life in this country. Besides, the war and its chaotic aftermath triggered a sectarian unraveling that now haunts Iraq and predicts further intervention in the region's conflicts.

All these grand upheavals are caused by the political and security vacuum left by US troops who made thousands of tons of weapons spread among the people. Iraq's borders were and still opened to all groups and terrorist organizations from different nationalities that found their chance to settle scores with the United States. Even the countries of the region played a significant role in bringing terrorism to Iraq by facilitating the entry through their territories; in addition to encouraging sectarian killings, these countries participated directly in financing of terrorism operations in Iraq.

In this chapter we will thus discuss how Al Qaeda have been loosed in Iraq. Moreover, we will deal the emergence of the sectarian conflicts. We will tackle also how the machinery of terrorism was triggered.

1. Unleashing the Plague of Terrorism

Terrorism as an exceptional phenomenon in Iraq, the infrastructure of the Iraqi society has been destroyed, the Iraqis are unable to recover from terrorism because its human and materials capabilities have been reduced. Terrorism has extended widely and significantly over years, and continues in practicing criminal and terrorist crimes that kill innocent Iraqis without distinguishing between religion or sect.

1.1. Iraq: A Fertile Ground for Jihadism

Jihadism refers to fanatic Islamic thought, which demands the use of violence to establish correct Islamic government that is based on sharia and God's law. This movement uses an important concept in Islam which is jihad to justify its violence.⁹³

Al-Tawhid wal-Jihad was a terrorist group that was established in the 1990s by a militant called Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, this organization was established to fight the presence of American and Western military forces in the Islamic world, and to fight the presence of Israel. This group went to Iraq during the American invasion, and after that it came on the scene as al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) in late 2004, and Al-Zarqawi was called "Emir of al-Qaeda in the Country of Two Rivers."⁹⁴ From this point, son of Bin Laden's Mentor Abdullah Azzam, described Iraq as the latest place for jihadism, as he said "Iraq is attracting Islamic militants from across the world determined to join the "holy war" against the US-led occupation."⁹⁵ Indeed, Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad was an aggressive jihadi group that began its system in Iraq in the 1990s and selected stream following the country's occupation in 2003.

⁹³ Jarret M. Brachman, *Global Jihadism : Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.04-05.

⁹⁴ John Pike, "Al-Qaeda in Iraq [AQI]," *Global Security. Org* June 13, 2014.
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/aqi-2.htm>, Accessed on 20.03.2017.

⁹⁵ Robert Spencer, "Iraq New Fertile Ground for Jihad: Son of Bin Laden's Mentor," *Jihad Watch* August 30, 2004. <https://www.jihadwatch.org/2004/08/iraq-new-fertile-ground-for-jihad-son-of-bin-ladens-mentor>, Accessed on 22.03.2017.

There are different reasons that motivate jihadist groups to make Iraq as a new battlefield, including: the downfall of Saddam Hussein government, breaking down of Iraq's army, and the worsening of Iraq's security situation, besides to the appearance of ethnic, tribal, and religious struggles inside the country. Furthermore, rebellions in Iraq gave the opportunity for jihadists to support and strengthen the insurgency, and to spread a new set of ideas about jihadism, including: the insurgency and militant activities against America and Western countries, and this notion was aroused by the Iraq war. As well as, Iraq was seen as a starting point for Muslims to unify their power in order to purify all Islamic grounds from infidels' influence.⁹⁶ The political atmosphere that helped as fertile ground for the development of IS. The internal and territorial clashes over the Sunni spaces will provide the ground for the appearance of a new influx of jihadism.

Following the beginning of Iraq war, the purpose of jihad was reinterpreted by a group of Islamist clerics and scholars. Sheikh Yousef Al-Ayiri, the Saudi scholar and commander of al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia, illustrated in his book *The Future of Iraq and the Peninsula After the Fall of Baghdad* (2003) that the fall of Saddam Hussein regime was a blessing for Islam and Muslims. He argued that the ideology of democracy that came with American defeating of the Ba'ath, as he explained it as a corrupted one, was the most alarming adversary of Islam in the Middle East.⁹⁷ What is more, Al-Ayiri noted in his book:

One of the most wicked aspects of secularism is democracy....which cancels the authority of the Sharia on the society and which is in total conflict with it in form and substance. God Almighty has stated that there is no governing but by God. Democracy, however, says that governing is done by the majority of the people.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Reuven Paz, "The Impact of the War in Iraq on the Global Jihad," *Hudson Book.indb* (March 21, 2005), pp. 39-49; p. 39.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 41-42

