

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**



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Department of English**

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of doctorate Es-science in American Civilization

***American Foreign Policy in the Middle East after 1945  
Case Study: Iraq  
Syria***

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**Abstract**

After the Second World War the American main stream media, through propaganda techniques, was convincing the people that a huge U.S military establishment was necessary to contain an expansionist world Communist movement with its headquarters in Moscow. Britain was the dominant Western power in the Middle East until the 1960s, and U.S. influence was countered in much of the region by the Soviet Union until the end of the Cold War. The collapse of the Soviet empire created a power vacuum which has been filled by the U.S., first in the Persian Gulf following the Gulf war, and later in Central Asia as a result of the Afghan war. The United States used its power to safeguard all its national interests in the region. For instance, invading Iraq; some national interests are in some ways contradictory to each other. For example, the security of Israel through weakening its neighbors like Syria; and the need for oil from the Arab states in the region. The indifference of much of the national security elite and the public to the region, in between crises, permitted U.S. policy to be dominated by two U.S. domestic lobbies, one ethnic and one economic—the Israel lobby and the oil industry.

## Résumé

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les médias américains, à travers une propagande de haut niveau, ont convaincu le peuple qu'un énorme établissement militaire américain était nécessaire pour contenir un mouvement communiste mondial expansionniste avec son quartier général à Moscou. La Grande-Bretagne était la puissance occidentale dominante au Moyen-Orient jusqu'aux années 1960, et l'influence américaine a été contrée dans une grande partie de la région par l'Union Soviétique jusqu'à la fin de la guerre froide. L'effondrement de l'empire soviétique a créé un vide de pouvoir qui a été comblé par les États-Unis, d'abord dans le golfe Persique après la guerre du Golfe, puis en Asie centrale à la suite de la guerre en Afghanistan. Les États-Unis ont utilisé leur pouvoir pour sauvegarder tous leurs intérêts nationaux dans la région. Par exemple, envahir l'Irak. Certains intérêts nationaux sont en quelque sorte contradictoire. Par exemple, la sécurité d'Israël en affaiblissant ses voisins comme la Syrie; et le besoin de pétrole des États arabes de la région. L'indifférence d'une grande partie de l'élite de la sécurité nationale et du public envers la région, entre les crises, a permis à la politique américaine d'être dominée par deux lobbies nationaux américains, un ethnique et un économique - le lobby israélien et l'industrie pétrolière.



العالمية الثانية، الأمريكية،  
الأمريكية،  
شيعية  
العشرين  
سنتينات  
الأمريكي  
ومقرها  
الدعاية رفيعة  
بريطانيا هي  
الغربية المهيمنة  
السوفيتي  
نهاية  
عسكرية أمريكية

انهيار الإمبراطورية السوفيتية  
آسيا  
نتيجة  
الأفغانية.  
الولايات  
الولايات  
مألتها الولايات  
الوطنية  
جيرانها  
سوريا؛  
السوفيتية  
الولايات  
الوطنية  
بعضها  
العربية  
الخليج  
الخليج  
سبيل  
سبيل  
إسرائيل

الكثير  
محليان  
الولايات  
أحدهما  
والجمهور الأمريكي  
-  
الإسرائيلي  
سياسة الولايات  
يسيطر عليها لوبيان

**List of Abbreviations**

AFSC: American Friends Service Committee

AIPAC: The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee

AKP: (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) Justice and Development Party

CENTCOM: Central Command

CENTO: Central Treaty Organization

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

DE K: (Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu'nun) Foreign Economic Board of Turkey.

DIA: Defense Intelligence Agency

EU: European Union

GCC: Gulf Cooperation Council

HAWK: Homing All the Way Killer

IHH: (İnsani Yardım Vakfı)( Turkish NGO)( Humanitarian Relief Foundation)

ISG: Iraq Survey Group

ISIS /ISIL: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria / Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

KRG: Kurdish Regional Government

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PKK: (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê) Kurdistan Workers' Party

## *List of Abbreviations*

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PLO: Palestinian Liberation Organisation

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

USA: United States of America

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WKI: Washington Kurdish Institute

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

WWI: First World War

WWII: Second World War

*General Introduction*

Many specialists and geo-strategists interested in the American policies consider that national security concerns, fears and threats for the United States are drawn according to certain strategies; While US officials in the US Administration of its various agencies develop effective programs to address these fears and threats. This country allows itself and permits everything that help to achieve its strategic interests around the world; including preemptive wars or preemptive strikes to avoid any potential danger, and often those wars and strikes are fabricated and false, directed against States or even individuals, under the pretext of protecting US national security, without worrying about the damage they may cause to other countries and peoples in the pursuit of vital interests.

This thesis research work will try to unveil the nature of American foreign policy in the Middle East after the Second World War, and how its results varied during the Twentieth century. The varied results and impact of United States foreign policy have created adversaries and enemies, some of whom hate America so much they conduct terrorist attacks within America. The issue of whether the United States' foreign policy in the Middle East has created the terrorism threats that the United States faces today is too big to address adequately in this thesis, but is fundamental to it. The purpose of this thesis is to examine if post-WW2 United States' foreign policy in the Middle East has served the United States' national interests. This thesis will address the period from the end of the Second World War till now.

These topics draw the attention of politicians and historians across the world, through many studies about this history. Thus, the history of American diplomacy can largely be written in terms of cyclical swings between realism and idealism. The split personality of realism and idealism has historically manifested itself in U.S. foreign policy. These two schools of thought have framed the U.S. foreign policy debate at least since World War II. For over 50 years, the United States struggled to develop a foreign policy that reflected its idealist values but simultaneously protected U.S. interests and promoted U.S. power.

So, the theoretical and conceptual construction of policy analysis and the development of general frameworks for interpretation are always present in decision makers' mind. These policies are being prepared by a selection of the finest politicians and analysts working in various government departments and research centers. Moreover, the choice of power as a viable and beneficial solution has never been far away to be used, but has often been at the forefront of options and alternatives available especially in areas of constant tensions and open conflicts, which is classified by the US administration as high priority or very special, and the most important areas to which this description applies to is the Middle East.

“There are no lasting friendships, no permanent enemies, but there are permanent interests”, this principle is one of the most prominent tenets of the political and ideological doctrine of the U.S.A, and in order to maintain this principle the United States entered in the process of producing and reproducing mechanisms of domination and control, these varied according to geographical scope and the supposed enemy.

The Middle East has known plans to divide and spread tensions, to establish rival ethnic and sectarian states and entities, in which the Zionist entity will be the biggest and strongest winner in the region. What is happening in Syria and Iraq is the best evidence and does not come out of the general context of targeting and conspiracy.

This study takes as a case study Iraq and Syria in the American foreign policy during the period after WWII. Although the American administrations that came to the White House with less international experience than most countries in the modern era, they took an immediate interest in foreign policy, outlined an ambitious international agenda for the US interests, and proceeded to accomplish many of the items that were placed on that agenda.

U.S leaders have consistently supported rightist regimes and organizations and opposed leftist ones. The terms “Right” and “Left” are seldom specifically defined by policymakers or media commentators—and with good reason. To explain the politico-economic content of leftist governments and movements is to reveal their egalitarian and usually democratic goals, making it much harder to demonize them. The “Left,” encompasses those individuals, organizations, and governments that advocate egalitarian redistributive policies benefiting the common people and infringing upon the privileged interests of the wealthy propertied classes. The Right also is involved in redistributive politics, but the distribution goes the other way, in an upward direction.

Although there now appears to be a disagreement concerning the failed or the successful evolution of the American administration’s worldview and its foreign policy, there remains a further disagreement over to what extent American’s early policy represented a change from the Cold War past? Other research questions arose also: Did the US administration’s foreign policy represent “containment by other means- which it operated within the tradition of détente initiated under the stewardship of other Administrations? Or was the American’s foreign policy based on the rejection of containment that had dominated U.S. foreign policy since World War II? What pushes the American administrations to favour Israel in all situations? How America is trying to control the Oil flow from the Middle East to Europe and Japan? How it’s trying to control the superpowers in Asia and other regions? Are the communist regimes managing their allies in the Middle East? Is installing client regimes fruitful to America?

In order to ensure the success of its strategic objectives and plans in the region, the US administration has used the available force of a strong force represented in the use of military intervention. Or soft power represented in the internal penetration of countries using local tools and investments at all levels through the provision of material support and media, to be a deputy in the process of overthrowing or regime change, as in the 1950s with Vietnam and many Latin American countries. As well as what happened with Ukraine in the so-called Orange Revolution or Velvet Revolution, or what is happening now in the Arab Spring countries, that did not wake

up- and despite the passage of more than eight years of the outbreak of events of change- from the shock and political chaos, and is still a side effect till now.

A good example of this is the case of Libya, which is fragmented into groups that are united and allied with regional countries that have taken their conflicts and differences over this geography to settle their accounts. Moreover, the emergence of the Qatari axis in support of the Muslim Brotherhood, and the Saudi-UAE hub Ally of the anti-Muslim forces, behind these two axes one can find, certainly, the great powers, led by the United States and France, who are competing for influence in this country.

In addition, Egypt, which opened a new era of internal divisions between the components of the people after the crisis of political legitimacy of the current regime accused of the coup against the President-elect, which came as a result of the change after the wave of the Arab Spring in 2011.

This was the case with the Syrian state, which was not better than its predecessors, because of the sensitivity of the Syrian situation and its privacy, which made it unique and distinct from the previous rule, for his entry into the game of great nations and very complex geostrategic calculations, made him a living symbol of creative chaos and constructive destruction from within, according to the concept of soft power. Of course, Iraq has preceded by about eight years of the mentioned experience. Besides Iraqi situation was a first stage of the implementation of the American project called the Greater Middle East.

One of the approaches to study U.S. foreign policy is the historical approach. This study employs this approach as its method. This approach comes out of the scholarly tradition of history and the humanities within academia. It tends to emphasize a historical understanding of U.S. foreign policy, attempts to recapture the specifics of the times, recognizes a wealth of factors influencing foreign policy, relies heavily on primary source documentation, and results in well written narratives for a scholarly and more general audience.



Historical reconstruction and narrative analysis are important methodological tools used in this study to explore U.S. foreign issues and assess the role played by America in the Middle East after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Historical reconstruction is necessary to uncover and explain the issues that the powers confronted by the US; narrative analysis is more than needed to critically assess American Foreign policy and its outcome.

Within this methodological framework, I use the case-study approach because it is an appropriate method to bring us to an understanding of complex issues and events and emphasize detailed contextual analysis. I am fully aware that the problem with this method is that the study of a small number of cases can offer no grounds for establishing reliability or generality of findings or that the intense exposure to study of the case biases the findings.

Therefore, some care was taken in the selection of cases to spread them chronologically across that period of time, to balance them with regard to perceived successes and failures of the US policies. The Iraq and Syria cases were chosen consciously. The cases do not only examine accomplishments but failures as well. In some instances, the cases examine American policies, the Sykes-Picot agreement or the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel; others uncover American failures such as in Iran or double standards policies.

But as usually occurs in the case study method, there is an artificial coherence in narratives that isolate a single issue and examine its origins, development, and resolution over what may be a considerable period of time.

This study uses a wide range of primary sources to reconstruct the policy history of the period under study and a large body of secondary literature from a wide range array of fields including cultural, diplomatic history and political science. The place to begin with any study of the US Foreign Policy is, of course The British National Archives in Richmond, London and the libraries of Algerian Universities (Laghouat, Oran, Algiers, Constantine, Batna) and the net as a secondary source.

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America also is frank and extremely rich concerning foreign policy. On Middle East policy with respect to American Russian relations, Walter Lafeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War* (1976) provides an excellent of U.S. policy in the region. Other books by former members of the US officials are equally important.

So that we can analyze and dissect the successive and accelerating events, this study is divided into four chapters, as a preliminary methodological step, chapter one discusses the basic thrust of American foreign policy during the period from 1945 till now, treaties and agreements, investigating the origins of the Cold War, and discussing its impact on U.S. foreign policy. Included a conceptual and theoretical framework, such as the conspiracy theory, American Institutions, decision-making, and the nature of political systems in the Middle East. As well as to highlight the pragmatism or pragmatic philosophy that characterizes American politics, especially outside American soil, and precisely in the sensitive areas around the world, which is witnessing constant tensions similar to the Middle East represented in Syria and Iraq. How they created the Middle East by Sykes Pico.

During that period, U.S. foreign policy had gone through many permutations but the ideological conflict between the U.S. and the USSR had underlain the bulk of American strategy. A considerable amount of continuity existed in U.S. foreign policy from Truman to Trump; continuity based a strategy of containment, a realpolitik approach to international relations, and an ideology of anticommunism. Ultimately this led to shorthand concepts such as the “domino theory” and the continuing escalation of American intervention in the Vietnam War.

In addition to this a close look to the American interior in order to know its components and reasons that brought its political leadership to such power and hegemony, the main institutions that make political decisions, especially external ones, and Israel's influence in shaping American policy in the Middle East.

The mention of the role of neo-conservatives whose names were associated with wars and military interventions is also very important. An example of this is crystal clear in the Iraq war and the subsequent situation that greatly affected the current situation in the Middle East. Knowing that the power of these neoconservatives derives from the Zionist lobby, which is in charge of Middle East decisions. Thus benefit the Zionist entity neighbouring Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt, from all that is happening around it and even its impact on the divisions taking place in Syria and Iraq.

The nature of American relations in these two countries since their independence, and the importance of Syrian and Iraqi political geography in shaping the American strategy in the Middle East, was based primarily on ensuring the flow of oil and protecting the Zionist entity from extinction. Chapter two explores the first model: Iraq as a permanent target for American interventions since independence, nationalisation of its hydrocarbons, its repercussions on American policies and strategy, and the results of permanent interventions in Iraqi politics to the extent of its invasion and attempts to divide the state into ethnic and ethnically based states.

After that, the reality of the American project in the region is clear since the declaration of the war on terror, and taking the Islamic green threat as an alternative enemy that must be fought and eradicated as a pretext and justification for dropping regimes and changing governments, and even if there is no Islamic fundamentalist terrorist threat as per the American Administration. However, it is enough for the regime of any country to be a deadly dictatorial or dictatorship for its people to be included in the list of evil states or rogue states to legitimize its overthrow and spread freedom and democracy, as happened with the late President Saddam Hussein. Also, what is happening now with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad, to implement God's will on earth and respect his will in his choice of America in this task, as per the Americans way of thinking.

Chapter three, deals with the second model, Syria in the US foreign policy and its position in this policy. Also, how the British and the French were fighting for this country and its strategic location. How Americans intervened secretly to overthrow the regimes in Syria and they tried to install a client regime there (through covert and overt operations). Moreover, it tackles, American-Syrian relations recently till Obama.

We also, in chapter four, shed some light on American double standards and the influence of neighbouring countries in the political and security weight, led by Turkey and Jordan. However, Our main focus was on emphasizing Turkey's role and its significant influence on the course of events, as it served as a complement and ally to the Zionist entity's function in the region in order to realize the ultimate project, the Greater Middle East. Moreover, the Ankara-Tel Aviv alliance; this recovers part of the glory lost by the Ottomans with the collapse of their empire, thanks to the recognition of Turkish authorities who don't mind being referred to as new Ottomans. Nonetheless, we focussed on the impact of the invasion of Iraq on strengthening the influence of the Zionist entity. Installing client regimes and fighting terrorism has also a part of discussion.

As a conclusion the impact of neighbouring geography on the role played by the Zionist entity, and the great weight placed on Syria and Iraq in order to change the geopolitical map in its favour and in favour of the American project in the region by intervening in sensitive security issues and the outstanding political issues for decades; as was the case with the Kurdish issue that they invested in order to establish a foothold in Iraq and to consolidate the foundations of the dream project they are waiting for the State of Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates. Which have succeeded in achieving a part of it in the other bank of the Nile, and we mean South Sudan, is still seeking to cut another run in the Euphrates through the Kurdish and Turkish gates.

*Chapter 1:*

American Foreign policy in the  
Middle East after the Second  
World War

**The Theoretical Framework**

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## **1.1. Introduction:**

In a simple synthetic process, one can understand why Americans have what is known as pre-emptive strikes, pre-emptive wars, the former Red Threat, and then the Islamist Threat. On the subject of democracy and its dissemination throughout the world, American pragmatism does not restrict democracy in its political content or form of government, but extends beyond other aspects, such as social and moral. Democracy is not just a form of government; it is based on a way of communal life and mutual experience. Then, when we observe the concept of freedom in American pragmatism, we notice that it is the ability to think and create, through the social and political entity based on democracy. This is where danger lies, because the condition of exercising freedom is to provide the free space guaranteed by the democratic system, that is to say, there is no freedom in the dictatorial system. The condition is that everyone feels freedom and democracy. Therefore, not surprisingly, in many of the areas where Washington intervened militarily, when the public and some elites welcomed it, because it is seen as the reason for freedom from tyranny.

The United States played a major role in the Middle East in the second half of the twentieth century. Following WWII, the American administration used propaganda to persuade the public that a massive US military establishment was required to control an expansionist global Communist movement with headquarters in Moscow or Beijing. Until the conclusion of the Cold War in the 1960s, Britain was the leading Western power in the Middle East; in much of the region, the Soviet Union challenged American dominance. In the Middle East, however, American foreign policy was primarily expansionist and aggressive.

The indifference of much of the national security elite and the public to the region, in between crises, permitted U.S. policy to be dominated by two U.S. domestic lobbies, one ethnic and one economic—the Israel lobby and the oil industry (which occasionally clashed over issues like U.S. weapons sales to Saudi Arabia).

Following the fall of the Soviet Union and other communist regimes in Eastern Europe, however, Washington made no attempt to dismantle its expensive and lethal global military network. The fall of the Soviet empire, on the other hand, created a power vacuum that the US has filled, first in the Persian Gulf following the Gulf Conflict, and then in Central Asia following the Afghan war. All Cold War weapons programs remained operational, with new ones being introduced on a regular basis, including ambitions to militarize space. All of the US's national interests in the region were protected by the US military; in some cases, national interests clash. For instance, consider Israel's security and the region's oil need from Arab nations.



## **1.2. Conspiracy in Foreign Policy:**

Concerning the influence of the pragmatism of American foreign policy, and its justification for the doctrine of benefit and interest externally, it is necessary to drop some of the ideas that the US decision-maker believe in and on top of them there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies, only permanent interests.