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

Recently, many countries have signified serious care about extremely large number of persons and inhabitants uniting the ranks of jihadist armed groups in Syria and Iraq. Under the name of “foreign fighters” the threat is high rise in the agenda. These persons can contact aggressive groups, obtain weapons training and battle experience and promote radical anti-Western situations. Without any doubt, adding to their act in warfare regions, the danger is that some of them would return to their mother countries and support terrorist attacks.⁹⁹

1.2. Al-Qaeda in Iraq

Al-Qaeda in Iraq, also recognized as al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia, is a Sunni Muslim zealots group that aims to raise civil anxiety in Iraq and creating a caliphate which is Islamic state. Organized by the recent Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an Arab of Jordanian descent, AQI rose on the stage after the U.S occupation of Iraq in 2003. Also, Zarqawi demanded volunteers in Afghanistan before escaping to northern Iraq in 2001, after being released from a Jordanian prison in 1999. In that matter, he joined with Ansar al-Islam where he guided Ansar's Arab group.¹⁰⁰

In addition, on June 7, 2006 the weak relationship between Zarqawi and bin Laden ended when U.S. air forces killed the AQI leader. The success for U.S. and Iraqis considered as a remarkable challenge for the organization. However, it did not make its end it was stimulation only. In 2006, AQI was affirmed to have aided to create the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), a protective organization of Sunni rebellious groups with same aims as AQI. Professionals’

⁹⁹ Francesco Maronen, “Italian Jihadists in Syria and Iraq,” *Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St Andrews*. <http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.1205/>, Accessed on 24.03.2017.

¹⁰⁰ Greg Bruno, “Profile: Al-Qaeda in Iraq (a.k.a. al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia),” *Council on Foreign Relations* November 19, 2007. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/19/AR2007111900721.html>, Accessed on 24.03.2017.

faith in ISI was made to strengthen AQI's references as a submissive movement. By reason of Zarqawi's death the organization shifted to become in its bad position.¹⁰¹

Al-Qaeda in Iraq established the Mujahidin Shura Council (MSC) in January 2006 in order to unite the various Iraqi Sunni fanatic. To boot, Anbar Province became al Qaeda's base in 2006, and in 2007, between eighty and ninety percent of suicide attacks were committed by al Qaeda foreign-born terrorists in Iraq.¹⁰² After the death of Al-Zarqawi, his group faced many hits, but it was still resistant.¹⁰³ What is more, Abu Ayyub al-Masri, an Egyptian origin, became the leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) after the death of Abu Musab al Zarqawi.¹⁰⁴ Iraqis from different religions and ethnicities faced aggressive treatment from Al-Qaeda in Iraq group, this group neglected the value of human life. Moreover, its strategies destroyed the Sunni citizens' support to Al-Qaeda in Iraq.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) was considered as a threat to Bush administration's aim to make Iraq stable. Furthermore, at the end of 2007, AQI contributed to most Iraq's violence.¹⁰⁵ Set of attacks were committed by this group, it targeted civilians, armed forces, and even religious groups and institutions. For instance, Jordanian embassy and UN headquarters explosion in Baghdad, with a Shiite mosque explosion in Najaf in August 2003. As well, al-Askari Mosque detonation in Samara, which was considered as the holiest place for the Shiites in February 2007, along with a set of car bombs that targeted Yazidi villages in August 2007, these attacks caused more than seven hundred casualties. Added to a set of Sadr City's car

¹⁰¹ Greg Bruno, "Profile: Al-Qaeda in Iraq (a.k.a. al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia)," *Council on Foreign Relations* November 19, 2007. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp_dyn/content/article/2007/11/19/AR2007111900721.html, Accessed on 24.03.2017.

¹⁰² John Pike, "Al-Qaeda in Iraq [AQI]," *Global Security. Org* June 13, 2014. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/aqi-2.htm>, Accessed on 20.03.2017.

¹⁰³ M. J. Kirdar, "Al Qaeda in Iraq," *Center for Strategic and International Studies* June 15, 2011. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/al-qaeda-iraq>, Accessed on 26.03.2017.

¹⁰⁴ Frederick W. Kagan, "Al Qaeda in Iraq: How to Understand it. How to Defeat it," *The Weekly Standard* September 10, 2007. <http://www.weeklystandard.com/al-qaeda-in-iraq/article/15150>, Accessed on 23.03.2017.

¹⁰⁵ Greg Bruno, "Profile: Al-Qaeda in Iraq," *Council on Foreign Relations* November 19, 2007. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp_dyn/content/article/2007/11/19/AR2007111900721.html, Accessed on 24.03.2017.

bombs and mortar attacks in November 2006. Moreover, it also committed aggressions and detonations outside Iraq, as in 2005, it bombed American hotels in Amman, Jordan.¹⁰⁶

Al-Qaeda in Iraq aggression reduced from 2008 to 2011, because of the attempt of America and Sunni groups to keep up the Iraq's security. At this time, it was isolated and lost its power to apply its Islamic Shari'ah law in its dominance area.¹⁰⁷ However, it raised its violation against Shiite groups in late 2011, in order to rekindle clash between Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki government that was controlled by the Shiite and Iraq' Sunni group. What is more, in 2013, Al-Qaeda in Iraq blooming violence caused the death of almost eight thousand citizens, this event made 2013 as the bloodiest year since 2008 in Iraq. Additionally, this group changed its nickname in 2012 to Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS) or Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) to indicate its extended desires, as they faced Assad regime and secular and Islamist groups who were against them in Syria.¹⁰⁸ Al Qaeda was accusable for huge number of the country's suicide bombings and contributed in attacking civilians and military forces.

1.3. The Horrors of Suicide Bombing

Suicide bombing is an operation of blasting oneself up in order to destroy or harm a goal. The goal can be military or civilian or the two. Mostly, the killing or physical harm of

¹⁰⁶ Greg Bruno, "Profile: Al-Qaeda in Iraq (a.k.a. al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia)," *Council on Foreign Relations* November 19, 2007. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/11/19/AR2007111900721.html>, Accessed on 24.03.2017.

¹⁰⁷ Nafeez Ahmed, "Officials: Islamic State Arose from US Support for Al-Qaeda in Iraq," *Insurge Intelligence* August 13, 2015. <https://medium.com/insurge-intelligence/officials-islamic-state-rose-from-us-support-for-al-qaeda-in-iraq-a37c9a60be4>, Accessed on 27.03.2017.

¹⁰⁸ Zachary Laub and Jonathan Masters, "Everything you Need to Know about Al-Qaeda in Iraq," *CFR.Org* January 13, 2014. <http://www.defenseone.com/threats/2014/01/everything-you-need-to-know-about-al-qaeda-iraq/76679/>, Accessed on 28.03.2017.

the goal is fewer valuable than the horror produced by endeavor the act. This eventually creates suicide bombing a confusion firepower.¹⁰⁹

It has become certainly clear that, since the 2003 invasion, Iraq has practiced an exceptional degree of suicide terrorism. The rebellion in Iraq distincts from past cases of suicide terrorism.¹¹⁰ The suicide bombing operations increased after the invasion of America of Iraq, most of these operations directed toward Shia civilians and Iraqi security forces. Most of suicide bombers who carried out these operations were non-Iraqis, and most of them were from Saudi Arabia.¹¹¹

According to a Lancet study, one thousand and three suicide bombings happened between 2004 and 2010, that led to approximately twelve thousand civilians' death, as the civilians were the first target of suicide bombings.¹¹²

In addition, the British medical journal Lancet study found that two hundred coalition troops were killed by seventy nine suicide bombings from 2003 to 2010.¹¹³ Most of these suicide bombings were among the sectarian aggression between Shiite Muslims and Sunni insurgents, after the American invasion of Iraq, the political situation of Iraq led the Sunni insurgents to attack Shiite Muslims.¹¹⁴

The Suicide bombings started in 2004, after the debate about the delegated number of Sunni Arabs in Iraqi Governing Council. For instance, these bombings attacked a Shiite

¹⁰⁹ Dr. Robert J. Bunker & John P. Sullivan, "Suicide Bombings in Operation Iraqi Freedom," *The Institute of Land Warfare* (September, 2004), pp. 01-31; 01.

¹¹⁰ Yoram Schweitzer, "Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?" *The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies* (August,2006), pp. 08-111; 91.

¹¹¹ Mohammed Hafez, *Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyroom* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007), p. 05.

¹¹² Iain Overton & Henry Dodd, "A short History of Suicide Bombing," *Action on Armed Violence* 23 August, 2013. <https://aoav.org.uk/2013/a-short-history-of-suicide-bombings/>, Accessed on 25.03.2017.

¹¹³ Chelsea J. Carter, "study: Suicide Bomb Attacks Kill more than 12,000 Iraqis," *CNN* September 4, 2011. <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/09/04/iraq.suicide.bomb.casualties/>, Accessed on 26.03.2017.