There are no permanent allies or foes in international politics, only permanent interests. According to Temple, the originator of this pragmatism was Lord Palmerston of Great Britain, but most world leaders have used it to justify their policies and acts at some point.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, we have to mention the fable of Eagle, Dragon and Bear, representing the USA, China and Russia. For instance, Germany and Japan who were the enemies of the United States and Western Europe during World War II are now their allies vis-à-vis their current rivals, China and Russia, that were their comrades-in-arms during the same war. And that is the best proof of pragmatism, as William James says, “the real ideas are what we can achieve or are invalid. If the illegal things are useful and interest is the same right can and without hesitation to pursue the method of conspiracy and conspiracy in this context, as long as this method to achieve the desired and desired results and if the method is illegal”.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to other methods, such as siege and threat and direct war, which is also based on the idea of good and evil that was classified by the countries either good or evil. To return to the plot as an effective method of achieving strategic goals in the US foreign policy, this can

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<sup>1</sup> - <http://www.greatthoughtstreasury.com/author/lord-palmerston-henry-john-temple-3rd-viscount-palmerston>

<sup>2</sup> - William James, *Pragmatism*, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

be dated between 1839 and 1914. Moreover, by using conspiracy as a means of implementing the goals the US diplomats and military, in agreement with a small group of Hawaiian citizens, plotted to overthrow the constitutional government in the Hawaiian kingdom to bring the latter into American control for instance. This is what happened when the Treaty of Hawaii was signed on February 15, 1893, and is now one of the United States.

The behaviour of the United States of America, especially in the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War with the Soviet Union, is an industrial behaviour that has been built by a series of regional and international anti-communist alliances. Third World War, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the wars of South-East Asia, the Afghan-Soviet war, and the increase in proxy wars to pave the way for American intervention in these areas and the establishment of naval, land and air bases. But with the demise of the red threat and the justification for US military intervention and the behaviour of the containment approach that followed for a while, the opinions of American thinkers and experts emerged demanding the need to develop American foreign policy.

The most prominent was Zbigniew Brzezinski, who explicitly pointed the lack of a new American strategy to waste a lot of exploitation opportunities. However, his assertion was very clear that the collapse of the Soviet Union lead to the disappearance of fertile ground for intervention and implementation of the schemes, hence the US must find another alternative to that.

Even when the green threat is adopted as an alternative enemy to the red threat, after the declaration of the war on terror, America has targeted countries that have nothing to do with al-Qaeda. They have fought directly in Afghanistan and Iraq, indicating that their interventions have never been linked to the pretext of war on terror, but it was just a slogan or cover for the implementation of hidden projects, which was discovered later, and became among the projects conspiracies that targeted specific regions and countries. What

was Saddam Hussein's relationship with al Qaeda? What about the events of September 11? What is the relationship of the Iraq war with the war on terror?

US Vice President Dick Cheney visited the Arab world early in 2001-immediately after the Bush's administration began- to persuade some governments to support the US plan at the time to bring about a comprehensive change in Iraq through military force. Even though, Al Qaeda, which claimed responsibility for the September 11th attacks, has nothing to do with the regime of Saddam Hussein or with the Palestinian or Lebanese resistance, and has nothing to do with the Tehran and Damascus governments under pressure. Nevertheless, Washington's attempt to bring about a comprehensive change in Iraq through military force In early 2001, that is to say 10 months before 9/11.

### **1.3. American Institutions and Decision Making:**

The history of democracy in the United States of America is rooted from great sacrifices made by the American society. The institutional and constitutional form and the recent image are considered among the best models and political experiments in the modern era. The entire world and in all presidential elections, the name of the President of the United States, or the bloc that controls the Congress or the House of Representatives is eagerly expected by other countries. Moreover, even the elections for the renewal of the membership of deputies and senators, has become speculative. However, foresight foreign policy and the potential for this is closely linked to the electoral process, whether presidential or legislative. Thus, it is also linked to the party that will lead America and how it deals with the world.

The American political system run by these institutions is a global system in the belief of the Americans that it is the system that puts them in the status of guards on the strongholds of

freedom in the world according to President John F. Kennedy's words, and includes the composition of the American system<sup>3</sup>; as per the following:

### **1.3.1 The Government:**

This is the summit of administrative rule, which is considered a presidential system, so that the president of the United States is the one who heads this government, after being indirectly chosen by the people through the election as a second stage. However, the government does not enjoy these powers only if the approval of his party's nomination at a previous stage; thus, the President reflects the image of the institution of the presidency. In addition, the President is also a party leader and the symbol of national unity.

The Constitution of the United States divides the federal government into three branches to make sure no individual or group will have too much power: First, Legislative—Makes laws (Congress—House of Representatives and Senate). Second, Executive—Carries out laws (president, vice president, Cabinet, most federal agencies). Finally, Judicial—Evaluates laws (Supreme Court and other courts). Each branch of government can change acts of the other branches:

The president can veto legislation created by Congress and nominates heads of federal agencies. Then, Congress confirms or rejects the President's nominees and can remove the president from office in exceptional circumstances. The Justices of the Supreme Court, who can overturn unconstitutional laws, are nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate. However, this ability of each branch to respond to the actions of the other branches is called the system of checks and balances.

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<sup>3</sup> - <https://www.usa.gov/branches-of-government>.

## **Legislative Branch**

The legislative branch creates proposed legislation, confirms or rejects presidential nominees for federal agency heads, federal judges, and the Supreme Court, and has the power to declare war. Congress (the Senate and House of Representatives) as well as various agencies and offices that give support to Congress are all part of this branch. Citizens of the United States have the right to vote for Senators and Representatives via anonymous ballots.

Senate: Each state has two senators, for a total of 100 senators. A Senate term lasts six years, and an individual can serve in the Senate for as many times as they like. Moreover, The House of Representatives is composed of 435 elected Representatives, who are distributed evenly among the 50 states based on their population. The District of Columbia and the territories are represented by non-voting delegates as well. A Representative is elected for a two-year term, with no limit on the number of terms that can be served.

## **Executive Branch**

The executive branch is in charge of carrying out and enforcing legislation. The president, vice president, Cabinet, executive departments, independent agencies, and various boards, commissions, and committees make up the executive branch. Citizens of the United States have the right to vote for president and vice president on free and private ballots.

The executive branch's key responsibilities include:

President—the president is the country's commander-in-chief. He or she is the President of the United States, the head of the federal government, and the Commander in Chief of the US Armed Forces. The president is elected for a four-year term and can only be re-elected twice.

Vice president—the vice president is the president's supporter. In the event that the president is unable to serve, the vice president assumes command. Even if the president changes, the vice president can be elected and serve an unlimited number of four-year terms as vice president.

Members of the Cabinet serve as counsellors to the president. They include Vice Presidents, Chiefs of Executive Departments, and other high-ranking government officials. The president appoints cabinet members, who must be confirmed by a simple majority of the Senate—51 votes if all 100 Senators vote.

### **Executive Branch Agencies, Commissions, and Committees**

Federal agencies, departments, committees, and other organizations handle much of the work in the executive branch. Moreover, The Executive Office of the President is responsible for communicating the president's message as well as dealing with the government budget, security, and other pressing issues.

**Executive Departments:** These are the federal government's key agencies. The president's cabinet includes the heads of these 15 agencies. Also, Executive Department Sub-Agencies that are smaller sub-agencies within executive department agencies support specialized activities.

**Independent Agencies:** These organizations are not part of the president's cabinet or the Executive Office of the President. They are in charge of government operations, economic policy, and regulatory monitoring. Moreover, **Boards, Commissions, and Committees** – These smaller organizations are created by Congress or the president to handle specialized responsibilities and areas that aren't covered by parent agencies.

**Quasi-Official Agencies** – Although they're not officially part of the executive branch, these agencies are required by federal statute to release certain information about their programs and activities in the Federal Register, the daily journal of government activities.

## **The Judicial Branch**

The judicial branch reads laws, applies them to specific circumstances, and determines whether they are constitutional. The Supreme Court, as well as other federal courts, make up this body.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the country's highest court. The president nominates Supreme Court Justices, who must get Senate approval. It consists of nine members: a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. In order to consider a matter, there must be a quorum of at least six Justices. If there is even number of Justices on the Supreme Court and a case ends in a tie, the ruling of the lower court is upheld. However, Justices do not have a set term. They remain on the job until they die, retire, or are removed under unusual circumstances.

Federal Courts and Judicial Agencies – The Constitution empowers Congress to create additional federal courts to handle disputes concerning federal statutes such as tax and bankruptcy, as well as litigation involving the federal government, state governments, or the constitution. Other federal judicial offices and programs provide assistance to the courts and do study on judicial policy.

The method for appointing Supreme Court Justices and other federal judges is the same: The president appoints a nominee to fill a vacancy on the bench. Then, The Senate Judiciary Committee holds a hearing on the candidate and decides on whether or not the nomination should be sent to the full Senate. The Senate can debate the nominee if it advances forward. Moreover, before the Senate votes on whether or not to confirm the candidate, the debate must come to a close. To terminate the discussion, a Senator will ask for unanimous consent, but any Senator can say no.

To conclude the discussion, the Senate must adopt a cloture motion without unanimous approval. Cloture, which ends discussion on a federal judicial candidate, requires a simple majority of votes—51 if all 100 Senators vote. Following the conclusion of the discussion, the Senate votes on confirmation. To be approved, a nominee for the Supreme Court or any other federal judgeship must get a simple majority of votes—51 if all 100 Senators vote.

### **1.3.2 The Congress:**

The Congress is the bicameral legislature of the Federal government of the United States. The legislature consists of two chambers: the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Congress meets in the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C. Both senators and representatives are chosen through direct election, though vacancies in the Senate may be filled by a gubernatorial appointment. Congress has 535 voting members: 435 representatives and 100 senators. The House of Representatives has six non-voting members representing Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia in addition to its 435 voting members. Although they cannot vote in the full house, these members can sit and vote in congressional committees and introduce legislation.

Members of the House of Representatives are elected for two-year terms to represent the people of a single "district." The United States Census findings are used to allocate congressional districts to states based on population, assuming that each state has at least one congressional representative. According to the author, each state has two senators, regardless of population or size. The 50 states are represented by 100 senators at this time. Each senator is elected for a six-year term at-large in their home state, with periods staggered such that around one-third of the Senate is up for election every two years.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress).



According to the same source; to be eligible for election, a candidate must be aged at least 25 (House) or 30 (Senate), have been a citizen of the US for seven (House) or nine (Senate) years, and be an inhabitant of the state which they represent. Nevertheless, The Congress was created by the Constitution of the US in 1789, replacing in its legislative function the Congress of the Confederation. He notes, Although not legally mandated, in practice since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Congress members are typically affiliated with the Republican Party or with the Democratic Party and only rarely with a third party or independents.

According to the country's Constitution of 17-09-1787, as per Wikipedia, the procedure so far provides that Congress is the organ of full legislative power and its members influence the executive branch, including the president, by pressing it. It is composed of two rooms, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The House of Representatives represents the American people as a whole, and the Council has the right to submit bills, with the exception of the House of Representatives, which monopolizes the authority to prepare the Finance Act alone. In view of this situation, the President is always keen to ensure that the Senate does not object to appointments in the political, judicial, diplomatic and administrative positions, while always seeking to have the confidence of deputies to conclude treaties and international conventions and seeks their absolute support to influence the Senate.<sup>5</sup>

### **1.3.3. Political Parties:**

The need to win popular support in a republic led to the American invention of voter-based political parties in the 1790s.<sup>6</sup> Americans were especially innovative in devising new campaign techniques that linked public opinion with public policy through the party.

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<sup>5</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress).

<sup>6</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress).

Historians and political scientists have divided the development of America's two-party system into five eras. The first two-party system consisted of the Federalist Party, who supported the ratification of the Constitution,<sup>7</sup> and the Democratic-Republican Party or the Anti-Administration party (Anti-Federalists), who opposed the powerful central government, that the Constitution established when it took effect in 1789.

According to the author, the current two-party system comprises of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. Several third parties operate in the United States, and they occasionally elect someone to local office.<sup>8</sup> The Libertarian Party has been the largest third party since the 1980s.

Besides the Constitution, Green, and Libertarian parties, there are many other political parties that receive only minimal support and only appear on the ballot in one or a few states. Some political candidates, according to a study by Priyanka Priyadarshini, and many voters, choose not to identify with a particular political party. In some states, independents are not allowed to vote in primary elections, he adds, but in others, they can vote in any primary election of their choice.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the term "independent" often is used as a synonym for "moderate," "centrist," or "swing vote," to refer to a politician or voter who holds views that incorporate facets of both liberal and conservative ideologies, an independent can be of any ideological or political persuasion. In addition, the political parties led by the Socialist Workers' Party, which is founded in 1938, To 100 other parties.<sup>10</sup>

The establishment of the Republican Party dates back to the beginning of 1850, while the Democrat was established in the 1820s and calls for the consolidation, model and deepening

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<sup>7</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress).

<sup>8</sup> - Ibid

<sup>9</sup> - Priyanka Priyadarshini; <https://independent.academia.edu/PriyankaPriyadarshini11>

<sup>10</sup> - Ibid

of American democracy, regardless of the influence of political parties on the structure of the American political system.

The role of other organized groups, but not a formal institutional organization, which is a significant role because it possesses all the elements of influence. These groups, which are called in the language of politics and economy, are the term lobbying groups or lobbies, most notably in the United States: Chinese, Japanese and Cuban. But the strongest is the Jewish lobby, which we will talk about later to demonstrate its great role in guiding foreign policy and its penetration into political parties and government circles.

It should also be noted that the nature of electoral constituencies is of paramount importance to candidates for the post of President of the United States, where we find that certain states constitute strongholds of the candidate, either by belonging to them or by alliance with the forces that exist in them, for example in the past years, candidates were focusing their efforts On the states of Iowa and New Hampshire. Moreover, the control of these two states guarantees a large difference, to be able to disengage the presidency, and running the elections vary from party to party, because of the different political and ideological programs of each, but what they collect is an attempt to win the electorate and the electoral container, which is framed by the lobby- The Jew- we see no use of “i” or “we” them in every election entitlement, compete for the nail to support the lobby by showing loyalty to the Zionist entity, and its commitment to its security and superiority in the Middle East.<sup>11</sup>

And the possibility of resorting to the method of obscurantism and ambiguity in dealing with them, the views of the two parties and their ideological views differ about America and its foreign policy. America from the point of view of the Democrats cannot lead the world

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<sup>11</sup>- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Congress).

alone, but is one of the other forces, while the Republicans see in America the only global force in the world, and it earned that position through its military superiority and technology.

In contrast, international events have played a role in determining the victory of a president without the other, as happened in 1979 with President Jimmy Carter, when he failed to obtain a second term because of the events of the US embassy in Tehran after the Islamic revolution in Iran, Winning the presidency after the liberation of the hostages was a priority in the event of his election, or other events affected the political process as a whole as in the case of Water-Gate or Iran-Gate.

#### **1.3.4. The Supreme Court:**

The Supreme Court of the United States is one of the most significant structures that is subject to certain rules and regulations that must be examined and analyzed. They have considerable political clout, as seen by their opposition to Roosevelt. It is made up of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices who are chosen for life by the head of state, and the Chief Justice is the second person in the state after the president.<sup>12</sup>

The Supreme Court of the United States of America is the country's highest court. As a result, the Court is in charge of the United States Federal Government's Judicial Branch. It is the sole court in the United States created by the Constitution, and its rulings are meant to be obeyed by all other courts in the country. The Supreme Court is based in Washington, D.C., although it used to assemble in the US Capitol until 1935.<sup>13</sup>

According to the same article, the number of judges—called "justices"—on the Supreme Court has changed over time. The Supreme Court today has nine justices: one Chief Justice

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<sup>12</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_gov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_gov).

<sup>13</sup> - [https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme\\_Court\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_States](https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Court_of_the_United_States)

and eight Associate Justices. Courts, on the other hand, are unofficially named after Chief Justices; for example, the current Court is known as the "Roberts Court" after Chief Justice John Roberts.<sup>14</sup>

The Supreme Court chooses which cases it will decide on, according to the same website. Many people petition the Supreme Court to hear their cases, yet the majority of them are denied. In order for the Supreme Court to hear a case, it must involve federal law or the laws of many states. Cases must be decided first by a federal District Court and a federal Court of Appeals, or a state supreme court.<sup>15</sup> Even after that, the Supreme Court has the discretion to refuse to hear a case for any reason. There are some cases, however, that can start in the Supreme Court and that the Supreme Court must decide, but they are rare usually.

Unless they opt to retire sooner or are impeached, the justices serve for life. If a justice retires, he or she may be requested to serve on a federal court of appeals as a judge. The President of the United States nominates (picks) new justices, who must then be confirmed by the Senate.<sup>16</sup> Usually, the President tries to pick someone who broadly shares their legal or political beliefs. Judges have been known to surprise people by turning out to be more liberal or conservative than expected.

In order for us to understand the US foreign policy, we have to understand first the nature of the American government and political system, as most of US foreign policies are related to the American domestic policies.

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<sup>14</sup> - [https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme\\_Court\\_of\\_the\\_United\\_States](https://simple.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Court_of_the_United_States))

<sup>15</sup> - Ibid

<sup>16</sup> - Ibid

#### **1.4. The Nature of Political Systems in the Middle East and their Secretions:**

The Middle East is gaining a special character in the analysis. If we consider that the largest and most powerful countries in the world devise a special strategy and a specific mode of dealing, depending on the nature of the political systems prevalent in the region, on the one hand, from the issue that remains to the present day the focus of conflict and instability, the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Zionist conflict, on the other hand, but before going into this talk, it should be noted that "the end of the First World War has seen the fragmentation of the Arab countries in The Orient and its subordination to Western hegemony, and the direction of the establishment of Israel ... and so intertwined the beginning of the country state colonial beginnings, parliamentary institution, and reliance".<sup>17</sup>

With the crystallisation of the ideas of the Arab Renaissance in the late nineteenth century, led by Arab thinkers, and by the friction of some figures in Western civilisation, especially with regard to intellectual revolutions, the development of international events and their direct impact on the countries of the Arab region from the First World War and the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate And then a second world war, "there were beginnings in the development of national thought to expand after the Second World War, and to confirm the unitary trend, then be influenced by the socialist, and Islamic thoughts that have seen a new emergence and expansion.

Here we can say that a new equation has been developed" In a past Wahhabi project based on Islamic fundamentalism and contradictory radical with the project represents a rational national vision, which starts from the reality of decadence of the Arab nation, and ultimately

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<sup>17</sup> - Abd Al-Aziz Duri, an introduction to the History of Arab's Economic, 1982.

turned nationalist thought in his quest to achieve a rapid renaissance to an overthrow of the government or a revolution, a way to eliminate underdevelopment.<sup>18</sup> "It should be recalled that the Arab System is characterized by a characteristic ... it is a traditional state system on the one hand, and it is a system of a national society"

That is, between the nature of the state and the nature of the nation. It is this combination that has effectively contributed to its dynamism. However, the great challenges that the Arab System encountered has made the Arab States themselves in a security situation in the comprehensive sense of security, unable to do much of their new and changing jobs, alone. Some of the tensions that have remained rooted since the independence stage and some of the sensitivities that are fed by the events from time to time.

The Arab System has known the phenomenon of conflict between its units since its inception, and it was unable to find solutions to these conflicts because of its inability to achieve the required development in its structural characteristics in order to solve these conflicts. This has led to the phenomenon of Arab-Arab Political Systems in the Middle East, and has been characterised by a kind of competition for the completion of intellectual and ideological projects.