¹¹⁴ Iain Overton & Henry Dodd *op. cit.*

mosque, the UN headquarters, and the Red Cross headquarters, and the death of Al Qaeda in Iraq's leader, Abu Masab Al-Zarqawi. What is more, the suicide bombings continued after the American troops departure from Iraq. The increase of the Islamic State in Iraq (IS) has resulted the suicide bombings continuation in Iraq, this has made Iraq the most affected country by suicide bombings. Action on Armed Violence (AOAV) found that between 2011 and 2015, more than twelve thousand people were killed or injured because of less than three hundred and fifty suicide bombings, also the civilians represented seventy five percent. IS caused most of these attacks. During 2016, about three thousand Iraqi people have been killed or injured, as part of IS activities.¹¹⁵

Additionally, concealed ISIS enthusiast kidnapped Iraqi boy, twelve, and forced him to bomb civilians. In Iraq, ISIS child suicide bomber aged between twelve and thirteen was stopped. At wedding, boy aged between twelve and fourteen killed at least fifty one and harmed one hundred.¹¹⁶ More than one hundred and sixty people died in Sunday's horrifying violation in Baghdad. It was one of eight different aggressions by the so-called Islamic State (IS) in the Muslim month of Ramadan.¹¹⁷

2. The Shi'a–Sunni Division

The Sunni-Shiite dispute is a historic dispute between the two largest Islamic sects, the Sunnis, the Jama'a and the Shiite community. More than a decade after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, violence and tension between Sunnis, Shiites and Kurds continues to threaten Iraq's stability and fragile democracy. The Iraqi political elite has failed to develop a system of inclusive governance, and internal divisions have been reinforced by the

¹¹⁵ Iain Overton & Henry Dodd, "A short History of Suicide Bombing," Action on Armed Violence 23 August, 2013. <https://aoav.org.uk/2013/a-short-history-of-suicide-bombings/>, Accessed on 25.03.2017.

¹¹⁶ Sam Tonkin, "They kidnapped me and forced me to do it," *Mail Online* 21 August, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3751972/ISIS-child-suicide-bomber-aged-12-13-stripped-explosives-belt-attempts-detonate-thwarted-security-forces-Iraq.html>, Accessed on 25.03.2017.

¹¹⁷ Shiraz Maher, "Why so-called Islamic State chooses to bomb during Ramadan," *BBC* 5 July, 2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36703874>, Accessed on 28.03.2017.

repercussions of the Arab Spring, particularly the effects of the Sunni uprising against the Syrian regime and the promotion of transnational sectarianism. In order to prevent further fragmentation or the emergence of a new tyranny, Iraq needs a political charter based on individual citizens rather than on sectarian identities.

2.1. Iran's Interventionism

The Islamic Republic of Iran has taken the opportunity to change its relationship with Iraq after the downfall of Saddam Hussein regime. It has spread its influence and established itself as outer mediator in Iraq, by using its border with Iraq, its relations with Iraqi armed groups, politicians, parties, and its economic and religious power. Iran has worked with Shiite and Kurdish parties in order to affect Iraqi domestic affairs, to make Shiites as the dominant ones and to make Iran's influence and intervention easier.¹¹⁸

Iran has had a number of lasting goals after the death of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. In addition, Iran aims to guarantee that Iraq never repeat to sit the military threat it had for decades under Hussein. Iran attempts to keep a Shi'a-dominated, insecure, and destroyed Iraqi government. To control Shi'a supremacy of Iraq's political order, Iran has followed sectarian plans in Iraq advancing solidarity among Iraq's Shi'a political troops, involving, financing Shi'a groups, supporting them to continue as a single alliance during past voting. Iran has also supported ties with a number of Shi'a, Kurdish, and Sunni political parties to confirm it remains the major powerbroker within Iraqi politics even outside the Shi'a Arab empire.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, after 2003, Shiite militias and insurgents and sometimes the Sunni ones have been collected, instructed, and equipped with weapons by Iran, besides to support its Iraqi allies to work with America. All that for eliminating its political competitors, also to stop the

¹¹⁸ Michael Eisenstadt, Michael Knights, and Ahmed Ali, "Iran's Influence in Iraq," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (April, 2011), pp. 01-33; p. ix.

¹¹⁹ Frederick W. Kagan et al, "Iranian Influence in the Levant, Egypt, Iraq, and Afghanistan," *The American Enterprise Institute and the Institute for the Study of War* (May, 2012), pp. 06-89; p 62.

American interventions in the region in the future. As U.S. ambassador James Jeffrey, have said that:

Iranian-supported Shiite militias and insurgent groups may have been responsible for up to one quarter of all U.S. combat casualties in Iraq.¹²⁰

In addition, shaping a state with Shiite authority serving Iran's concerns have been the primary goal of Iran in Iraq, as this state is liberal from American influence, to avoid endangering Iran's status in the middle east. The Islamic Republic of Iran justified its intervention in Iraq as Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the sixth President of Iran from 2005 to 2013, declared in 2007: "Iran is prepared to fill the vacuum left by the Americans retreating from Iraq." Iran considers Iraq as an influential part to get its hegemony in the region.¹²¹

The weakness of Iraq after 2003 has unlocked the door for Tehran to spread its effect, protect its national safety, and get hegemony in the Gulf region. In this case, Iran have used the Quds Force of the Revolutionary Guards – as it was created in 1990 to serve Iran's concerns outside its boundaries politically, militarily, and economically – to provide money, necessary items, and weaponry to Iraqi's Shiite militias. They train them the ways of targeting and bombing in waysides, such operations have killed large number of Iraqis and American soldiers.¹²²

During the U.S-led air-campaign has reduced the Islamic State's development since August, Iranian powers on the ground have worked a critical role in restricting its progress into northeast and south central Iraq as well. Iran's encourage for Iraqi Kurdish Peshmerga powers and for Iraq's military has also played a major role. In Iraq, Iranian military activities

¹²⁰ Michael Eisenstadt, Michael Knights, and Ahmed Ali, "Iran's Influence in Iraq," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (April, 2011), pp. 01-33; p. 08.

¹²¹ Yoel Guzansky, "Made in Iran: The Iranian Involvement in Iraq," *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 13, No. 04 (January 2011), pp. 85-100; p. 85.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

come to broadly settle along the Iraq-Iran border and in key Shi'a shrine cities, most mainly Samarra.¹²³

The U.S. departure from Iraq in 2011, made Iran to think about including Iraq in “axis of resistance.” Besides to the emergence of the Islamic State (IS) has opened the door for Iran in order to show itself as the rescuer of Iraq from this new emerged danger. All that to extend Iranian influence in Iraq.¹²⁴

2.2. The Ongoing Civil War

Elimination of Saddam government changed the regional and domestic power, the balance between the minority Sunni and the majority Shia in the nation ended as the Shia became the dominant power.¹²⁵ The disobedience in Iraq has created “war after war” which endangers to separate the country into parts. This has led to sectarian and ethnic violence about establishing Iraq as a new state, this violence has represented in the conflict between Sunni and Shi'ite Islamist extremism.¹²⁶ After the American invasion of Iraq, Sunni Arabs distrusted the new state government. The lack of security and political power after the collapse of Saddam regime, made Sunni Arabs think about their elimination out of government, as Saddam Hussein government had eliminated most Shi'a Arabs.¹²⁷

After the American invasion in Iraq, the first voting resulted a new government controlled by Shia parties. However, in the election of 2005 Sunni parties won the most seats. After that Sunnis connected with Nouri Maliki's government. In 2007, when Iraq was suffering from

¹²³ Nima Adelhah, “Iranian Intervention in Iraq against the Islamic State: Strategy, Tactics and Impact,” *The Jamestown Foundation* January 23, 2015. <https://jamestown.org/program/iranian-intervention-in-iraq-against-the-islamic-state-strategy-tactics-and-impact/>, Accessed on 02.04.2017.

¹²⁴ Michael Eisenstadt, “Iran and Iraq,” *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (September 13, 2015), pp. 01-07 ; p. 01.

¹²⁵ Mari Luomi, “Sectarian Identities or Geopolitics?: The Regional Shia-Sunni Divide in the Middle East,” *The Finnish Institute of International Affairs* (2008), pp. 01-60; p. 07.

¹²⁶ Anthony H. Cordesman and Arleigh A. Burke, “Iraq's Sectarian and Ethnic Violence and its Evolving Insurgency,” *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (April 2, 2007), pp. 01-125; p. 02.

¹²⁷ Aaron Reese, “Sectarian and Regional Conflict in the Middle East,” *Institute for the Study of War* (July 2013), pp. 07-26; p. 10.

sectarian violence, Sunnis became members in other secular and Shia parties and left out Maliki's government as they were trying to drop him out. After the US retreat in 2011, Maliki accused senior Sunni Arab politicians, Vice-President Tariq al-Hashemi was among them, for supporting terrorism.¹²⁸

Sectarian conflict is becoming established in an increasing number of Muslim countries and is jeopardizing to rupture Iraq. Regional rivals Saudi Arabia and Iran exploited the Conflicts between Sunnis and Shias to change the future of the Middle East for their benefits. Clashes between Sunni and Shia powers have fueled a Syrian civil war that threatens to alter the map of the Middle East, by spreading violence that is breaking Iraq, and expanded gaps in a number of snug Gulf countries. Developing sectarian conflicts have also inspired a rebirth of transnational jihadi groups that gives danger beyond the region.¹²⁹

In addition, two countries that struggle for the leadership of the Islamic world, Sunni Saudi Arabia and Shia Iran, have used this division to achieve their desires. Furthermore, the aims of many Sunni and Shia preachers is to limit rigidity by way of violence scopes, many professionals precise care that Islam's separation will drive to increasing violence and expanding threat to worldwide peace and security. Sectarian violence directed by religious or political leaders. Zealous groups, many of which are supported by states, are the leader actors in sectarian killings today.¹³⁰

3. Kurdish Autonomy: Fragmenting the Nation

Since 2003, the main Kurdish parties have set aside their differences for the common good of the Kurdish people, and this has helped stabilize the prosperity envied by the rest of Iraq.