So that some countries such as Iraq, Syria and Egypt have learned a way to build a special form of state based on Arab Nationalism, both Nasserite and Baathist, characterised by their socialism and a kind of political domination due to the leadership of the military institutions in those countries to experience change. They are based on some facts, sovereignty and total independence; the preservation of national wealth and resources, without prejudice to the dualism of Arabism and Islam. Nonetheless, they are defined as Arab Identity.

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<sup>18</sup>- Toufik Muduni , 07 January 2008- [www.tunisalwasat.com](http://www.tunisalwasat.com)

In the same region, the Middle East is defined as a certain form of the state based on a liberal capitalist approach, openness to the West and participation in many investment projects due to some historical and political factors that have resulted from the fall of the Ottoman State, and the beginning of the era of trusteeship and mandate to the end, as was the case in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, Oman, Qatar, Kuwait.

U.S leaders have consistently supported rightist regimes and organisations and opposed leftist ones. The terms “Right” and “Left” are seldom specifically defined by policymakers or media commentators. Explaining the politico-economic content of leftist regimes and movements reveals their egalitarian and usually democratic ideals, making demonizing them much more difficult. Individuals, organizations, and governments on the "Left" fight for egalitarian redistributive policies that benefit the ordinary people while encroaching on the privileged interests of the wealthy. The Right also is involved in redistributive politics, but the distribution goes the other way, in an upward direction.<sup>19</sup>

Rightist forces in other countries are almost always labeled "friendly to the West" by US opinion makers, a disguised euphemism meaning pro-free market and pro-capitalist. Leftists, on the other hand, are branded as antagonistic, "anti-democratic," "anti-American," and "anti-West." Despite claiming to be driven by a commitment to Human Rights and Democracy. U.S leaders have supported some of the most notorious rightwing autocracies in history, governments that have tortured, killed or otherwise neglected large numbers of their citizens because of their dissenting political views, as in Turkey, Zaire, Chad, Pakistan, Morocco, Indonesia, Honduras, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, the Philippines, Cuba (under Batista), Nicaragua (under Somoza), Iran (under the Shah), and Portugal (under Salazar).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> - Michael Parenti, *Rulers of the Planet: Why U.S. Leaders Intervene Everywhere*, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> - Ibid.



Furthermore, according to Professor Boukhari Hammana, in an article published in El Moudjahed newspaper, aggression is the policy of Imperialism, the different wars the Arab countries fought against the American Imperialism and its agents underline a very big mistake for the American Foreign Policy that is illusion, claiming that the enemy of the Arab Nations is the USSR and not Israel.<sup>21</sup> Consequences to this illusion we see the revolutionary Arab regimes (Egypt 1952, Syria 1957, Iraq 1958, Algeria 1962, Palestinian Resistance 1965, South Yemen 1968 and Libya 1969); regimes more and more hostile to the U.S and its agents in the region.

In contrast, the Arab System has a high degree of penetration, some of it by mutual consent or acquiescence, and the external element has become a powerful influence in shaping the relations of the Arab House with the outside and at home, as well.

This breakthrough is inevitably due to the state of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the failure of the Arab system in all stages of its development in defeating the Zionist colonial project in Palestine "<sup>22</sup> Since the end of World War I, they have grown in power and influence until they have arrived at where they are now, in addition to the American policy in the region, and especially the role played by the American elite's decision makers known as conservatives.

They became known as the neoconservatives. Discussions on the policies of those in the Middle East and dealing with the systems of the region show the picture of the emergence of political systems in the Middle East in this form of authoritarianism, openness, and wealth.

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<sup>21</sup> - Boukhari Hammana, La politique Arabe Des USA, (El Moudjahid, Alger 30 Aout 1980)

<sup>22</sup> - Mohamed Fikry El Sayed, American thought to build the new Iraqi army, Defence Magazine, 213

This brings us back to the old and established principles of the American policy towards the Middle East that have not changed since the second half of the century, Especially after the emergence of the Zionist entity (Israel) and the discovery of oil in the Arabian Peninsula. The main pillars of American policy are still unchanged for decades, and are summarised first by preserving oil sources, and ensuring their flow to the world in general, and the West in particular, and to Israel's security in the second place.<sup>23</sup> These countries have known political and economic upsurges and violent ideology, which eventually led to the birth of genetic family systems that captured the details of the whole of public life, and because of historical accumulations since the Ottoman presence and later in colonial times, some political issues remained alive.

The US government provokes skirmishes from time to time, and quarrels between Arab governments and then invests in these troubles employed to exploit politically and culturally, even through the use of media, in order to facilitate the pressure on these systems, and access to them by memorizing the different factor to enhance the image of the imaginary enemy among the regimes. So that the Arab regime will keep enmity with itself, and with its people and seen as an oppressor of its freedom and political rights, this, in order to strengthen the role of the Zionist entity. This scene, which the United States invested, helps the liquidation of the Palestinian cause. Leaving the Arab regimes accuse each others; as in the case of the kingdoms and emirates of the Gulf, or the dictatorships-as per the US government- consisting of Syria, Iraq and Egypt, at least until the beginning of the events of the so-called Arab spring.

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<sup>23</sup> - Habib Kamal, Transformations of Islamic Movement and American Strategy, 2005.

## **1.5. The Sykes–Picot Agreement**

The Asia Minor Agreement, as it was officially known, was a secret 1916 agreement between the United Kingdom and France, to which the Russian Empire agreed. In Southwestern Asia, the agreement outlined their mutually agreed-upon zones of influence and control. The agreement was predicated on the assumption that during World War I, the Triple Entente would defeat the Ottoman Empire. The agreement was reached after months of negotiations between November 1915 and March 1916, and it was signed on May 16, 1916. The deal, exposed to the public in *Izvestia* and *Pravda* on 23 November 1917 and in the British *Guardian* on November 26, 1917,<sup>24</sup> is still mentioned when considering the region and its present-day conflicts.

To facilitate access to the Mediterranean, the agreement gave Britain sovereignty of a territory roughly encompassing the coastal strip between the Mediterranean Sea and the River Jordan, Jordan, southern Iraq, and a tiny enclave that contained the ports of Haifa and Acre. Southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon were all taken over by France. Istanbul, the Turkish Straits, and Armenia were all earmarked for Russia. The ruling powers were given complete autonomy in determining state boundaries within their jurisdictions. Further negotiations were expected to determine international administration in the "brown area" (a region that included Jerusalem but was smaller than Mandate Palestine), the form of which would be decided after consultation with Russia, then with the other Allies and representatives of Hussein bin Ali, the Sharif of Mecca.

Outside of the Arabian Peninsula, the agreement essentially separated the Ottoman Arab provinces into British and French authority and influence zones. In the Levant, it was initially used directly as the basis for the 1918 Anglo–French Modus Vivendi which agreed a framework for the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (which was a joint British and

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<sup>24</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sykes%E2%80%93Picot\\_Agreement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sykes%E2%80%93Picot_Agreement)

French military administration over Levantine and Mesopotamian provinces of the former Ottoman Empire between 1918–20, set up following the Sinai and Palestine Campaign of the First World War. It was founded in 1918 as a result of the Anglo–French Modus Vivendi.

The administration came to an end when the French Mandate of Syria and Lebanon and the British Mandate of Palestine were assigned at the San Remo Conference on April 19–26, 1920. In a broader sense, it aimed to pave the way for the split of the Ottoman Empire following the Ottoman defeat in 1918.

The Acre-Haifa zone was designed to serve as a British enclave in the north, allowing access to the Mediterranean. In 1920, the British took control of the brown zone and adjoining territories, and from 1923 to 1948, they administered it as Mandatory Palestine. From 1920 to 1932, they administered Mandatory Iraq, and the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon lasted from 1923 to 1946. Mark Sykes, a British diplomat, and François Georges-Picot, a French counterpart, negotiated the arrangements. The Tsarist government<sup>25</sup> was a minor party to the Sykes–Picot agreement, and when, following the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks published the agreement on 23 November 1917, The British were humiliated, the Arabs were shocked, and the Turks were ecstatic.

Many consider the accord as a watershed moment in Western-Arab relations. It reneged on the United Kingdom's pledge to Arabs of a national Arab homeland in the Greater Syria region in exchange for Ottoman Empire backing. However, the Minister of State at the British Foreign Office, Richard Law, commented to his Cabinet colleagues that Americans believe “*that the United States stands for something in the world—*

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<sup>25</sup> - Tsar: is a form of autocracy (later absolute monarchy) specific to the Grand Duchy of Moscow, which later became Tsardom of Russia and the Russian Empire. In it, all power and wealth is controlled (and distributed) by the Tsar.

*something of which the world has need, something which the world is going to like, something, in the final analysis, which the world is going to take, whether it likes it or not.*"<sup>26</sup>. This philanthropic care was not well received by the British. "American commercial interests' economic imperialism will kill them," they believed.

## **1.6. Israel's Influence in Shaping US Policy in the Middle East :**

Ernest Bevin attempted and failed in 1945-46 to find a solution that the US would approve. He was also unable to come up with a solution that was acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. "There is no Arab vote in America, but there is a very big Jewish vote, and the Americans are always having elections," Attlee added.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, when Bevin reviewed British policy in the Near East in July 1949, according to Lafeber, he was not ready to give up British imperialist schemes and therefore He didn't see the point in making any substantial modifications. He was not able to accept Arab aspirations to see their countries without British troops and fully independent. He intended to replace the controversial bilateral agreements with Middle Eastern countries with a regional security framework that would allow Britain to maintain its unequal standing with the Arabs.<sup>28</sup> He now believed that the United States should also be brought into the system and Britain, with United States' help, should preserve with the plan of regional economic development was necessary to ensure the Middle Eastern countries' continued exploitation.

The area, rich in oil and natural resources, was essential to the designs of the Western Powers. The USSR criticised the neo-colonial policies of the USA and Britain, and claimed that while the Arab States were at a stage of ridding themselves of Western influence, the goal

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<sup>26</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*, 1989, p 251.

<sup>27</sup> - Lafeber, Walter: *America, Russia and the Cold War*. New York Wiley, 1976, p.7 9.

<sup>28</sup> - Kimche, Jon: *Seven Fallen Pillars, The Middle East, 1945-1952*. London, Seeker and Warburg, 1953, p. 313.

of Western powers was to “enslave” the Arab world through a political approach and by bringing these countries into various military pacts that were linked to the NATO alliance in some way.<sup>29</sup>

When the State of Israel was established, the Soviet Union's attitude toward Israel was largely positive. When the war broke out in May 1948, Pravda declared, "With all its sympathy for the national liberation of the Arab peoples, the Soviet public cannot but condemn the Arab States' aggression against the right of the Jewish people to build their own state in accordance with the decision of the UN General Assembly."<sup>30</sup> After the Soviet Union joined the Arab world through Israel, anxieties grew in the West, particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom, that communism would spread throughout the Middle East. The issue of Anglo-American rivalry in the Middle East, on the other hand, was explored in the USSR.

After mentioning the structure of the American society and after addressing the reality of neo-conservatives, one can observe the growing influence of the Zionist entity on the decisions of the US administration on the Middle East, thanks to the position of conservatives in the wheels of US policy, which would not have been for the absence of a factor which is an important internal link between leaders in Tel Aviv and their conservative allies. This liaison and coordination is undoubtedly the Jewish lobby, which is an established institution in itself, strongly involved in drawing the political and economic determinants and orientations of America internally. This can be noticed, certainly, as the effect and influence of the strong lobbyist. It was not overnight, but rather rooted deep in modern American history, and precisely since the European campaigns of migration to America, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

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<sup>29</sup> - Note of the Government of the USSR to the Governments of Great Britain, the USA, France and Turkey concerning the Proposals for establishment of Middle East Command). Moskva 28 January 1952.-

Lenczowski, George: The Middle East in World Affairs. New York, Cornell University Press,p.528

<sup>30</sup> - The New York Times, 26 June 1948.

The Middle East is increasingly becoming the focal point of US foreign policy, as the Al-Qaeda assaults on New York and Washington have demonstrated. A debate in the United States about the goals and methods of American Middle East policy became necessary. Unfortunately, due to the disproportionate influence of the Israel lobby, a free and open debate is not possible, at least for the time being.

The issue is that the Arab-Israeli conflict is presented without any historical or political background. Most Americans, for example, are unaware that Ehud Barak's proposed Palestinian state comprised of many Bantustans crisscrossed by Israeli roadways with military checkpoints. Instead, most Americans simply know that Israel made a good offer that Arafat, for some reason, turned down. To make problems worse, there are reporting conventions.

The mainstream media portrays the Palestinians as aggressors in the Arab-Israeli conflict: "Israel fired missiles into Gaza in reaction to Palestinian violence." "Palestinian gunmen fought back against Israeli soldiers in response to Israel's three-decade occupation of the West Bank and Gaza," Lind says, but no reporter ever reports this.<sup>31</sup>

At present, however, members of Congress from all regions are still reluctant to offend a single-issue lobby that can and will subsidize their opponents; many journalists and policy experts privately express concern about being blacklisted by editors and publishers who are ardent supporters of Israel; top jobs in the U.S. national security apparatus routinely go to individuals with close personal and professional ties to Israel and its American lobby; and soldiers and career diplomats are sometimes smeared in whisper campaigns if they thwart the goals of Israeli governments. In these circumstances, how U.S. policy could not be biased in favour of Israel.

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<sup>31</sup> - Michael Lind: *Distorting US foreign Policy: The Israel Lobby and American Power* Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, May 2002.

In the United States, the kind of informed, centrist criticism of Israel that can be found in the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe, criticism that recognizes Israel's right to exist and defend itself while condemning its brutal occupation of Palestinian land and discrimination against Arab Israelis, is far less visible. What is required at this point in American and global history is a responsible critique of the US Israel lobby that, unlike the left's critique, accepts the broad outlines of US grand strategy as legitimate and, unlike the far right's critique, is not motivated by animus against either Jewish Americans or the state of Israel as a whole.

If the foreign policy of any country is linked to the achievement of its national interests in the first place, it is different in the most powerful state in the world. Therefore, Mearsheimer and Walt argues that, all countries must stand on the reality of the forces that drive the policy of the United States in the Middle East ... and that the axis of American policy in this region has remained over the past decades, especially since the Six Day War in 1967, represented by the relationship with Israel "<sup>32</sup>, to the extent that it extended to the two parties.

American officials since the 1960s and until now always mentioned that Israel's security is the security of America, it increased also after the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, and the beginning of talking about the danger of terrorism on both sides means that Washington should release Israel's hand in dealing with the Palestinians "It also means that the United States should track countries like the Islamic Republic of Iran, Saddam Hussein's Iraq, Syria and Bashar Assad. So, Israel is seen as a key ally in the war on terror, because its enemies are the enemies of America ..." The lobby is an expression of the fact that individuals and organisations are actively engaged in formulating foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction ... This does not mean that every American has a favourable attitude toward Israel, and this does not imply that every American official supports Israel, in other words, to be part of the lobby to actively work to move US foreign policy in the direction of pro-Israel "<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>- John Mearsheimer, and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2007, p11.

<sup>33</sup>- Ibid.



The strong relationship between the Zionist entity and the United States, is characterized by the existence of an official committee emanating from the US Congress known as AIPAC, The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee ... It has sometimes known what members of Congress say about The Middle East politics, even in private conversations.

The AIPAC is a lobbying group that advocates pro-Israel policies to the Congress and Executive Branch of the United States<sup>34</sup>. AIPAC's current President is Lillian Pinkus. AIPAC is one of several pro-Israel lobbying organizations in the United States, with more than 100,000 members, seventeen regional offices, and "a large pool of funders," according to the organization's website. AIPAC has been dubbed "the single most essential organization in promoting the US-Israel partnership" by California Congressman Brad Sherman<sup>35</sup>. Furthermore, the group has been dubbed one of the most influential lobbying organizations in the United States. The organization does not raise donations for political candidates directly, but its members do so through PACs AIPAC helped create and other means.

Its detractors claim it serves as an agent of the Israeli government, with "stranglehold" power and influence over the US Congress. The organization has been accused of having substantial ties to Israel's Likud party and the Republican Party in the United States, although an AIPAC spokeswoman has dismissed this as a "malicious mischaracterization." According to the Washington Post, "while both groups claim to be bipartisan," AIPAC "has won overwhelming support from Republican Jews," J Street, on the other hand, is "offering itself as an alternative for Democrats who have grown dissatisfied with both Netanyahu's policies and conservatives' flocking to AIPAC."<sup>36</sup>

AIPAC, on the other hand, prides itself on being a bipartisan group, and all of the bills it advocates for in Congress are always co-sponsored by a Democrat and a Republican. AIPAC

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<sup>34</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American\\_Israel\\_Public\\_Affairs\\_Committee#](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Israel_Public_Affairs_Committee#)

<sup>35</sup> - *ibid*

<sup>36</sup> - *ibid*

supporters argue that their bipartisan nature can be evident at its annual policy conference, which in 2016 featured both major parties' nominees—Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Donald Trump—according to their website; as well as high-ranking Republicans, such as Speaker of the House Paul Ryan, and high-ranking Democrats, such as Vice President Joe Biden.

Critics of Israel always jeopardize their political standing. For instance, Paul Vendley<sup>37</sup> argues that "The AIPAC is not only a part of the Israeli lobby, but on the one hand, the direct impact on public policy is clearly the most important," he adds. "I do not exaggerate if I say that AIPAC really controls all the actions of Capitol Hill on politics of the Middle East, "also known as this committee, it is at the top of the places where the presidential candidate for the presidential election plans his political speech. Some of them start their election campaigns as the first encounter with the public and the militants."<sup>38</sup>

Over the years, the pro-Israel lobby has completely penetrated the entire system of government, and it is AIPAC that left the deepest impression. Even the President of the United States resorts to it whenever he or she encounters a complex political problem related to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Not to mention the non-political means of pressure owned by the lobby, the most famous economic companies and the strongest financial and banking institutions, and stock exchanges that are formed in the form of trusts and cartels belong to the Jews of America; or at least contribute by a certain percentage, to the President's loyalty first and last to Tel Aviv.

Moreover, the lobby has an intelligence company that includes several volunteers who can reach all branches of the executive authority ... If, for example, one of the officials said that he opposed a request for Israel ... or he did worse than that ... he must assume that this information will arrive quickly to the Israeli Embassy either directly or via AIPAC, and he

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<sup>37</sup> - Vendley Paul, *Who Dares Speaking? Zionist Lobby and US Foreign and Domestic Policy*; 1988

<sup>38</sup> - Ibid

must long be the subject of criticism when visiting Israeli Foreign Ambassador or other senior US officials or Ministers.