¹²⁸ Rafid Jaboori, "Iraqi Sunnis' Long Struggle since Saddam," *BBC Arabic* 31 December, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-25559872>, Accessed on 29.03.2017.

¹²⁹ Geneive Abdo, "The Sunni- Shia Divide," *Council Foreign Relations* February 2016. http://www.cfr.org/peace-conflict-and-human-rights/sunni-shia-divide/p33176#!/?cid=otr-marketing_url-sunni_shia_infoguide, Accessed on 28.03.2017.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

The region has been semi-autonomous in Iraq since the early 1990s, when UN-imposed no-fly zone prevented the forces of Saddam Hussein from attacking them. The United States wants the Kurdish independence, however, this will be a threat to Arab countries.

3.1. Iraqi Kurdistan: A Western Success, An Arab Scar

Kurdistan is the region of Iraq's Kurdish majority, it is known by its flourishing economy, peace, and democracy. Iraqi Kurds thank America as it helped them, as Hamid Ahmad, an adviser to Iraqi Kurdistan regional president Masoud Barzani,¹³¹ said: "If the no-fly zone didn't exist, if the attack on Saddam had not happened... we wouldn't have what we have now."¹³²

The Treaty of Sevres in 1920, which organized the new states of Iraq, Syria, and Kuwait, was to have involved the chance of a Kurdish state in the region. Nevertheless, it was never achieved. After the defeat of the Turkish kingdom by Kemal Ataturk, Turkey, Iran, and Iraq refused to make an independent Kurdish state. The Kurds sustained severe treatment by means of the Turkish government, which attempted to bereave them of Kurdish identity by nicknaming them "Mountain Turks," excluding their language and prohibiting them to wear usual Kurdish clothes in the towns, an offensive aggression on their culture. The government supported the displacement of Kurds to the cities to reduce the population in the hills. In Iraq, Kurds have suffered the same oppression as well. After the Kurds encouraged Iran in the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war, Saddam Hussein revenged, destroyed villages and harmed farmers

¹³¹ Heath Druzin, "Kurdistan's Success seen as Model for West in Dealing with Syria," *Stars and Stripes* October 26, 2013. <https://www.stripes.com/kurdistan-s-success-seen-as-model-for-west-in-dealing-with-syria-1.249363>, Accessed on 28.03.2017.

¹³² Ibid.

with chemical weapons. The Kurds resisted again after the Persian Gulf War only to be defeated another time by Iraqi armies.¹³³

Kurds have struggled with the government in Baghdad throughout history. They started asking for their rights including: identity, accepting their language, history and culture. The war of 2003 marked new beginning for them to free themselves from the cruelty of Saddam Hussein.

The Kurds managed the first legislative elections in their history after removing Saddam's administrations from three Kurdistan cities — Erbil, Sulaymaniyah and Dohuk —, the election was managed by the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) under the current president of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, Massoud Barzani, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan under current Iraqi President Jalal Talabani. After this election, the Kurds were able to govern their issues as they set up their parliament and local government.¹³⁴ Iraq's Kurds took the opportunity of the fall of Hussein's government in which they exploited this situation to achieve what they wanted. Now, they regard themselves as important members in the Iraq' political process but they suffer with some problems in current government in Baghdad.¹³⁵

Talabani, an Kurdish man has become foreign minister of Iraq, and the Kurds have got security and their rights in Iraqi constitution such as the right of teaching in educational institutions. After that he became the president of Iraq, the Kurds dominate most Iraq's government ministries, and their territory is independent. Additionally, a Kurdish city have become the headquarters for political meetings and Kurds have shared these meetings and have made decisions and agreements in Iraq. Mahmoud Outhman, a Kurdish MP and former

¹³³ Sonia Roy, "The Kurdish Issue," *Foreign Policy Journal* April 22, 2011.

<https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/04/22/the-kurdish-issue/>, Accessed on 01.04.2017.