### **1.7. The Middle East and the US Strategy after WWII:**

*There are now two great nations in the world, which Starting from different points, and seem to be advancing towards the same goal the Russians and the Anglo-Americans.... Each seems called by some secret of Providence one day to hold in its hands the destinies of half the world.*

Alexis de Tocqueville,  
Democracy in America (1835).<sup>39</sup>

The American experience in the decades following WWII is one of the most complicated and contentious periods in American history. Almost every aspect of the time is the topic of heated disputes in which historians provide fresh perspectives. Almost as soon as WWII ended the U.S. found itself entangled in a somewhat subtler and more complex Cold War with the world's only other superpower, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Cold War was a driving force in shaping American foreign policy.

Indeed, the ideological conflict between the two superpowers had a tremendous influence in the formulation of American foreign policy between the end of the Second World War till the collapse of the Soviet Union; it redefined America's historical role in the world community. American foreign policy that was founded upon George Washington's warning "beware of foreign entanglements" soon found itself involved in different parts of the world.

What exactly was the "existing international order" that needed to be "defended"? According to Chomsky, US strategists sought to create a Grand Area, a worldwide system

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<sup>39</sup> - <https://www.history.com/topics/france/alexis-de-tocqueville>

that would be subjugated to the requirements of the US economy and under US political domination.<sup>40</sup> Regional systems, particularly those controlled by the British, were to be phased out, while those under US control were to be expanded, based on the premise, articulated by Abe Fortas in internal discussions, that "what was good for us was good for the world."<sup>41</sup>

The Soviet Union poses a threat to the Grand Area since it refuses to be absorbed into it and aids other resistant nations. The Soviet danger, on the other hand, is seen as far more serious, necessitating tough defense measures. Woodrow Wilson "and his allies saw their acts in a defensive rather than an offensive context," according to John Lewis Gaddis. When they invaded the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik revolution. According to the same rationale, the US is committed to self-determination for Vietnam, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and other beneficiaries, while the USSR is committed to self-determination in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.<sup>42</sup>

Since the United States emerged as the only great allied power not devastated by the war, it became the leader of what was called the "free world"- phrase that came into use with the rupture of the Grand Alliance. Assuming the leadership of the "free world" meant that the U.S. had to play a pivotal role in deciding, or helping to decide, or shaping the great foreign policy and geopolitical issues of the postwar era. America's role as "leader of the free world"- whether self-assumed or by default, was a driving force behind its foreign and defense policies.

A true Human Rights-based foreign policy would require "regime change" warfare against the biggest evildoers in the world, including those willing to do business with the U.S. According to John Lewis Gaddis "American leaders have consistently seen themselves as reacting to rather than creating changes to the current international order." And were in fact

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<sup>40</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*, 1989, p 250.

<sup>41</sup>- Roger Lewis, *Imperialism at Bay: the United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire 1941 - 1945*, Oxford, 1978, p. 481.

<sup>42</sup> - *Ibid.*

concerned with “maintaining a global balance of power with the perceived Muscovite challenge to that equilibrium” in Western Europe.<sup>43</sup>

Beginning with Harry. S. Truman’s containment policy, doctrine and continuing through Détente, the U.S. presidents during that era developed their unique foreign policy dealing with the Soviet Union. The American foreign policy towards the Arab world has become characterised by continuity, development, integration, inclusiveness, and has been based on strategic principles that stem from the foundations of the Arab presence in this region:

First, the geo-strategic location of the Arab world is the basic base that defines its relations with various regions of the world and its countries, which are composed of the components of the geographical location of the Arab nation. It is the centre of the continents and controls its transport roads: land, air, East and West, North and South, making it play a strong strategic role to influence the wars that took place in its territory, in the competition of major economic powers, and the civilised site of the Arab world, which is located in the heart of the area of ancient civilizations, medium and modern, its location in the centre of regional and civil wars and crises, natural resources owned by the Arab countries, and the most important oil and natural gas.

Second, the Arab world is one geographical region, it represents a national unity, one civilization and one geographic, and the Arab peoples represent one nation. However, from the point of view of American foreign policy, they also divided the Arab world into four geographical locations, each with its own characteristics that link it to its objectives and the nature of the interest of the United States of America in this region and its relationship with each of these countries in terms of strength or weakness, for the interests America and its allies, and these sites are divided into the following departments:

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<sup>43</sup> - John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, 1982, p. 43.

The first circle: In the Gulf region, where Western countries import 75% of their oil needs from the Gulf countries, which makes it a strategic, distinctive, sensitive and important for the West in particular and the global economy in general. This in turn increases the instability and instability in relations. The Arab Gulf is also a trade market for Western products, with exports reaching the countries of the GCC (57.770 billion Euros in 2009).<sup>44</sup>

The second circle is the hottest circle located in the heart of the Arab region. It includes Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt, and represents the importance of this region through its strategic location in the eastern Mediterranean, The Arab-Israeli conflict.

The third circle: geographically located in the centre and south of the Arab world, and one of the most important strategic characteristics of the Nile River, which links Egypt and Sudan, in terms of population and area, and the main objective of foreign policy towards this circle, which is based on The Arab world. This is to isolate this region from its Arab and African environment, because the Arab-African rapprochement is a regional force, which forces America to resist it. This is what it sought by separating southern Sudan from the mother country Sudan.

Finally, the fourth circle: Is in the western part of the Arab world and the northern part of Africa. This department is characterised by its geographic characteristics, its proximity to Europe, and its vast area, which represents half of the Arab world. Economic interests constitute the basic foundation of American policy in the Arab world, in terms of the oil industry, trade relations and the establishment of investment projects. The United States of America is sparing no effort to use all political, diplomatic and military means to protect its economic interests in the Arab region.

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<sup>44</sup> - [www.moheet.com](http://www.moheet.com)

The search for new markets and their development under the protection of military bases is the real goal of US foreign policy. It is the only country that militarily controls the world through a group of command centres, and over one million deployed troops in four continents. According to Moore, the US has created what is possibly the world's largest drone complex in Djibouti (Chabelley), which is involved in two continents' wars, Yemen and Somalia.” He also mentioned that the US is expanding its drone facility in Agadez, Niger.<sup>45</sup>

It also worked to establish political and military alliances with two non-Arab Middle Eastern countries, Turkey and Israel, to which they have had strategic relations since the early 1950s. America has increasingly relied on these two countries to implement their political objectives especially after the emergence of Iran from the Western alliance, after the Islamic Republic after the revolution in 1979, as well as political instability in Pakistan and its approach to the policy of bias in its international relations.

It is clear that American policy in this region was based on basic fundamentals, that are in fact geographical, economic, political and historical phenomena; and they tried to benefit from the colonial legacy, and harness it to serve their objectives. Most American studies indicate that there are major determinants in American foreign policy, which is to preserve American interests. That is reflected in individuals and institutions within the American nation, to consolidate the concepts of Human Rights and the spread of democracy, in addition to highlighting the U.S as a superpower in the world.

Despite the aggressive nature of these goals towards the former Soviet Union, the United States, like its adversary, sought to define an appropriate strategy to deal with instability in the region while avoiding a global war with the Red Enemy. Inspired by all the ideas, decisions and relations it has produced in the context of its foreign policy, throughout the years of international conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. The onset of the Cold

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<sup>45</sup> - <https://theintercept.com/2018/12/01/u-s-military-says-it-has-a-light-footprint-in-africa-these-documents-show-a-vast-network-of-bases/>

War introduced the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective ideologies into the region as well”<sup>46</sup>.

The principle of containment established by the diplomat specializing in Soviet affairs - George Kennan - under President Truman is the determining factor which was aimed at preventing Soviet expansion beyond its traditional sphere of influence in Eastern Europe and maintaining the balance of international power created by the Second World War. He said: “Our approach to foreign policy is the result of a build-up of actions that were long ago. It is an approach that swims in a stream filled with other humanitarian events”.<sup>47</sup>

Since the beginning of the Cold War, the concept of the Soviet Union, its policy and its allies has been embodied in a tightly knit circle of bases, alliances, relations, policies, crisis management, war-making, coup d'état and assassinations of national leaders, Simon Schoon argues that the Soviet Union proved unwilling to relinquish the gains that allowed it a sizeable stake in shaping the future world order.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, containment was a general vision that could take a variety of military and political forms but not based on a clearly defined military strategic plan. It would also take into account major points relating to the world the United States would face in the 1980s and 1990s.

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<sup>46</sup> - Bobby Beaver, Jeffrey Beaver, Matthew Wilsey War & Peace: The Middle East in Transition, 1999. ([https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297c/war\\_peace/middleeast/hcentury.html](https://web.stanford.edu/class/e297c/war_peace/middleeast/hcentury.html))

<sup>47</sup> - George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, University of Chicago Press, 2012.

<sup>48</sup> - Simon Schon <https://www.e-ir.info/2011/07/26/cold-war-containment-the-role-of-the-military/>



### **1.7.1. America's Permanent Goals and Vital Interests in the Middle East:**

The permanent goals emerge from the political philosophy on which the political system is based, but for vital interests they are based on the assets of benefit that the state and its people benefit from, and include the military, economic, cultural and scientific aspects that it considers to be beneficial. Permanent and vital interests: achieving the first helps in obtaining the second, this in turn strengthens the state to protect its security and stability, detailed as follows:

**Permanent objectives:** Permanent objectives are security, since Arab security from the American point of view is an extension of US national security, which includes military, economic, social security and stability. That stability cannot prevail in the region or in the Arab States in the absence of security.

The American concept of stability in this region includes the political, economic and social stability of states and societies together, maintaining the status quo and maintaining the regional balance of power. America always tends to make the balance of power for Israel, exploiting the lack of Arab solidarity and the prevention of the establishment of a regional force in the Arab world, which means the absence of a unified Arab entity because the presence of such a regional force makes the strategic balance in the region tends to favour Arab countries, and this is contrary to America's policy and interests, and it also prohibited the possession of weapons of mass destruction for all Middle Eastern countries of various kinds, as well as long-range of high-tech weapons missiles.

**Vital interests:** These interests are linked to the physical and moral gains obtained from their relations with other countries; vital interests are not fixed or limited as is the case for permanent objectives; that differ from one state to another. One of the most important American interests in the Arab World is preserving the continued supply of oil from the Arab

countries, which amounts to three million barrels per day <sup>49</sup>, to allied industrial countries, added to that of course the protection of Israel.

The two countries (The United States and Israel) have a strategic alliance in terms of military, technology, intelligence and intelligence assistance. Under this alliance, the United States of America is forced to maintain Israel's military superiority over all Arab countries and its economic support. The United States is giving to Tel Aviv every October 3 Billions of US dollars and does not hesitate to grant the latest types of weapons to Israel knowing that all this will be used to hit the Palestinians in their homes and streets, and the daily broadcasted images of tanks and US-made aircraft ejecting lava over Palestinian cities <sup>50</sup>

In addition, the establishment of regional economic cooperation between all countries of the Middle East and the involvement of Israel, which would serve America's political and economic objectives in the region, the dissemination of American culture, thought and values among the fertile Arab generations to this end, which is used to achieve its external objectives in light of the development of the media technology.

Moreover, the United States of America has achieved strategic objectives through its relations with some countries in the Middle East in order to maintain the flow of oil supplies and maintain the security of Israel. To prevent the threat of communist tide by the former Soviet Union from the Gulf States, The United States has been able to extend its influence on this important strategic location of the world and the establishment of permanent military bases to serve its interests and allies in the region.

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<sup>49</sup> - [www.islamonline.net](http://www.islamonline.net)

<sup>50</sup> - Dostour Newspaper November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2001:20.

Prior to Jimmy Carter, American foreign policy was a cynical and forthright realpolitik. According to Ted Rall, “the US fought in South Korea and South Vietnam as if they were moving pieces on a Cold War chessboard rather than bombing children to bits,” and the totalitarian regimes they defended were more ruthless than their adversaries.<sup>51</sup> Afterwards, Americans became hypocrites. They went into Somalia, which controlled a strategic port of entry for oil tankers, but not Rwanda, which had no significant natural resources. They backed Saddam Hussein when Iraq granted lucrative oil concessions to politically connect multinationals and attacked him when he didn’t.

## **1.8. Conclusion**

To sum up, any study on US policy in the Middle East, and the causes of the wars that entered for reasons that did not believe other than the term neo-conservatives or "hawks" present and strongly, especially that many politicians and even the Americans themselves, linked these conservatives to all the tragic events that took place after September 11, 2001, and to the conspiracies that the world is talking about here and there, both in the Second and Third Gulf Wars.

The reasons presented to Americans and the world public opinion are the fact that the extremist Islamic groups that are linked to the image of al-Qaeda actually pose a threat to American National Security; they were the convincing reason in the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq after the destruction of infrastructure of these two countries. Many questions did not find any answers, even now, there have been convincing answers even within the US, which require us to give a clear and adequate picture of the reality of these neoconservatives. What are their attitudes and visions of the world, and what is their project in the Arab region?

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<sup>51</sup>- Ted Rall, *Is US the World's Policeman or an Empire?* August 21, 2006.

Why was the Greater Middle East project and the creative chaos associated with neo-conservative convictions? What is the reality of their relations with the Zionist entity? Questions that we thought were important to put forward, so that we can see later the idea of conspiracy on the Middle East.

Our analysis of the role of the neoconservatives in the Middle East begins with a very important statement that summarizes part of the answer to these questions. Pat Buchanan said: "We accuse a group of officials of trying to involve the United States in a series of wars that do not serve American interests"<sup>52</sup>.

Accusing Neo-conservatives of deliberately trying to destroy US relations with every state in the Arab world that tries to defy Israel or support the right of the Palestinian people to a national homeland.

The early beginnings of neo-conservatives in the 1960s, under President John F. Kennedy, followed the tradition of appointing a group of professors and University professors to the position of management with special standards under the principle of the best and the most intelligent. These researchers had an anti-Soviet ideology at the time, and they did not hesitate to call it the Evil Empire or the Evil Communism, until they were embraced by President Ronald Reagan. They held important and influential positions in his administration, and they preserved this gain until the arrival of George Bush, the son.

Bush formulated his vision of the world with these ideas, and declared explicitly in his article entitled "Introduction to the policy of the new conservatives". He expressed his strategy in leading the United States on the approach and footsteps of those. In his congressional speech on July 10, 2003, Congressman Ron Paul identifies the most important characteristics of neo-conservatives:

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<sup>52</sup> - Habib Kamal, Transformations of Islamic Movement and American Strategy, 2005

Agree with Trotsky that the permanent revolution, and may use power or intellectual means. They demand the return of the Middle East and are ready to use force to achieve this because they believe in preventive war to secure this. Moreover, they believe that lying is necessary for the state to live.<sup>53</sup> Also, They support Israel unconditionally and have a close alliance with the Likud Party.

Michael Leiden- one of the most important neo-conservative thinkers and one of President George W. Bush's most important advisers - was the first to formulate the concept of creative chaos or constructive destruction in 2003. Moreover, he has also a project called the complete change in the Middle East.<sup>54</sup> In addition to the Zionist-minded Daniel Pipes, who served as president of the Middle East Forum. He launched an online website to monitor all academic activities critical of politics of US State Department against Israel.<sup>55</sup> The list goes on: Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, Douglas Fayette, David Wurmser, Victoria Nuland, Robert Cagan.

Based on these facts, the most prominent characteristic of the American scene is what is called the triangle of terror, which is the meeting of Republicans with the followers of conservative thought with supporters of the extreme right-wing religious, that was unprecedented.

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<sup>53</sup> - <https://www.congress.gov/crec/2003/07/10/CREC-2003-07-10.pdf>

<sup>54</sup> - <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=wlbooks>

<sup>55</sup> - <https://www.meforum.org/>

*Chapter 2:*

American Foreign Policy in  
Iraq

**Case Study: Iraq**

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## **2.1.Introduction**

To comprehend the United States' rush to attack Iraq and conduct war against it, we must first examine Iraq's contemporary history. Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the fall of the Islamic Caliphate, France and Britain engaged in colonial competition and military influence. Iraq was also one of the most contentious issues between Britain and France during the Treaty of Sykes-Picot, but before that, Britain was awarded a right of mandate in Iraq, which became a Crown province, and British interest in Iraq grew with the discovery of oil in Kirkuk in 1927. As Britain's interest in Iraq grew, King Faisal I was obliged to make an agreement with the British to impose a British foreign policy and enable British soldiers on the ground in Iraq to remain for another 25 years.<sup>56</sup>

In the Third World, the Atlantic Alliance pitted the United States against Europe (i.e., the United Kingdom and France). Although the United States had hitherto demonstrated little interest in the Middle East, authorities in Washington were concerned that British weakness may promote Soviet expansion. The West was suspicious of Soviet diplomatic pressures on Turkey to sign a defence pact and keep Soviet soldiers in Northern Iran.<sup>57</sup>

On the other side, throughout the post-war years, there were several prominent examples of how the collapse of British influence boosted American oil sector potential. Furthermore, the US government was eager to help, and a large part of American businessmen's success was

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<sup>56</sup> - Youcef El Assi El Taouil: The crusade against the Islamic world and the world: Studies and research on the European and American bias towards Israel, Voice of the Arab pen, Cairo, 2010-p170.

<sup>57</sup> - Acheson , Dean: Present at the Creation. London, Hamish Hamilton, 1970, p. 197.



due to the prompt deployment of diplomatic power and occasionally clandestine aid to favorable local officials.<sup>58</sup>

In late 1947, Britain attempted to negotiate an agreement with Iraq on a new treaty. The 1930 deal gave the British ownership of the two bases of Habbānlya and Shucayba, as well as the right to use Iraqi infrastructure during wartime. Some claimed that Britain couldn't hope to preserve the bases and should plan to evacuate them and relocate to Kuwait and Transjordan, but Ernest Bevin opted to fight for their continued use. According to Khadduri, the Treaty of Portsmouth<sup>59</sup> stipulated that Britain and Iraq would share bases in a manner similar to that envisaged for Egypt. The Iraqi government abandoned the new treaty in January 1948 due to rioting in Baghdad.<sup>60</sup>

On the other hand, political ferment in Egypt and Iraq led some strategists to suggest that the reservation of British bases in these countries was not worth the popular hostility they engendered. The British General Staff seems to have given serious consideration to the transfer of British bases and installations to East Africa, where in the comparative security of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda one could establish a powerful military center, not too distant from the areas of potential trouble and free of the political excitement of the Arab countries.<sup>61</sup>

Another handicap -worry about the peace aims of Soviet Russia - blocked it altogether.<sup>62</sup> In fact, British policy in the Near and Middle East, was based as it was on a network of treaty relationships with “independent” Arab states, in harmony with each other and with Great Britain, would have made these states satellites of Great Britain. This policy had already collapsed under the weight of adverse opinion in the Arab world before the Palestine war gave it its *coup de grace*.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> - Vadney, T.E.: The World Since 1945. London, The Penguin Books, 1992, p. 208.

<sup>59</sup> - Khadduri, Majid: Independent Iraq, 1932-1958. London, Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 262-253.

<sup>60</sup> - Marr, Phebe: The Modern History of Iraq. Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1985, p. 104.

<sup>61</sup> - Lenczowski, George: The Middle East in World Affairs. New York, Cornell University Press, p. 518.

<sup>62</sup> - Monroe, Elizabeth: Britain's Moment in the Middle East. Baltimore, The J. Hopkins Press, 1963, p. 153.

<sup>63</sup> - Marlowe, John: Arab Nationalism and British Imperialism. A Study in Power Politics, 1961, p. 60.

## **2.2 Iraq as an American Target for Interventions:**

Nonetheless, the Middle East occupied a significant position in British thinking. Some places may be given up if doing so made it easier to keep others, especially if American power could fill important gaps without reducing total Western dominance in the region. The British government intended to continue to lead a Western effort toward stabilization and, particularly after the communist invasion on Korea, organized defense.

However, the matter differed years later, when Abdul Karim Qasim coup against the monarchy, and declared the establishment of the Republic of Iraq in 1958, as Chomsky<sup>64</sup> argues that there was a so-called independent government, presided by Nuri Said the prime Minister of Faisal II, but it was basically British-run, and it was Overthrown in a military coup. A couple years later the U.S. was able to engineer a coup that overthrew the Nasser-type nationalist government. Abdul Karim Qasim adopted national policies, and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact\*\* which Was founded by Britain, but it was not long ago and was overthrown in a coup led by the Baath Party in 1963, and appointed Abdul Salam Aref as President of the Republic. The CIA handed the new Ba'athist government a long list of Communists, radicals, and teachers, and then they all got assassinated.<sup>65</sup>

The coups followed after Arif's death in a plane crash in 1966. The same year, his brother Abdel Rahman Arif assumed the presidency, but Ahmed Hassan Bakr also carried out another Baathist coup this time in 1968 against Abderrahman Aref. Here, Iraq has known political and economic reforms. The new regime has gained national popularity, especially when it agreed

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<sup>64</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Western Terrorism*, 2013, p.114.

\*\* **The Baghdad Pact** was a defensive organization for promoting shared political, military and economic goals founded in 1955 by Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, the main purpose of the Baghdad Pact was to prevent communist incursions and foster peace in the Middle East. It was renamed the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959 after Iraq pulled out of the Pact.

<sup>65</sup> - Ibid.

with the Kurds to end the insurgency and granted them broad powers, including the vice president.

Talks about the US-Iraqi relations are related to Saddam Hussein, who during his 24-year reign (1979-2003) had five US presidents: Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton and Bush the Son. American planning for military action in the Gulf region dates back to the 1970s, when Washington began to feel a sense of nationalism and a tendency toward independence in the oil-producing countries, especially when Iraq nationalized its oil in 1972 (during the reign of President Ahmed Hassan Bakr). Saddam Hussein was the leader of the Baath Party and a member of the Revolutionary Command Council before he was deposed in 1979.

Iraq was placed on the list of countries that supported terrorism, after two years of oil nationalization and control of the capabilities of the economy. Henry Kissinger in a statement pointed out the maturity of Washington to the Iraqi Baathist leadership, where he said, "It is not ruled out that America will have a military action to dominate oil and control its prices".

Six years after Kissinger's statement, President Jimmy Carter said: " Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.. "<sup>66</sup> What is meant by the phrase is a necessary means of deep meanings and many interpretations, which may mean, especially if this term does not mean military force, because the latter received an independent and in an explicit term, it means giving way to the options available without military intervention. What could be the form of that necessary means? What drives us to such a conclusion is the utilitarian pragmatism of Washington, which believes that every way that achieves interest and benefits is the truth.

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<sup>66</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carter\\_Doctrine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carter_Doctrine)

The reinvigorated commitment to interventionism necessitated recruiting partners who were willing to fight alongside us.”<sup>67</sup> It exploited this presence to interfere in the Iran-Iraq War, and it has been involved in three full wars in Iraq and Afghanistan since the formation of CENTCOM (Central Command) in 1983. Between the Nixon and Reagan Doctrines, the Carter Doctrine has mostly been forgotten, or is only brought up now and then to explain the 1991 Iraq war, neglecting the decade of infrastructural development that had preceded the war.

It is clearly in the interests of the United States, Israel, and their Saudi allies to restore the previous years' easy arrangements with Iran. It should come as no surprise that Saudi Arabia, through the medium of the billionaire Adnan Khashoggi, was cooperating with its tacit Israeli ally under the coordination of the U.S. in supplying armaments to Iran—not enough to terminate the useful Iran-Iraq mutual slaughter on Iranian terms, but enough, as per Chomsky, to locate those Iranian “moderates” in the military who would be able to serve the function of Suharto, the Thai and Brazilian generals, and Pinochet.<sup>68</sup>

While the development of the US military presence in the Middle East was in some ways part of larger Cold War historical narratives, it also represented a departure as the US sought to establish a direct military presence not (or not merely) to contain the Soviet Union or Soviet allies, but to confront new forces in a region it had decided was strategically vital. The US would contend with revolutionary Iran, non-Communist domestic threats to key allies, and states such as Iraq seeking their own hegemony over the Gulf.

The thrust of US regional policy was actually to ensure US military dominance over the Persian Gulf against Iran and Iraq, rather than the Soviet Union. Ironically, this lead US policymakers to support both Iran and Iraq at different times during the war, to ensure that neither was able to completely overwhelm the other and thereby threaten to establish their

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<sup>67</sup>- Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p.331. Westad is by no means alone in this emphasis; Mahmood Mamdani's *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim* makes a similar stress on the nature of proxy warfare under Reagan.

<sup>68</sup>- Noam Chomsky, *The Culture of Terrorism*, 1988, p.240

own regional hegemony. This vision of US hegemony rested on the rich oil states using “some of their wealth to help foster economic development, internal security, and international stability.”<sup>69</sup>

The richest states tended to be those with the least population; the two big oil states, Iran and Iraq, were clearly not dependable US allies like Saudi Arabia. To avoid growing regional radicalism, the less densely-populated but richer states should help aid development in the larger region as a whole, to tamp down radical anger. In practice, however, most petrodollars were recycled in the industrialized capitalist world—as investments and major arms purchases. So this vision of orderly regional development was flawed at its inception. This vision hinged on another key factor: “energy must be affordable if the US and other Western nations are to have the political will and economic strength to play an effective role in regional security.”<sup>70</sup>

In return for 'guaranteeing security' with their military presence, the US expected their oil states allies to peg oil prices primarily to the wellbeing and continued growth of the industrialized capitalist world, rather than the development needs of their own countries or the Middle East. The US also expected its NATO and East Asian allies to shoulder the burden of defense that comes with diverting resources to the Middle East, with the understanding that "any such redeployments or changes in US force commitments would directly contribute to Alliance objectives and our Alliance partners' vital economic and security interests." Those actions, not their complaints, deserve their support." Komer views.<sup>71</sup>

In any case, regime change was the original objective and disarmament only became prominent as a reason to invoke the authority of the United Nations, given that the UN Charter does not allow for pre-emptive attacks. And if all of that failed, Saddam had to go because he was a liar (a moniker that has stuck to so many politicians that it has become a joke), ruthless (but then again, so is Sharon), reckless (not proven), or an incarnation of evil

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<sup>69</sup> - Robert. W. Komer, “A Security Framework for Southwest Asia,” p.4.

<sup>70</sup> - Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> - Ibid. p.5.

who had to be combated as if the Middle East war was an episode in some long-running medieval morality play (with Saddam cast as Mordor and George Bush as the brave Frodo accompanied by Blair as his faithful Sam). Finally, it was made to appear as if the United States and the United Kingdom had been devoted to some lofty moral mission to free the Iraqi people no matter what it took and to spread American-style enlightenment throughout the Middle East.<sup>72</sup>

To begin with, successive US administrations had long harboured fears of Iraqi power and a potentially disruptive pan-Arabic movement. Prior to the first Gulf War, Colin Powell had set out military contingency plans for dealing with Iraq. As early as 1992, Paul Wolfowitz, who later became Bush's Deputy Secretary of Defence, campaigned for regime change in Iraq and publicly declared it throughout the 1990s. During Clinton's presidency, regime change became standard practice.

As a result, in the 1990s, the United States targeted Saddam Hussein and Iraq, although Turkey was an ally and client, and the United States was a significant arms supplier, as Turkey engaged in horrific ethnic cleansing of Kurds, "While Turkey represses its own Kurds, its participation is critical to an American-led mission to defend Iraq's Kurds from repeated genocide at the hands of Saddam Hussein," says former US Ambassador Peter Galbraith.

This was a main goal for a neoconservative group formed in 1997 under the banner of the Project for the New American Century, which pushed for it to be accomplished militarily. The group included Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Armitage, Perle, and several others who were to form the core of Bush's defence and foreign policy team.

Geostrategically, then, Iraq had long been in the sights of this group. But they recognized in a 1999 report that it would take a catastrophic and catalyzing event, like a new Pearl Harbour' to make a military strike acceptable internationally and domestically. 9/11 provided the opportunity, if only they could make a connection between Saddam and al Qaeda.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>- David Harvey, *New Imperialism*, 2003, p.11

<sup>73</sup>- Reported in R. Fisk, 'This Looming War isn't about Chemical Warheads or Human Rights: It's about Oil', *Independent*, 18 Jan. 2003, p. 18. See also the website <[www.newamericancentury.org](http://www.newamericancentury.org)>.

Control over oil supplies provides a convenient means to counter any power shifts—both economic and military—threatened within the global economy. Harvey believes that the current scenario is eerily similar to that of 1973, because Europe and Japan, as well as East and South-East Asia (including, critically, China), are much more reliant on Gulf oil than the United States.<sup>74</sup>

If the US succeeds in overthrowing both Chavez and Saddam Hussein, if it can stabilize or change a Saudi monarchy that is currently built on the shifting sands of authoritarian control (and in imminent danger of falling into the hands of radicalized Islam), if it can go on from Iraq to Iran and consolidate its position in Turkey and Uzbekistan; as a strategic presence in relation to Caspian Basin oil reserves (which the Chinese are desperately trying to buy into), Harvey argues, only then the US could hope to maintain effective control over the global economy and secure its own dominance for the next fifty years by maintaining firm control of the global oil spigot.<sup>75</sup>

But much also depends, as Friedman noted in the passages cited in the introduction, upon whether the US can persuade the world that it is acting in a leadership role, concerned to develop collective power by acting as guarantor of global oil supplies to all, or whether it is acting out of narrow self-interest to secure its own position at the expense of others. Is it, in a nutshell, using coercion to gain dominance or using hegemony to exercise leadership? The most likely strategy is to hide the latter under a façade of the former. However, the failure to gain unanimous international support for the invasion of Iraq demonstrates that many people throughout the world are sceptical of US motives.

In the Gulf region, the dangers of this technique are enormous. According to Harvey, resistance will be fierce, particularly in Europe and Asia, with Russia and China not far behind

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<sup>74</sup> - David Harvey, *New Imperialism*, 2003, p.77

<sup>75</sup> - *Ibid.* p.78

The unwillingness of France, Russia, and China (who got access to Iraqi oil exploitation during the 1990s) to sanction the US military invasion of Iraq at the United Nations exemplifies the issue.<sup>76</sup> However, anti-American struggles in the Gulf area have internal dynamics that are as unpredictable as they are complex.

From the defence planning documents produced over the previous decade or so, we know exactly what the political approach is in this area. Its goal is to retain military superiority at all costs, as well as to deter and resist the rise of any rival superpower. Weapons of mass destruction of any kind will be prevented, and the United States should be ready to employ pre-emptive force if necessary to achieve that goal, as mentioned in the National Security Strategy-a copy attached to this thesis.

During the Clinton's years this was translated into an active capacity to fight two regional wars at the same time (and the examples chosen for planning purposes in 1995 were, interestingly, Iraq and North Korea). But the Cheney-Wolfowitz ideology, originally outlined in the final years of the Bush administration and codified in the Project for the New American Century (which, oddly, mimics Luce's move to obscure empire's territoriality in the conceptual fog of a 'century'), went even farther.<sup>77</sup>

The Euro's transition to a single currency was relatively painless, Harvey believes that the Euro's potential to challenge the dollar as the preferred reserve currency, while muted, is real (Saddam's proposal to denominate his oil sales in Euros rather than Dollars could be another significant reason for the US to insist on regime change rather than disarmament in Iraq).<sup>78</sup>

Another option is to introduce low-cost raw resources (such as oil) into the system. Input costs would be lowered, and earnings would increase as a result. Oil at \$20 a barrel, rather

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<sup>76</sup> - David Harvey, *New Imperialism*, 2003, p.78

<sup>77</sup> - Ibid. p.79

<sup>78</sup> - Ibid. p. 82



than \$30 or more, is the solution to our current economic troubles, according to newspaper magnate Rupert Murdoch. It's no surprise that all of Murdoch's newspapers have been staunch proponents of the Iraq war.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, Collin Powel mentioned that “ We have stabbed a poisonous dagger in the back of Iraq to stop oil quotas specified by OPEC, and thus reduce prices and reduce the income of Iraq”<sup>80</sup>

Meanwhile, the real victim of the bombing and the U.S.-imposed embargo has been the general population of Iraq. In fact, since the end of the war, hundreds of thousands of children have died in Iraq as a result of the United States' insistence on maintaining sanctions—and the United States and England are now alone at the United Nations Security Council in insisting that the sanctions against Iraq remain in place, even though the formal U.N. conditions for them have been met, Chomsky adds.<sup>81</sup>

The Bush's administration chose to follow an indirect method of persuasion through continued economic sanctions backed by intermittent military strikes. US State Department official publicly noted that although Saddam Hussein had previously enjoyed the support of Iraq's middle class, it “will have to be bought off after this war but there's less money to do it with now.” He went on to argue that “to rule a prosperous Iraq, Saddam Hussein needed a happy army, but the army was happy when it had toys.”<sup>82</sup> Economic sanctions aimed at increasing public unrest were intended to force a government transition if straightforward military defeat had failed.

Martti Ahtisaari, the UN Under-Secretary-General, headed a trip to Iraq in March 1991 to assess the humanitarian needs in Kuwait and Iraq in the early aftermath of the crisis. His expedition concluded that the Iraqi people were facing an "imminent disaster" that might entail epidemics and famine if huge life-sustaining demands were not supplied quickly, he added

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<sup>79</sup> - D. Kirkpatrick, 'Mr Murdoch's War', *New York Times*, 7 Apr. 2003, p. C1.

<sup>80</sup> - Colin Powell diaries, Josef Prisco, p. 579.

<sup>81</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New*, 2002. p.36

<sup>82</sup> - Ibid

(Ahtisaari's report 1991)<sup>83</sup>. This early survey formed the basis for the more detailed work done by the second UN mission in July. But in an often quoted, initial impression of the country, he noted:

*The recent conflict has wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the economic infrastructure of what had been, until January 1991, a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society. Now, most means of modern life support have been destroyed or rendered tenuous. Iraq has, for some time to come, been relegated to a pre-industrial age, but with all the disabilities of a post-industrial dependency on an intensive use of energy and technology.*

(Ahtisaari 1991)

According to the same source, Iraq's economy suffered two further blows as a result of the first Persian Gulf War and the subsequent sanctions. Around \$230 billion in infrastructure was destroyed as a result of the war.<sup>84</sup> The UN sanctions in place since 1991 have been the most severe ever imposed. Under sanctions, oil production during the 1991–2002 period averaged 1.4 million bpd.

The enlightened leader is also free to change the rules at will. When the military forces occupying Iraq failed to discover the weapons of mass destruction that allegedly justified the invasion, the administration's stance shifted from "absolute certainty" that Iraq possessed WMD on a scale that required immediate military action to the assertion that American accusations had been "*justified by the discovery of equipment that potentially could be used to produce weapons.*" Senior officials have proposed a "refinement of the contentious idea of a "preventive war," which allows Washington to use military force "against a country that possesses mass amounts of lethal weapons." According to Milbank, the amendment "suggests that the administration will act against a hostile regime that has nothing more than the intent and ability to produce [WMD]."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>- Ahtisaari, Martti, 1991: S/22366, Paragraph A.

<sup>84</sup>- Abbas Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

<sup>85</sup>- Dana Milbank, "Bush Remarks Confirm Shift in Justification for War," *Washington Post*, 1 June 2003, sec. A,p. 18. Guy Dinmore, James Harding, and Cathy Newman, 3 May 2003, sec. 1, p. 1.

It's very important to mention the contradictory multiple declarations about the WMD, months after the capture of Baghdad, that the UK and USA didn't find any WMD, and they didn't authorise UN inspectors to carry on their interrupted inspection on March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2003 without any reason. Moreover, DIA (Pentagon Agency) sent its experts formed a group called ISG (Iraq Survey Group) and didn't find any WMD.

In the other hand, Tony Blair affirmed September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2002 that Iraq possesses chemical and biological weapons that Saddam Hussein continues to produce and willing to use. Moreover, George Bush on March 19, 2003 said that they received information without any doubts that the Iraqi regime continues to acquire some dangerous weapons never known before.

Donald Rumsfeld, defence secretary, added in March 30<sup>th</sup>, 2003: "We know where the weapons are. They are around Tikrit and Baghdad to the East and West, North and South". Army General John Abizaid (Became Central American Command Director 07 July) declared August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2003: "I think that we will find WMD when we'll have the opportunity to occupy Baghdad and talk to Iraqis". Moreover, Tony Blair, July 08<sup>th</sup> 2003 said: "There's no doubt we will find proofs of the program), when he previously on September 24<sup>th</sup> 2002 confirmed the existence of WMD and NOT a program. Donald Rumsfeld July 9<sup>th</sup> 2003 said: "We don't need new proofs to intervene in Iraq. We act to the light of our experience of September 11<sup>th</sup> <sup>86</sup>.

Paul Wolfowitz number two in the Pentagon said on May 28<sup>th</sup> 2003 "For bureaucratic reasons we were asked a question about WMD, because it was the only reason the whole world agreed". George Bush said July 14<sup>th</sup> 2003: "I'm convinced that Saddam Hussein has a WMD program".<sup>87</sup>

In his book, *Disarming Iraq*, Hans Blix, the UN inspection group chief, said "The first victim of war is truth" also "Iraqis were very cooperative" referring to an article published by *Herald Tribune* cited in the *Washington Times* "referring to a military report" addressed to

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<sup>86</sup> - All these declarations were published by *Le Monde* 17-07-2003.

<sup>87</sup> - *Ibid*

the army forces chiefs affirming that Bush approved the global strategy for the war in Iraq August 2002”.<sup>88</sup>

Liberating Iraqis from dictatorship is NOT demolishing their infrastructure, stealing their gold, and taking good care of their Petroleum resources and getting new contracts for American companies. Moreover, Egypt tried to take advantage from this situation; also nostalgic Turkey of its Ottoman Empire, seeking for new territories and wanted a part from the Iraqi cake.