¹³⁴ Abdel Hamid Zebari, "After 10 Years of Iraqi Conflict, Only Kurds Emerge as Winners," *Iraq Pulse* March 27, 2013. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/03/iraq-war-frees-kurds.html>, Accessed on 03.04.2017.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

member of the Coalition Provisional Authority, said: “the Kurds have reaped many benefits after the fall of the regime, notably the recognition of their rights and the political agreements they concluded.”¹³⁶

The Kurds are grateful for Western aid. For instance, in June 2015 Daesh attacked them after capturing Iraq, the Kurds were saved by swift Western airstrikes.¹³⁷ In 2014, Kurds region and their capital of Erbil were endangered by ISIS moving to northern Iraq, in this case Obama decided to go to Iraq in order to protect the Iraq’s Kurds by using U.S. airpower. The war on ISIS have made them to think about having their own independent state.¹³⁸

Now five million exist in Iraq and approximately two million left to Iran. The United States has attempted to establish a secure haven for the Kurds inside Iraq by imposing a “no-fly” zone north of the 36th parallel.¹³⁹

Terrorist operations have intensified in the recent period of the modern era, and human suffering has been exacerbated by the consequences of these acts, which have been characterized by criminal consequences and their severe reflection on people's lives, and the extent of extremist organizations and terrorist groups have carried out their acts of indiscriminate and reckless killings, the slaughter of innocent people and civilians in Iraq, and increased the effectiveness of these acts of terrorism and the presence of States, organizations, institutions and personalities that support publicly or covertly or indirectly the work of these organizations.

¹³⁶ Abdel Hamid Zebari, “After 10 Years of Iraqi Conflict, Only Kurds Emerge as Winners,” *Iraq Pulse* March 27, 2013. <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/03/iraq-war-frees-kurds.html>, Accessed on 03.04.2017.

¹³⁷ Karwan Jamal Tahir, “For us Kurds, Western Intervention is a Lifeline,” *The Spectator* December 01, 2015. <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2015/12/for-us-kurds-western-intervention-is-a-lifeline/#>, Accessed on 06.04.2017.

¹³⁸ Aziz Ahmad, “The Kurds have already Carved out their own State in Iraq,” *Newsweek* May 01, 2016. <http://www.newsweek.com/why-kurds-have-already-carved-their-own-state-iraq-411674>, Accessed on 05.04.2017.

¹³⁹ Sonia Roy, “The Kurdish Issue,” *Foreign Policy Journal* April 22, 2011. <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/04/22/the-kurdish-issue/>, Accessed on 01.04.2017.

On the other hand, Baghdad's response to the Kurdish assignment of responsibility at the independence speeches was negative. Mowaffak al-Rubaie, a senior Member of Parliament from the Islamic Da`wa Party, described Kurdish independence "a dangerous issue." In addition, few realize an independent Kurdistan as a danger because the division of Iraq may help American investments in the area and rise Turkish power.¹⁴⁰

The Arab League appointed on the Kurds to forget about the idea of an independent Kurdish state.¹⁴¹ Besides, United States should keep small military foundations in Kurdistan, in sequence to secure Kurdistan against Turkey and the Arab states. Also, to safe Assyrians, Turkomans, Yezidis and other groups against Kurdish growth as well.¹⁴² Moreover¹⁴³ Shamil Sultanov, the President of the Russia–Islamic World Center for Strategic Studies, said that Kurdistan's establishment would lead to negative results for the whole region.¹⁴⁴

There are some elites in the world who support the creation of an independent part of Kurdistan. Let's imagine that Kurdistan has been created. What will happen there in a month? It will entail a fierce war, like in Southern Sudan. The creation of a Kurdistan is impossible, as there is no single Kurdish society or Kurdish elite.¹⁴⁵

A new report by RAND Corporation have noted that the independence of Kurdish region in northern Iraq, will create serious problems for Turkey, Iran, and the Iraqi central

¹⁴⁰ Mustafa Gurbuz, "Iraqi Kurdistan's Bid for Independence: Challenges and Prospects," *Arab Center Washington DC* January 26, 2017. http://arabcenterdc.org/policy_analyses/iraqi-kurdistans-bid-for-independence-challenges-and-prospects/, Accessed on 17.04.2017.

¹⁴¹ Abdelhak Mamoun, "Arab League Rejects Kurdistan Independence," *Iraqi News* July 2, 2014. <http://www.iraqinews.com/features/arab-league-rejects-kurdistan-independence/>, Accessed on 17.04.2017.

¹⁴² Ladislav Garassy, "An Independent Kurdistan under U.S. Protection?" *Foreign Policy Association* October 24, 2016. <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2016/10/24/independent-kurdistan-us-protection/>, Accessed on 17.04.2017.

¹⁴³ Alireza Nader, "An Independent Kurdistan Would Impact Its Neighbors," *RAND Corporation* November 14, 2016. <http://www.rand.org/news/press/2016/11/14/index1.html>, Accessed on 17.04.2017.