### **2.2.1. Reflections of the Nationalization of Oil in Iraq on the US Strategy:**

Iraq's nationalization of oil resources has negatively affected American action in Europe and Asia in a very large way. It has caused a real geostrategic dilemma. It has threatened US interests in Europe and Japan in particular. This has led to a policy of aggression towards Iraq at that time President Ahmed Hassan Bakr, and even under Saddam Hussein, and if we explain the reasons behind this aggression, we may be able to understand why Iraq was still in the circle of US targeting either by military intervention or wars or siege, so, what were the causes?

The follower and interested in the US in the Middle East, will directly think of the statement of Kissinger and Carter to strike Iraq because of its sovereign decision to produce oil and control prices, is excessive, for the following reasons:

The oil obsession of America is not consumption in itself, but the control of the sources that feed the world, and therefore control of oil in the Gulf in general and Iraq in particular, means pressure on consuming countries, and we mean Europe and Japan. However, half of the US oil imports come from Venezuela, Mexico and Canada, as well as domestic production, and thus 70% of US consumption comes from the Americas. Unlike Europe and Japan, that are

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<sup>88</sup> - Hans Blix, Disarming Iraq, Hans Blix, p23.

mainly based on the Middle East, the result is the US control of Middle Eastern oil resources, which means ensuring control over Europe and Japan. For this reason, the nationalization of Iraq's oil was a painful blow to the plans of American hegemony in the Middle East and the world, and what increased the American concern is the development of Iraq's capabilities and financial resources, and the fear of its investment to thwart the project of the existence of the Zionist entity in the Arab region, especially the neighboring Syria that believes in the Baathist convictions in Iraq and the issue of Arab unity and nationalism.

The imperial grand strategy's purpose is to prevent any challenge to the United States' "power, status, and prestige." The quoted remarks do not belong to Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, or any of the other statist reactionaries who drafted the September 2002 National Security Strategy. Rather, they were said in 1963 by Dean Acheson, a noted liberal elder statesman. He was justifying US actions against Cuba in full knowledge that Washington's international terrorist campaign aimed at "regime change", Chomsky adds that it was a major factor in putting the world dangerously close to nuclear war only a few months before, and that it was resumed as soon as the Cuban missile crisis was settled. Nonetheless, he told the American Society of International Law that when the US reacts to a challenge to its "strength, position, and prestige," there is no "legal difficulty."<sup>89</sup>

### **2.3. Iraq and its Position in the Strategy of the United States:**

According to most of the studies that dealt with the Iran-Iraq war, there is a basic fact that war was a real loss to the warring parties, human, economic and strategic.<sup>90</sup> That leads us to the possibility that the countries have been drawn into war by parties that were capable of avoiding a war at all. We mean the great powers such as America, Britain and France.

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<sup>89</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival*, 2003, p.9.

<sup>90</sup> - Saad Naji Jawad, *How to Make the Decision in the Arab Systems: The Iraqi Situation, I*, 2010, p. 335.

What confirms this possibility is the size of the losses incurred by both sides, and also what Iraq witnessed after the end of the war with Iran, where Iraq entered another war with Kuwait in 1991. However, before we go too far, we will take a look at the opportunity the United States found in getting closer to Iraq in its war with Iran. The American administration found an ally who could stand up to Iran. They supported Iraq with all kinds of available weapons and military techniques in order to eliminate the emerging revolution and the danger from its northern side.

This is what experts considered a kind of rapprochement between Baghdad and Washington, but it turned out later that it was only a rapprochement for the exhaustion of Iraq, the destruction of its military and its economy; evidence that the next phase after the Iran war was ready, and took only three years. Provoking a new war in Kuwait was a plan, in preparation for Iraq's siege and its elimination slowly in a period of 10 years. "The United States has reinforced its military presence in the Gulf and created capabilities in Kuwait to re-fight the war," Clark writes, "but are getting bigger, better, and faster, and Saddam Hussein remains the Middle East's biggest villain and a bitter opponent of Israel."<sup>91</sup>

This expression, and description, is an excuse and argument as usual by the United States to justify its hidden motives behind wars and interventions. In this context, Noam Chomsky provides an accurate analysis of these words. "Let's take the argument that Saddam Hussein is about to invade the world, as is so common in the United States, has been taught time and again that it will take everything, that we have to stop it now, but how did it become so powerful? Iraq is a small country with no industrial base, fought for eight years Iran with the support of the United States, Europe, and most of the Arab oil producing countries, and did not defeat it and suddenly he could conquer the world ... ".<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> - Wesley Clark 'Victory in Modern Warfare, Iraq and Terrorism and the American Empire, 2004.

<sup>92</sup> - Noam Chomsky, Media Control, 1999, p.13

As per Tawil's book in two important documents in the history of neo-conservatives signed by the most important symbols of the American administration, an imperial war plan based on the looting of wealth and the destruction of stability and fabrication of causes. The first is called Clean Break and the second is called 21st century leadership.

The Clean Break (A New Strategy for Securing the Realm) is a report or a policy document that was prepared in 1996 by a study group led by Richard Perle for Benjamin Netanyahu, the then Prime Minister of Israel. This paper outlined a new approach to resolving Israel's Middle East security issues, emphasizing "Western ideals." It has since been chastised for promoting a bold new policy that includes the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and the containment of Syria through proxy warfare and the use of "weapons of mass destruction." <sup>93</sup>

This indicates that the purpose of all this exaggeration and misrepresentation about the danger of the Iraqi regime to the world and the evil it can inflict on America stems from the fact that Iraq, as a geography, plays an influential and prominent role in the Middle East, Turkey, which benefits from exporting oil through the port of Ceyhan, is bordering on the Arab triangle represented in Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, as well as mediating the distance between Tehran and Damascus. This geopolitical reality did not escape the eyes of Washington, but it was well aware that the pre-Iraq, has put his hand on the heart of the Middle East, and therefore the American competition for him, and his quest to put a foot there, means protecting the project of the Zionist entity, and control of the path of the Palestinian cause, and the siege of Syria from the west and from the east.

The most important of all, is to build a strong defensive barrier against Russia and China in compliance with Brzezinski's view in his book *The Great Chessboard*. He stressed

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<sup>93</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A\\_Clean\\_Break:\\_A\\_New\\_Strategy\\_for\\_Securing\\_the\\_Realm](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_Clean_Break:_A_New_Strategy_for_Securing_the_Realm)

that America should manage conflicts in Europe, Asia and the Middle East in a way that does not go up with it. A super power competing for the threat of American interests. " <sup>94</sup>

Thus, it is clear from these data that America's strategy in Iraq is essentially focused on controlling it. Lest it be a future source of threat or a strategic obstacle, which will be followed by the end of American hegemony and its project in the region. "A global war between the United States and the political wing of Islamic fundamentalism is raging now, and a war of this magnitude will be seen as an invasion of Iraq. The capture of al-Qaeda leaders as tactical events in a series of actions and countermeasures that extend in the future."<sup>95</sup> basing on that statement we find two words that are the basis of American action: the invasion of Iraq, and new future actions.

Moreover, we think that the meaning is clear and does not need to prove, that the US plans in Iraq predetermined, that the pretexts that invoke or strive to fabricate, has been revealed by the words of the Institute of the Project of the New American Century. Even after the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq in 2011 after signing a security agreement with the Iraqi government at the time. However, the latest developments and the outbreak of what is known as the revolutions of the Arab Spring, and the war against Syria by proxy, all opened the door wide for analysis and speculation.

In the real purpose behind the withdrawal, as well as the relationship of the White House with everything that is going from arming the opposition to the announcement of the establishment of the organization of ISIS/ISIL (Daesh), who mixed the papers, which coincided with the declaration of Amir Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi for his succession to Muslims from Mosul Mosque, not very far from the largest US military base established by the US military during its invasion of Iraq in 2003, is it a coincidence?

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<sup>94</sup> - Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard*, 1998, p. 30

<sup>95</sup> - Omayma Abdel-latif, *Neoconservatives*, 2011, p. 55.



"Our forces will be powerful enough to deter potential enemies from undertaking a military build-up in the goal of attaining or equaling US power." <sup>96</sup> The National Strategy declares. The proclamation, according to international affairs expert John Ikenberry, is a "grand plan" that "begins with a fundamental commitment to sustaining a unipolar world in which the United States has no rival competitor." a condition that must remain "permanent" in order for "no state or alliance to ever challenge [the US] as global leader, protector, and enforcer." The proclaimed "approach renders international self-defense conventions obsolete? Article 51 of the United Nations Charter? Almost insignificant."<sup>97</sup>

"The new imperial grand strategy portrays the United States (as) a revisionist state aiming to turn its transitory advantages into a world order in which it runs the show," Ikenberry argues, forcing others to "work around, undermine, contain, and react against US.power." The plan has the potential to "make the world more dangerous and divided" while also making the US less safe."<sup>98</sup>

The Imperial Grand Plan declares the US's right to conduct "preventative war" whenever it wants: preventive, not preemptive, Kaysen adds. <sup>99</sup> Under international law, preemptive war may be permitted. Kaysen counters with a rebuttal. War crimes include preventative war. If this is truly a "thought whose time has come," the planet is in grave danger. <sup>100</sup>

As the invasion of Iraq began, the prominent historian and Kennedy adviser Arthur Schlesinger wrote that

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<sup>96</sup> - White House, the National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 17 September 2002.  
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>).

<sup>97</sup> - Charter of the UN- Article 51-(<https://legal.un.org/repertory/art51.shtml>)

<sup>98</sup> - G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 5 (Sept–Oct 2002): pp. 44ff.

<sup>99</sup> - On this crucial distinction, see Carl Kaysen et al., *War with Iraq: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives* (Cambridge: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Committee on International Security Studies, 2002).  
Online at: [http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War\\_with\\_Iraq.pdf](http://www.amacad.org/publications/monographs/War_with_Iraq.pdf).

<sup>100</sup> - Steven R. Weisman, "Pre-emption: Idea with a Lineage Whose Time Has Come," *New York Times*, Sunday, 23 March 2003, sec. B, p. 1.

*The President has adopted a policy of "anticipatory self-defense" that is alarmingly similar to the policy that imperial Japan employed at Pearl Harbor, on a date which, as an earlier American President said it would live in infamy. Franklin D. Roosevelt was right, but today it is we Americans who live in infamy.*<sup>101</sup>

The global outpouring of sympathy that engulfed the United States in the aftermath of September 11 has given way to a global wave of loathing of American arrogance and militarism," Schlesinger adds, that Bush is viewed "as a greater threat to peace than Saddam Hussein" even in friendly countries. The Iraq war was a "Crime against Peace of the sort for which surviving German leaders were accused, convicted, and punished at the Nuremberg tribunals," according to international law expert Richard Falk.<sup>102</sup>

Some defenders of the National Security Strategy recognize that it runs roughshod over international law but see no problem in that. "The grand attempt to subject the rule of force to the rule of law" should be deposited in the ashcan of history," writes legal scholar Michael Glennon, a convenient stance for the one state able to adopt the new non-rules for its purposes.<sup>103</sup> Given that it spends almost as much on weapons of mass destruction as the rest of the world combined, It is forging new and risky paths in the development of weapons of mass destruction in the face of near-unanimous international opposition.

The proof that the system is based on "hot air" is simple: Washington "made it clear that it intends to do everything it can to maintain its preeminence," then "announced that it would ignore" the UN Security Council over Iraq and, more broadly, "would no longer be bound by the UN Charter's rules governing the use of force." Glennon goes on to say, the regulations

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<sup>101</sup> - Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "Good Foreign Policy a Casualty of War," Los Angeles Times, Sunday, 23 March 2003, sec. M, p. 1.

<sup>102</sup> - Richard Falk, "Resisting the Global Domination Project," interview with Zia Mian and Smitu Kothari, *Frontline* (India) 20, no. 8 (12 April 2003). Online at: <http://www.flonnet.com/fl2008/stories/20030425004002300.htm>.

<sup>103</sup> - Michael J. Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 3 (May–June 2003): pp. 16ff. (online at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030501faessay11217/michael-j-glennon/why-the-securitycouncil-failed.html>), and "The New Interventionism: The Search for a Just International Law," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 3 (May–June 1999): pp. 2ff.

"collapsed" as a result, and "the entire edifice came crashing down." This, Glennon concludes, is a good thing because the United States is the "leader of the enlightened states" and thus "must fight (any effort) to limit its use of force."<sup>104</sup>

On September 17, 2002, the White House, under cover of a letter from President Bush, issued a thirty-page document entitled "The National Security Strategy of the United States." Its "Overview" states:

*The U.S. national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our values and our national interests. The aim of this strategy is to help make the world not just safer but better. Our goals on the path to progress are clear: political and economic freedom, peaceful relations with other states, and respect for human dignity. .*<sup>105</sup>

The fundamental concepts of this strategy date back to World War II's early days. High-level strategists and analysts determined even before the US entered the war that in the postwar world, the US would want "unquestioned power," aiming to assure the "restriction of any exercise of sovereignty by governments that would interfere with its global plans. They also understood that "the most important prerequisite" for achieving these goals was "the speedy completion of a thorough rearmament program," which was then, as it is now, a key component of "an integrated policy to achieve military and economic supremacy for the United States."

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<sup>104</sup> - Michael J. Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 3 (May–June 2003): pp.

16ff. (online at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030501faessay11217/michael-j-glennon/why-the-securitycouncil-failed.html>), and "The New Interventionism: The Search for a Just International Law," *Foreign Affairs* 78, no. 3 (May–June 1999): pp. 2ff.

<sup>105</sup> - White House, the National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 17 September 2002. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>.

These goals were limited at the moment to "the non-German world," which was to be organized under the United States as a "Grand Area," which included the Western Hemisphere, the old British Empire, and the Far East. After it became evident that Germany would be lost, the plans were expanded to cover as much of Eurasia as possible, according to Laurence.<sup>106</sup>

Nonetheless, the revelation of the imperial grand strategy in September 2002 raised legitimate concerns. Acheson and Sofaer were referring to policy guidelines and elite circles, respectively. Only professionals and readers of dissident literature are aware of their positions. Other instances could be seen as worldly-wise reiterations of Thucydides' aphorism that "great nations do what they want, while little nations accept what they must." On the other hand, Cheney-Rumsfeld-Powell and their friends are formally announcing an even more radical plan, one aimed at gaining permanent global hegemony by the use of force when necessary. They want to be heard, according to Chomsky; as a result, they acted quickly to demonstrate to the world that they mean what they say. That's a significant distinction.<sup>107</sup>

The declaration of the grand strategy was rightly understood to be an ominous step in world affairs. However, a major power's declaration of an official policy is insufficient. It must continue to take exemplary efforts to establish the policy as a new international legal standard. The new norm can be used as a guide to action, as distinguished experts and public intellectuals demonstrate that legislation is a flexible living tool. As a result, as soon as the new imperial plan was proclaimed, the war drums began to beat in order to pique popular interest in an attack on Iraq.

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<sup>106</sup> - Memorandum of the War and Peace Studies Project of the Council on Foreign Relations, with State

Department participation, 19 October 1940; Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter, *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977): pp. 130ff.

<sup>107</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival*, 2003, p.9.

The target of preventive war must have several characteristics: First, it must be virtually defenceless. Second, it must be important enough to be worth the trouble. Finally, there must be a way to portray it as the ultimate evil and an imminent threat to our survival.

Iraq qualified on all above mentioned counts. The first two conditions are obvious. The third is easy to establish. It is only necessary to repeat Bush, Blair, and their colleagues' impassioned orations: the dictator "is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons [in order to] dominate, intimidate, or attack"; and he "has already used them on whole villages," killing, blinding, or transfiguring thousands of his own citizens.... If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning."<sup>108</sup> The president's passionate criticism in his State of the Union address in January 2003 is undeniably correct.

Those who contribute to the spread of evil should not be allowed to operate with impunity "The speaker of those noble words, as well as his current associates, who have long supported the man of ultimate evil despite his crimes. It's amazing how simple it is to avoid saying the vital words while recalling the monster's most heinous crimes "with our assistance, which we continued to provide because we were unconcerned. Bush <sup>109</sup> thinks that as soon as the monster committed his first genuine crime, invading Kuwait in 1990, praise and support switched to condemnation. His subjects were subjected to "severe punishment." The despot, on the other hand, escaped unhurt and was bolstered by the sanctions system imposed by his former allies.

He claimed that Washington was opposed to inspections because it feared that nothing significant would be discovered. Two top international relations professors stated that the president's comments regarding Iraqi dangers "should be considered as obvious attempts to terrify Americans into backing a war." That's how things are done in the United States.

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<sup>108</sup> - George W. Bush, State of the Union address, transcribed in the *New York Times*, 29 January 2003, sec. A, p.

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<sup>109</sup> - Ibid

In a CNN interview with Rice, Washington continues to refuse to provide evidence to support its 1990 claims of a massive Iraqi military build-up on the Saudi border, the primary justification offered for the 1991 war, claims that were quickly debunked by the one journal that investigated them, but to no avail.<sup>110</sup>

"Publication of the [National Security Strategy] was the signal that Iraq would be the first test, not the last," the New York Times noted after the invasion of Iraq was judged a success. "Iraq became the Petri dish in which this pre-emptive policy experiment flourished." Now that the norm has been set, a high official continued, "We will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self-defence by acting pre-emptively."<sup>111</sup> "The rest of the world recognizes the exemplary nature of the whole exercise [in Iraq]," Harvard Middle East historian Roger Owen remarked. Peoples and regimes will have to change the way they see the world "from a view based on the United Nations and international law to one based on an identification" with Washington's agenda. They are being instructed by the display of force to put aside "any serious considerations of national interest" in favour of reflecting "American goals."<sup>112</sup>

The new rule of preventative war takes its place in the canon now that the grand strategy has been not only stated but actively implemented. The US may now be able to move on to more difficult cases. There are many tempting possibilities: Iran, Syria, the Andean region, and a number of others. The prospects depend in large part on whether the "second superpower" can be intimidated and contained.

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<sup>110</sup> - Condoleezza Rice, interview by Wolf Blitzer, *Late Edition*, CNN, 8 September 2002. Online at: <http://www.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/09/08/iraq.debate/>. Scott Peterson, "In War, Some Facts Less Factual," *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 September 2002, World section, p. 1. The 1990 claims, based on alleged satellite images, were investigated by the *St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times*. Experts who analyzed photos from commercial satellites found nothing. Inquiries were rebuffed, and still are. For independent confirmation, see Peter D. Zimmerman, "The Bush Deceit," *Washington Post*, 14 August 2003, sec. A, p. 19.

<sup>111</sup> - David E. Sanger and Steven R. Weisman, "Bush's Aides Envision New Influence in Region," *New York Times*, 10 April 2003, sec. B, p. 11. Roger Owen, "War by Example," *Al-Ahram Weekly*, 3 April 2003. Online at: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/632/op57.htm>.

<sup>112</sup> - Ibid

The grand strategy extends to domestic US law. As in many other countries, the government used the occasion of the terrorist atrocities of 9-11 to discipline its own population. After 9-11, often with questionable relation to terror, the Bush's administration claimed, and exercised, the right to declare people "including US citizens" to be "enemy combatants" or "suspected terrorists" and to imprison them without charge or access to lawyers or family until the White House determines that its "war on terror" has been successfully concluded: that is, indefinitely.