¹⁴⁴ Vestnik Kavkaza group, "The creation of a Kurdistan would result in negative consequences for the entire region," *Vestnik Kavakaza* July 29, 2016. <http://vestnikkavkaza.net/articles/Creation-of-Kurdistan-will-bring-negative-consequences-for-the-entire-region.html>, Accessed on 16.04.2017.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

government. The Islamic Republic of Iran fears that the independence of Kurdistan will motivate Iran' large population of oppressed Kurds.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Alireza Nader, "An Independent Kurdistan Would Impact Its Neighbors," *RAND Corporation* November 14, 2016. <http://www.rand.org/news/press/2016/11/14/index1.html>, Accessed on 17.04.2017.

CONCLUSION

The invasion of Iraq in 2003 has become the largest and most executive use of military force by the United States since the Vietnam war. It has left various dramatic consequences that influence Iraq's current life. Indeed, the invasion vietnamize and balkanize Iraq by spreading terrorism and creating chaos in the country rather than spreading democracy and peace.

After the overthrow of the Saddam regime, violence and turmoil rose in a devastating way. The illegality of Iraq invasion and the illegality of the tactics and weapons that were used led to devastating consequences including, the unstable environment, rise of internal and external displacement, hundreds of civilians were killed, and massive amounts of civilian property were destroyed. All these factors provided suitable grounds for the appearance of sectarian conflict and jihadism. The Iraqi people witnessed terrible violence for many years.

In this dissertation, we have discussed the Iraq's deterioration before Second Gulf War. We have also dealt with pretexts and the hidden imperial plots behind the invasion. We have focused on US hegemony and her adoption of the idea of liberation and the promotion of democracy, and the U.S. attempt for disarming Iraq from Weapons of Mass Destruction as well. The Americans invaded Iraq on a belief that they had a duty to reorder the world, to promote democracy, peace, human rights, and to put an end to the human's suffering. However, the invasion led to great upheavals in the country.

Moreover, we have shown how Iraq became the worst place on earth witnessing the worst crimes, starting from abusing human rights (concerning women, children, and the case of Abu Ghrib) to the destruction of cultural heritage. We have described how America made an illegal aggressive war in Iraq that caused terrible crimes against humanity including brutal

intimidation forms of murders, torture, starvation, and deprivation of jobs; in addition to the destruction of the largest fortress of mankind's heritage.

In addition, we have tackled the Balkanization of Iraq as it is among the main consequences of this war. Iraq became a fertile ground for jihadism, Al-Qaeda, and the horrors of suicide bombing. Furthermore, sectarian division and violence emerged after this war which created terrible fighting between the different groups such as the Shi'a and Sunni are still tearing each other till now which weaken Iraq nowadays and made it among the worst places over the world during 21th century.

After the departure of U.S. troops, Iraq's borders opened to all groups and terrorist organizations from different nationalities that found their chance to settle scores with the United States, and the countries of the region played a significant role in bringing terrorism to Iraq by facilitating the entry through its territory. Besides to encouraging sectarian killings, which aimed to crack the unity of the Iraqi grade. The United States of America participated directly in financing of terrorism operations in Iraq.

In this dissertation, it became clear that America attempted to convince the Iraqi people that the purpose of the invasion for their benefit, for a stable and secure Iraq. In fact, this war served U.S. interests. In this term, US succeeded in Balkanizing Iraq and left its traces to the present time.

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ملخص

تحاول هذه الأطروحة إظهار الجوانب المختلفة لفتنة وبلقنة العراق بعد الغزو الأمريكي، وهي بمثابة اتهام اجتماعي وسياسي للكشف عن الأخطاء الأمريكية في العراق. وفي هذا الصدد تنقسم الدراسة إلى ثلاثة فصول: يناقش الفصل الأول لماذا تعتبر الحرب العراقية جزءاً من برنامج إدارة بوش العالمية الخفية لتحقيق الهيمنة الأمريكية، ولهذا استخدمت أمريكا بعض الذرائع لإقناع شعبها والرأي العام بأن هذه الحرب لتعزيز السلام. في الفصل الثاني وصفنا الحرب العدوانية الأميركية الغير قانونية في العراق التي تسببت في جرائم فظيعة ضد الإنسانية والتي تتمثل في أشكال التخويف من القتل والتعذيب والمجاعة والحرمان من الوظائف. بالإضافة إلى تدمير أكبر حصن لتراث البشرية. في الفصل الثالث بحثنا كيف أصبحت العراق ساحة لتكاثر الإرهاب وكيف حولت هذه الحرب باحاثها وشوارعها إلى مسرح للعمليات الإرهابية. إلى جانب ذلك، تسببت الحرب ونتائجها الى زيادة العنف الطائفي الذي يطارد العراق الآن وبسببه يتوقع تدخلات اجنبية اخرى في المنطقة.