The Ashcroft Justice Department believes it is "essential" that if someone is held as an enemy combatant, they are "clearly held without access to family members and counsel." Courts have partially backed these assertions of executive authority, ruling that a wartime president can imprison a U.S. citizen taken as an enemy combatant on the battlefield indefinitely and deny that person access to legal representation."<sup>113</sup>

The treatment of "enemy combatants" in Washington's Guan-tanamo prison camp in a still-occupied part of Cuba elicited substantial protest from Human Rights organisations and others, The Justice Department's own inspector general issued a damning report that was ignored by the U.S. Following the capture of Iraq, evidence emerged that Iraqi detainees were being treated similarly: gagged, shackled, hooded, and beaten "in the manner of the Afghans and other captives detained at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba," treatment that was "questionable under international law," to put it mildly.

The Red Cross strongly protested the refusal of the US command to allow it access to prisoners of war, in violation of the Geneva Conventions, and to captured civilians.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, the designations are capricious. As Washington admits, an enemy combatant can be anyone the US decides to strike based on no evidence.

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<sup>113</sup> - Neely Tucker, Detainees Seek Access to Courts, *Washington Post*, 3 December 2002, sec. A, p. 22. Neil

A. Lewis, Detention Upheld in Combatant Case, *New York Times*, 9 January 2003, sec. A, p. 1.

<sup>114</sup> - Ed Vulliamy, Red Cross Denied Access to PoWs, *Observer* (London), Sunday, 25 May 2003, p. 20.

One of the endeavours of the current incumbents has become well known: the success of the CIA and its associates during the 1980s in recruiting radical Islamists and organizing them into a military and terrorist force. The goal, according to Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was "to draw the Russians into the Afghan trap," initially by secret operations that would induce them to invade Afghanistan. The Carter-Brzezinski reaction to the subsequent invasion was based on a complete misinterpretation of the Russian decision to intervene, according to the very knowledgeable analyst Raymond Garthoff.<sup>115</sup> The Russian decision was undertaken reluctantly and with narrow and defensive objectives, as "is now clearly established in the Soviet archives," he writes.

For the Reaganites, who took over a year later, "the single aim," he continues, was "bleeding the Russians and pillorying the Soviets in world opinion." The immediate effect was a conflict that wreaked havoc on Afghanistan, with even worse results after the Russians left and Reagan's jihadis took control.

The long-term result was two decades of terror and civil war. In the 1980s there was threat of worse, as "CIA-backed incursions of Afghan guerrillas and saboteurs into Soviet territory nearly provoked a major Soviet-Pakistani, if not Soviet-American war," with unforeseeable consequences.<sup>116</sup>

According to a critical analysis by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the imperial grand strategy clearly ignores "the international rule of law as an overriding purpose of policy," noting that neither international law nor the UN Charter are addressed in the National Security Strategy, Chomsky notes. "The primacy of law over force [that] has been a major thread in American foreign policy since the end of World War II"<sup>117</sup> disappears from the new strategy. Also "all but disappeared" are the international institutions "that extend the reach of law, and seek to constrain the powerful as well as to grant the weak a voice."

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<sup>115</sup> - Raymond Garthoff, *A Journey through the Cold War: A Memoir of Containment and Coexistence*

(Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2001), pp. 338, 387. John K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America, and International Terrorism* (London and Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 1999), pp. 11, 54.

<sup>116</sup> - *Ibid*

<sup>117</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival*, 2003, p.17



From now on, force reigns, and the US will exercise that force as it sees fit. The analysts conclude that the strategy will increase "the motivation of U.S. enemies to act [in reaction to their growing] resentment of perceived intimidation." They will seek "cheap and easy ways of exploiting U.S. vulnerabilities," which abound. Lack of concern with this on the part of Bush planners is also illustrated by the fact that the National Security Strategy contains just a single sentence on enhancing arms control efforts, for which the administration has only contempt.<sup>118</sup>

The Neo-Conservatives may be deluding themselves, however. It's possible that Bush's new national security plan is really a "doctrine for one situation only," as many US officials privately speculate. According to Lieven, proponents of this viewpoint might point to most Americans' inability to consider themselves in imperial terms, as well as their strong antipathy to overseas entanglements, commitments, and sacrifices. Although the Bush administration has made threatening pronouncements about Syria, it has also told the American people that the US military occupation of Iraq will continue no more than 18 months.<sup>119</sup>

The Neo-Conservatives in America and their Israeli allies, as evidenced by their public comments, would like to see a long-term imperial war against any part of the Muslim world that defies the US and Israel, with ideological justification provided by the American mission civilisatrice - 'democratisation,' as Lieven argues.<sup>120</sup>

The Middle East, the Arab world, and the Muslim world are the ultimate objectives. Iraq will be the first step in this approach; winning the war on terror necessitates structural change throughout the region.' He continues, The Neo-Con approach is based on the Reaganite fusion

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<sup>118</sup> - Kaysen et al., War with Iraq, op. cit. Michael Krepon, "Dominators Rule," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists 59, no.1 (January–February 2003):pp. 55–60.

<sup>119</sup> - Anatol Lieven, A Trap of Their Own Making, Vol. 25 No. 9, 8 May 2003.

<sup>120</sup> - Ibid.

of military toughness and ideological crusading, which they believe won the war against 'Communism.' The ultimate goal would be to achieve world dominion through total military dominance.<sup>121</sup>

According to writer and political commentator Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, the current developments in the Arab world constitute a new "Sykes-Picot" to partition the Arab territory and divvy up its riches and territories as part of three schemes. In addition to an Israeli half-plan to obstruct the Palestinian issue, the first plan is "Euro-American," the second is "Iranian," and the third is "Turkish.". He claimed that revolutions are not manufactured in factories and that they cannot be successful in this manner. External forces seeking power do not "hand over the keys" to revolutionaries; rather, they are looking out for their own interests, and no one should mistakenly believe that popular liberation comes second to [foreigners'] own interests.<sup>122</sup>

#### **2.4. Consequences of the US Policy in Iraq:**

The motives and the real reasons that led to the declaration of war and the presence of US forces in Iraq were to cancel the role of Iraq as a source of danger or reality on the interests of America and Israel. Thus, to enter the region in the stage of full submission that allows America and Israel to move freely in the area; the will to challenge both peoples and governments<sup>123</sup>, and this is done by closing the eastern front of Iraq after the western side of Egypt was bound by the Camp David Treaty, and thus ends the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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<sup>121</sup> - Anatol Lieven, A Trap of Their Own Making, Vol. 25 No. 9, 8 May 2003.

<sup>122</sup> - Mohamed Hassanein Heikal, Interview with Al Ahram, November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

<sup>123</sup> - International Politics Magazine: 2003-220.

The new American military presence in the region also imposed new data by imposing new policies for the region and represents a message to these peoples that they have become living in the post-dictatorship era. That is democracy in other words the age of the American-Zionist world government and the control of Iraqi oil, since Iraq has the largest reserve in the world, to join the rest of the oil wells that America puts its hands on, in order to secure for itself and its allies in the West in the next 50 years resources are inexhaustible if the North oil is about to drain, and restore the prestige of America, which suffered great losses in Afghanistan.

US forces have failed to achieve the goals declared by this war, which was the elimination of al-Qaeda and the Taliban, that are still defying and falling losses periodically, and they threaten the continuation of the control of the Afghan government pro-American, and the depletion of Arab economic resources and control of the Iraqi economy. Where the cost of the US war on Iraq has led to the loss of the Arab nation of one of the strongest economies, the costs of this war exceeded 800 Billion Dollars; that caused the global economy to suffer large losses led to the current global economic crisis. The duration of the US military presence in the region depends on the following factors <sup>124</sup>.

The political and military strategy of both Iraq and Iran towards the countries of the region, the progress in the peace process in the Middle East, the integration of Israel into the Middle East system, the social and political transformations in the GCC countries, and the emergence of an opposing current to the American presence. However, the decline in the importance of Gulf oil for America will push it and over time to reassess its security policy on Gulf security. In light of the foregoing, the US military strategy toward the security arrangements in the Gulf can be imagined as follows <sup>125</sup>:

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<sup>124</sup> - Journal of Gulf Affairs, 2004, No. 38: 95

<sup>125</sup> - Ibid.

To ensure that the US presence in the Gulf region indirectly, through the presence of these forces in Iraq, and to prevent Iran from developing its military capabilities in a manner that threatens U.S interests in the region. The Iraqi armed forces formed the cornerstone of the solid Arab capability. The Iraqi army played a pivotal role in the issues of the Arab nation till Iraq's invasion and occupation.

The US civil administrator for Iraq Paul Bremer dismantled the Iraqi armed forces and all associated departments in 16-05-2003 in accordance with Resolution No. 02 issued by the Coalition Provisional Authority,<sup>126</sup> where he worked in a strategy to ensure the formation of a new army with a peaceful military doctrine, in its national bases, in organizing, mobilizing and arming it. This strategy includes three basic objectives related to the future of the US military presence in Iraq: The restructuring of the various Iraqi security services, the reconstruction of the new Iraqi army, the restructuring of local government systems.

The tasks of the Iraqi army, according to the new American approach, include protecting the state and defending its borders against any external threat, securing the constitutional legitimacy of the elected regime, securing all vital installations and objectives against any internal threat. One of the most important bases and considerations on which the new Iraqi army was built is not to provide offensive capabilities that might expose neighbouring countries to any threat, to serve as a defensive military force, to be based on a system of volunteering, not to recruit, to reduce its size, of the elements of the former Iraqi army only in rare cases, and keep it away from political practices.

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<sup>126</sup> - <https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/cpa->

[iraq/regulations/20030823\\_CPAORD\\_2\\_Dissolution\\_of\\_Entities\\_with\\_Annex\\_A.pdf](https://govinfo.library.unt.edu/cpa-iraq/regulations/20030823_CPAORD_2_Dissolution_of_Entities_with_Annex_A.pdf)

The US National Security Strategy suggests that maintaining a military presence overseas is the cornerstone of the US National Security Strategy and one of the pillars of military strategy. The deployment of US forces in different parts of the globe and in large numbers, gives way to US decision makers to direct military strikes to any region in the world, regardless of the consequences of this order of global antagonism against America as well as the concern of the American home front from it, and this "One of the reasons for this huge spending is the presence of 20,000 sailors and marines on military ships, and about 300,000 more in more than 120 countries on military bases," in 63 countries " former US President Jimmy Carter notes <sup>127</sup>

If we take a close look at the security scene in Iraq we find that there are acts of violence, chaos and instability looming on the Iraqi arena despite the signing of security agreements between Iraq and the United States. The latter was ratified by the Iraqi parliament on November 27, 2008, it states the withdrawal of all US combat forces from Iraqi towns, villages and boroughs no later than the date on which Iraqi security forces assume full responsibility for security in any Iraqi province, whether or not the withdrawal of US forces from the above-mentioned places is completed no later than June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009. Moreover, the final withdrawal shall be made by all Iraqi territory with the end of 2011. <sup>128</sup>

The US administration was keen throughout the period 2003-2006 not to declare its desire to establish military bases in Iraq, and to say only that the forces will remain for the necessary period necessary to achieve stability in Iraq, and will not stay more than that <sup>129</sup> The number of US military bases that will remain in Iraq after the withdrawal as scheduled is 94 military bases with a total of 50 thousand troops <sup>130</sup>.

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<sup>127</sup> - Carter Jimmy, *Our Endangered Values - America's Ethical Crisis*, 2006, p. 174.

<sup>128</sup> - Nassri Ahmed, *The US-Iraq Treaty and the fateful issues of the homeland, civilized dialogue-2297*, 2008, p12

<sup>129</sup> - Hassib Kheir Eddine; *Draft Constitution of the Republic of Iraq*, 2006, p. 21-19

<sup>130</sup> - [http :ejabat.google.com](http://ejabat.google.com)

The American occupation of Iraq was accompanied by chaos in the administration and corruption at all levels, the looting of most of its wealth, and the most dangerous of all the dedication of the scheme of internal fighting according to the agenda of sectarianism, quotas and work on the distribution of influence among regional powers. Thus, the liquidation of the Iraqi state is complete, through the extension of the elements of the sovereign state and its national bases.

The US administration is not isolated from what is going on in Iraqi political life. It is the biggest player in the crisis industry, and the movement of political wills for its interests and agenda, because what happened in Iraq is linked to the agendas of the occupier and its policies consistent with its strategic interests. It should not be underestimated the dangers of what is happening in the Iraqi scene today, a scene that is contaminated with the smell of sectarian strife, and the fuse of the civil war that began to build the militias and death squads, the kidnapping and killing on identity in cold blood, and then the phase of sectarian displacement <sup>131</sup>.

The United States planned the war more than planned after the war because the difficulty it faced and still faces is not in the occupation of Iraq, but in post-occupation and in the end of the crisis, the stability of the situation, also the trend towards democracy, development and prosperity promised by the United States to the Iraqi people before the invasion.

One cannot talk about nationalism in the trenches of sectarianism. An approach to dealing with the inherited crisis is to launch the idea of citizenship as the essence of patriotism and the criterion of belonging. Moreover, the Iraqis divided to Arabs and Kurds, Sunnis and Shiites, Muslims and Christians; have to be equal before the law in rights and duties within the framework of the State of Iraq as stated by Hassib Kheir Eddine. Thus, the true guarantee of

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<sup>131</sup> - Yassine Khadir Al Baiani, *Disassembling the Iraqi scene*, 2006: 50. *Arabic Future* 319

the unity of the nation and the people, is a fundamental pillar for the building of democracy and civil society, because the result of democracy based on sectarianism and religious nationalism cannot achieve stability or consensus.<sup>132</sup>

Immediately after the occupation of Iraq, the United States contributed to the drafting of a new constitution for the Iraqi state instead of the old constitution. It was adopted in 2005 after passing through all the necessary stages and submitting it to the referendum and voting by the people.

One of the most important principles of the new Iraqi constitution<sup>133</sup>, it emphasizes on the unity and integrity of Iraq, its system of governance will be a federal, democratic and pluralistic republic based on historical and geographical realities. Thus, the need to separate powers not basing on nationality is required. In order to reduce the role of the armed forces and separate them from political action by subjecting them to the control of the political leadership; considering Islam as the official religion of the state and the source of legislation while guaranteeing freedom of religion, religious practice for all, the adoption of Arabic and Kurdish languages as official languages. Free and sovereign people all equal in truth and duties, the adoption of the vote according to the law, within free and fair elections and periodic competitiveness.

The constitution states that the government has to respect the principle of separation, to control the authorities and to achieve balance between them. The legislative authority is given the powers to the make laws, supervise the work of the executive branch. The constitution also established relations between the central authority and the regional government to ensure

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<sup>132</sup> - Hassib Kheir Eddine, Draft Constitution of the Republic of Iraq, 2005, p.79

<sup>133</sup> - Ahmad Sid Ahmad, International Politics Magazine, 2004. pp.112-114

federalism and local government to a unified Iraq and to prevent concentration of power in the central government. It included, also, the recognition of the Kurdistan Regional Government as the official transitional government within the unified Iraq, while allowing other governorates to form transitional governments. However, the relationship between the transitional government and the occupation forces is not very clear. The Iraqi armed forces defend Iraq and give this government the authority to negotiate and conclude security agreements.

It can be said that the Permanent Iraqi Constitution of 2005<sup>134</sup> established many guarantees aimed at respect for Human Rights and fundamental freedoms. The international policy is currently taking shape on the subject of Human Rights, and its contents are in conformity with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>135</sup>, the International Institute of Civil Rights, and article 11 of the European Convention on Human Rights<sup>136</sup> and the American Convention on Human Rights.

The new legislation affirms the right of assembly, the freedom to belong to political gatherings, the freedom to stay and to withdraw from it without restrictions, so that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, has the right to vote, to be elected in periodic and fair elections under the supervision of the competent international monitoring teams, civil society organizations, local and regional NGOs. Moreover, to provide the appropriate environment to enable them to exercise this role freely, transparently, impartially and professionally without pressures, threats or restrictions, on an equal basis and by voting secret, so as to guarantee the free expression of voters.

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<sup>134</sup> - <https://www.uscirf.gov/reports-briefs/special-reports/iraqs-draft-permanent-constitution-september-2005>

<sup>135</sup> - <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights>

<sup>136</sup> - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European\\_Convention\\_on\\_Human\\_Rights](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Convention_on_Human_Rights)



The parties were also free to work, to issue newspapers, to welcome the government and to participate in the political and parliamentary process. The civil society organizations in Iraq are active groups. They started their work since the end of the 1920s. They founded the first civil society organization-the wife of the late politician Nouri al-Said-with a group of Iraqi women whose aim was to activate the role of Iraqi women in Iraqi society.<sup>137</sup>

More than 100 civil society organizations have started their work in Iraq since the first months of the occupation. They have been promoted through conferences and seminars, the encouragement of associations and organizations and funds from donor countries. The focus was on promoting democracy In Iraq through awareness and the dissemination of democratic culture. In this period, the women's movement in Iraq started working on the feet of the founders of associations and organizations in various women's affairs. Perhaps the first emergence of civil society in Iraq drew the attention of Iraqi and non-Iraqi politicians; also the Arab and international media. The women's movement through the social movements managed to obtain 25% of the seats in parliament, the government and the National Assembly, and this was proven by the constitution.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> - [www.al-bayyna.com](http://www.al-bayyna.com).

<sup>138</sup> - [www.arablawsreform.net](http://www.arablawsreform.net).

## **2.5. The Division of the Country on an Ethnic Basis:**

One of the accepted facts is that there are Israeli ambitions in the region in general, and in Iraq in particular, based on religious principles stemming from the claim of the Land of Israel from the Euphrates to the Nile with the old Israeli hatred against Mesopotamia since Nebuchadnezzar. Iraq consists of several nationalities; the composition can be divided into 80% Arabs, 15% Kurds, and 5% others, with a population of 27 million<sup>139</sup>

The absolute conviction of America and Israel was that the threat of Iraq would not disappear in its occupation and that it could return to its strength and threats again. In this regard, the two countries agree that the best solution to this problem is to divide Iraq into easy-to-control states, with the consensus of the leaders of some of the Iraqi parties and members of the Governing Council in the days of Bremer<sup>140</sup>

The Iraqi constitution has created a partition based on federalism, allowing two or more provinces to form their own federal constituencies. In addition to the oil law, which gives the regions power beyond the authority of the government, the plan was planned to be implemented on the basis of four regions<sup>141</sup>:

- Northern Region: Kirkuk, Mosul, Tikrit, Erbil.

Central Region: Baghdad, Ramadi, Kut, Diyala.

- Euphrates Region: Hilla, Diwaniya, Najaf, Karbala.

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<sup>139</sup> - Nawaf Zaro, *Israel 's War in Iraq*, National Library, Oman, 2005, p.109

<sup>140</sup> - *Ibid.* p.113

<sup>141</sup> - *Ibid.* p.115

- Southern region: Basra, Amarah, Nasiriyah and Samawah.

Iraq is divided into three entities: the Shiite entity in the south, the Sunni entity in the center, the Kurdish entity in the north, and the Assyrians, the Chaldeans and the Turkmen <sup>142</sup>

Iraq is an oil country and its relatively large area and its population make it one of the heaviest countries in the Arabian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula. Iraq is the only country in the world rich in water and oil. Oil is scarce in a country where most of its territory is desert; rich in water at one time. Moreover, it contains the Tigris and Euphrates rivers that cross Iraq and come from higher countries, which provides 91.2 billion meters, so that the average per capita share is about 3880 cubic meters per year <sup>143</sup>

Economists believe that Iraq after the occupation is slowly moving towards the free economy, both in terms of legal aspects or practical application, as Iraq still lacks laws and legislation to support the establishment of such a economy. Economic experts say that Iraq is living in a transition to a free economy, but it takes a long time. Iraq still depends on oil revenues, which account for 70 percent of its imports. Other sectors neglect the supporting task, especially the industrial and agricultural sectors, which suffer from a clear lag, because of boycott and wars <sup>144</sup>

On May 22, 2003, the UN Security Council passed a resolution to place oil revenues and funds held by the United Nations in the Reconstruction Fund and disbursed \$ 55 billion in

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<sup>142</sup> - Said Ahmad Shishtawi, Iraqi federalism and the danger of partitioning Iraq, Egyptian Defence, 2006, p. 28

<sup>143</sup> - Abdel Amir Dekroub, Water and conflicts around it in the Eastern Arab countries, Arab Defence

Magazine, Beirut, 2003, 121)(<http://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/article.asp?In=ar&id=1611>).

<sup>144</sup> - [www.iraqhurr.org](http://www.iraqhurr.org).

reconstruction costs. Iraq also began in 2009 with the economic reform project, which will continue in its first phase until 2011 to work towards a gradual transition to a free market economy, in cooperation with the United Nations.

The project includes a gradual transition to the market economy according to paragraphs implemented on the ground by four teams of work, each of which is concerned with a particular economic, legislative reform, taking into account that the Iraqi constitution provides that the economic system is free. It states that it is the duty of the State to undertake economic reforms for the purpose of transformation. The second working group is related to the reform and privatization of state-owned enterprises. The third task force is to support the capacities of the private sector and to know their problems. There are about 17,000 unemployed factories in Iraq. The team will try to operate them and find reasons for their lack of performance. The fourth group will be interested in promoting investment, drawing its plan and developing a strategy for it and all related to investment issues, because there can be no ability to shift to the market economy unless investors and the private sector are able to invest, institutions able to lend and provide banking facilities and others.<sup>145</sup>

The goal of US aid to Iraq is to help the Iraqi government to build a democratic, prosperous country living in peace with itself and its neighbours and enjoying the benefits of a free society and a market economy. Since 2003, the US Agency for International Development<sup>146</sup> has been a major contributor to the US government's reconstruction effort. USAID is working to improve the situation of Iraqis by encouraging economic growth, supporting democracy, rehabilitating health and education systems, providing humanitarian assistance to displaced and vulnerable populations, and rehabilitating and developing infrastructure such as sanitation, electricity and drinking water.

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<sup>145</sup> - [www.shafaaq.com](http://www.shafaaq.com).

<sup>146</sup> - [www.usaid.gov/iraq/ar](http://www.usaid.gov/iraq/ar)

USAID's first phase of assistance reached more than \$5 billion for reconstruction and humanitarian assistance through 60 grant and contract programs to support rehabilitation programs, construction of electricity, water and sanitation networks, local administration, health, education and nutrition .

In terms of military assistance, the United States re-built, organized and armed the new Iraqi army, armed with modern American armament systems, which are characterized by agility, high manoeuvrability and proper firepower within the framework of self-defence capability only. This included armoured tanks of M1 A2/M60-A3 armoured combat vehicles and M2/M113 armoured personnel carriers, 105mm hollow-caliber 155 mm guns, M90-type guns and MRLS/RSL-90mm rocket artillery <sup>147</sup>. Another deal to arm the Iraqi army worth \$ 113 billion was approved, including sophisticated military technology, M 1-Abrams Tanks and F-16 fighter jets. <sup>148</sup>

## **2.6 Conclusion:**

Washington's foreign policy of sending military forces to other countries in the world is fundamentally linked to America's oil and energy needs of any other country in the West<sup>149</sup>. The US consumption of oil increased by 8 million barrels per day after the occupation of Iraq while domestic production decreased from 6.2 million barrels as a peak in 2009 and will drop to 4.7 million in 2025.

The United States is fully aware that it is not alone in the international arena, especially in terms of economy, and that there are many countries seeking to reach the level and

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<sup>147</sup> - Mohamed Fikry El Sayed, American thought to build the new Iraqi army, Defence Magazine, 2004: pp.32-37

<sup>148</sup> - [www.aljewar.org](http://www.aljewar.org)

<sup>149</sup> - [www.aljazeera.net](http://www.aljazeera.net)

superiority in the foreseeable future. Hence, it was necessary to Washington to work to thwart the arrival of others to the level or control the process of ascension as most of the European countries, Japan, China and India import Gulf oil, and these countries, especially Europe and Japan, do not have sufficient oil to consume in their territories. Therefore, their economic strength is based mainly on Oil imported from abroad, mainly from the Gulf. American control over this oil field will give more to determine the quantities of production, supply volumes and oil prices ... etc. That makes the development of other countries and economic growth is subject indirectly to the American supervision.

In the event of stabilizing the situation in Iraq, this enables US companies to reach 112 billion barrels of oil, which is the declared reserves of the country <sup>150</sup> their bounties to 200 billion barrels, which is the most important global reserve after Saudi Arabia.

The US occupation authority signed a long-term oil agreement with Iraq to give the American oil companies control of Iraqi wells to ensure the supply of Iraq to America for oil for many years at prices cheaper than international markets within the so-called "new oil law," which gives US companies rights and privileges called " Partnership "that lasts for about 33 years.

Thus, the control of US forces on the oil of Iraq and the Gulf will prevent the possibility of thinking about the use of the weapon of oil, whether against America or Israel. The US forces ready in the heart of oil wells to defend; and are close to all the Gulf oil states if there is any coup or change of power or any strategy that can threaten oil wells and their supplies.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> - [www.ejabat.google.com](http://www.ejabat.google.com)

<sup>151</sup> - [www.onislam.net](http://www.onislam.net)

The elimination of Arab oil in general, the Gulf in particular, and Iraq to a greater extent, is impossible, as the needs and the time range will not be a little will be from the Gulf region for more than one reason, the discovery of oil and production there is less expensive than any region in the world, then its quality is high, and has no suitable alternative.

Washington has tried to gradually phase out its oil imports from the Gulf, but failed, and realized the pillars of successive administrations before the arrival of Bush the son that reliance on Gulf oil is a fact that cannot be bypassed or jumped on.

To sum up, the destruction of Iraq was fruitful to the West in general, and to the US and Israel in particular, through the puppet regime they installed there. The economy is totally destroyed, the -so called-army is defenceless, political arena is equivalent to nonexistent since the constitution is drafted by the coloniser.

## *Chapter 3:*

# American Foreign Policy in Syria

*.....We must destroy all terrorist regimes and start with the big three, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Then we start with Saudi Arabia. And we must ensure the achievement of consultation and democracy.... We do not want to achieve stability in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, or even Saudi Arabia.... We want to change things, and the important question is: How do we do that?*

Michael Arthur Ledeen, *The War Against the Terror Masters*, 2001



**Case study: Syria**

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### **3.1. Introduction:**

Before dealing with the nature of this relationship, it is necessary to look at Syria's contemporary political history, which goes back to the atmosphere of the Sykes-Picot agreements that divided the Arab world into states and entities based on religion, ethnicity and sectarianism. "Syria was at the time the centre of sharp Anglo-French polarization on the fate of the so-called Syrian Issue in the correspondence of Littleton-de Gaulle in July 1941" .<sup>152</sup> However, this agreement did not last long because of events that prevented the existing settlement from remaining, a new strategy in the Middle East, based on British exclusivity in the region and the liquidation of the French presence.

In light of the political situation of the Syria, the United States declared in the atmosphere of the Second World War that it does not recognize the Anglo-French settlement in the correspondence of Littleton-de Gaulle, and not to place the Middle East under British influence, Barout adds, they proposed the principle of co-existence British and American ".<sup>153</sup>

With the declaration of the independence of Syria in April 1946 and the announcement of the evacuation of the last French soldier, Damascus was one of the first countries to join the

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<sup>152</sup> -Mohamed Djamal Barout, How decision is made in the Arab regimes, Center for Arab Unity Studies,

Beirut, 2010, p 279

<sup>153</sup> - Ibid. p. 280

United Nations and one of the first countries to exercise democratic political action, considering the people was represented since 1943 in the institution of parliament, and has a tradition in the coexistence between different sects and nationalities, and before that was one of the founding members of the League of Arab States 1945. Hence the beginning of events in development because of "the competition for the leadership of the Arab regional system between two axes: the Iraqi Hashemite axis of Jordan on the one hand, and the Egyptian-Saudi axis on the other. Syria has formed the main stage of this geopolitical polarization between the two axes.<sup>154</sup>

### **3.2. US Foreign Policy towards Syria:**

In reference to the nature of Syrian-American relations, the history of this period can be traced back to the Cold War years, exactly in the 1950s, when the Baghdad alliance was formed in 1954 by the United States, consisting of Iraq, Turkey and Pakistan. Then Britain joined in 1955 to give more immunity to the Middle East against the tide of communist and socialist, especially after the success of the Egyptian revolution in 1952, also its declaration of a national unity project.

The most current history of the CIA provides a very brief summary of US contacts with Shishakli, for example, that fails to sum up the existing literature in claiming too much ('the CIA *installed* ... Shishakli as the Syria leader' while not providing any detail on how the CIA might have been able to do so. Moreover, the subsequent CIA operations in 1956 and 1957 are also explained in a way that does not allow readers to understand the strategic objectives motivating the agency<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> - Mohamed Djamal Barout, How decision is made in the Arab regimes, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2010, p 280

<sup>155</sup> - Weiner Tim, Legacy of Ashes, The History of the CIA, 2008, p159-161.

Thus, to explain convincingly how Syria was pushed toward the Soviet Union during this period, one needs to ‘map’ the various western plots and subplots implemented between 1956 and 1957 in their entirety. The historiography suggests that three main covert operations took place out of which two were joint Anglo-American.<sup>156</sup>

These were in temporal order as follows: -1- ‘Operation Straggle’, a joint British and American operation that took place between March and October 1956 and ended in the uncovering of the plot by Syrian intelligence. -2- ‘Operation Wappen’,<sup>157</sup> the CIA’s unilateral effort to recruit right-wing dissidents inside the Syrian army for a coup that would bring back Shishakli as dictator of Syria that was in turn uncovered by Syrian intelligence on 12 August 1957. -3- the ‘Preferred Plan’, another combined effort of the two western powers that was put forward in September 1957 in order to promote unrest within Syria to be followed by armed incursions from neighboring countries and the assassination of Syrian key political and military figures that had stopped the two earlier coup attempts.-4- American unilateral efforts to encourage Turkey to invade Syria after August 1957.-5- British efforts at various points in time to promote Jordanian and/or Iraqi attacks on Syria in order to force through earlier British plans for the Baghdad Pact.

Nevertheless, western military analysts acknowledged that the quick delivery to Syria of MiG-15 and MiG-17 Soviet jet fighters in 1956, and early in 1957 changed the strategic

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<sup>156</sup> - Sullivan III, Michael J, *American Adventurism Abroad. Invasions, Interventions, and Regime*

*Changes since World War II*, 2008.

<sup>157</sup> - Kahana Ephraim, and Suwaed, Muhammad (2009) ‘Operation Wappen’, in *The A to Z of Middle Eastern*

*Intelligence*, Lanham, MD, 2009, pp. 246-248.

Calculus in the Middle East and allowed Syria to deter a possible invasion from neighbouring countries such as Iraq<sup>158</sup>

However, once the Soviet deliveries had arrived, western analysts realized that the Russian build-up of Syria does not appear to be a short-term project. It appears now that there are no restrictions on what the Syrians can order. The quantities of aircraft and arms talked of by Syria are more than her armed forces can absorb in the immediate future.

Thus, Syria's turn to the Soviet Union, allowed the country to acquire the patronage necessary to become a serious regional power. The parallel strengthening of the Syrian military and Syrian state by the Soviet Union since the second half of the 1950s had geopolitical significance that continues to influence the Middle East politics today.

However, with the existence of this alliance, Syria signed a treaty of joint defense with Egypt in 1955, which was later joined by Jordan, "which made the United States believe that Syria is just around the corner from falling into Soviet influence".<sup>159</sup> The spirit of Arab nationalism developed between Egypt and Syria to the degree of full and complete integration and the declaration of the establishment of the United Arab Republic in 1958, which ended with the desire of Syria to secede in 1961 to become a country with a regional dimension that developed more and more in the seventies of the last century, that later on had an extension in Lebanon, which intervened to quell the 1975 civil war.

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<sup>158</sup> - Rathmell, Andrew (1995) *Secret War in the Middle East: The covert struggle for Syria, 1949-1961.*, 1995, p141.

<sup>159</sup> - Barout Mohamed Djamal, *How decision is made in the Arab regimes*, Center for Arab Unity Studies,

Beirut, 2010, p 284

Moreover, during the long Cold War, the Middle East was one of the hottest areas where the United States and the USSR faced off. Then, when the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the United States was truly left as the only outside power in the region. Previously, the United States and the Soviets had each “policed” their own respective client states and that had maintained a certain order in an otherwise chaotic area; now the United States was left as the region’s sole policeman, with all the costs on its part and rising resentments on the side of the Arab states that implied change had, meanwhile, internal politics and societies in the Middle East that have been steadily changing, affecting the international situation.

First, the rise of Pan- Arabism, largely led by Jamel Abdul Nasser of Egypt in its early years, a movement that sought to find common ground and common policies among all the Arab states. Concurrently, second, the rise of Arab nationalism, socialism, and the secular, Baath political parties that governed for a time in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.<sup>160</sup> Meanwhile, third, social change was occurring in the Arab world, including the rise of a middle class and the growing impatience for change coupled with religious fundamentalism of the Arab masses. Fourth, is the Iranian revolution of 1979, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, and the growing popularity of the idea of a distinct Islamic model of change and development. Finally, the rising and continuing demand for Middle East oil by Europe, the United Governments, Japan, and later on China enabled some Islamic countries to become fantastically wealthy, while other non-oil countries remained impoverished, and the divide between affluent and poor across and within states widened.

"Frankly, Syria has shifted from a geopolitical perspective to a state with effective regional policies based on identifying its interests, sources of threat, and mechanisms to react to those threats; and of course, the Zionist entity, which is an ally of the United States in the region and linked to it, one of the most important sources of the Syrian national security threat."<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> - Howard J. Wiarda, Culture and Foreign Policy, The Neglected Factor in International Relations, 2016, p 78.

<sup>161</sup> - Barout, Mohamed Djamel, How decision is made in the Arab regimes, 2010, p 285.

The United States was well aware of the importance of the geostrategic location of Syria. "It has geopolitical dimensions, the eastern region is a natural extension of Iraq, and the north and the coast is an extension of the region of Kilekia<sup>162</sup> and the southern region is an extension of Egyptian national security.<sup>163</sup>

Nevertheless, even more dangerous than that in the view of the United States and the Zionist entity, after the coup of Hafez al-Assad on Atassi, is the arrival of a Baathist political leadership and national unity, calling for the liberation of all Arab territories and the end of the Zionist presence in the Arab region. This geopolitical discourse worried Washington, especially as it was aware that "Hafez al-Assad has succeeded at the regional level in re-normalization of relations with Saudi Arabia and with Egypt... With the aim of preparing for a war of liberation that would restore the occupied Golan and other territories occupied by Israel in 1967, to find a similar solution to the Palestinian cause, and seeks to limit Israel within the 1967 borders ... "<sup>164</sup>

Back to the seventies, and exactly in 1973, the year the Arabs launched the war against the Zionist entity to regain the occupied territories in Egypt, Syria and Palestine; the hopes of the Arabs in reaching the complete liberation were dissolved just days after the declaration of war. Where the ambiguity of much of the course of events, especially after Sadat announced the end of the war without informing Hafez al-Assad, and turn things upside down, and Egypt's failure to provide convincing justification. What Damascus understood was that the goal was to isolate Egypt from the Arab-Israeli conflict after it was removed from the

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<sup>162</sup> - A historical area located south of Anatolia on the southern coast of Turkey, separated from Syria Mountains Taurus, later known as the Kingdom of Armenia Minor.

<sup>163</sup> - Wakim, Djamel, *The Great Powers Struggle for Syria*, Beirut, 2012, p.128.

<sup>164</sup> - *Ibid.* p129.

conflict with Israel. Assad was skeptical of American intentions and believed that Israel was seeking to impose its hegemony over the Middle East, especially on Syria and at the expense of the Arabs.<sup>165</sup>

In addition to the extension of American hegemony and control of Syria from all sides, The United States dealt with the Damascus regime from the very beginning it was subject to political and security considerations stemming from the Zionist entity's convictions that Syria should remain exhausted and weak. As mentioned above, when we discussed the role of the Jewish lobby in determining the foreign policy of the United States in the Middle East, especially in the Arab-Israeli conflict, where Syria is an active and influential actor.

Washington began to encourage the Zionist entity to take steps in the field of the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, after the conclusion of the peace treaty with Egypt at Camp David, and finally be able to neutralize Egypt from the conflict. The invasion was a powerful blow to Syria, which weakened its influence in Lebanon and lost control of the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organisation).

Thus, became ready to accept the American conditions. Even though, it was the Americans who refused to cooperate with Damascus because they thought Damascus was too weak to confront US policies in the Middle East. Moreover, H. Sicherman argues that “ *Last minute Syrian intervention on Arafat's behalf was defeated as well, leading to yet another coup in Damascus, this one bringing Hafez al-Assad to power. The War of Attrition was over, settled by active American intervention*”.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> - Wakim Djamel, *The Great Powers Struggle for Syria*, 2012, p 133.

<sup>166</sup> - Harvey Sicherman, *Palestinian Autonomy, Self-Government, and Peace*, 1993, p 14.



Hence, it is clear that America is moving abroad on the Syrian issue and its determination to defend the Zionist entity by illegal means. Damascus was in a qualitative alliance with Moscow as the last source of arming the Arab regimes involved in the Arab-Zionist conflict, headed by Syria. The United States suspended indirect contact with Syria and its destabilization was done through its allies in the region, such as Saudi Arabia and the Zionist entity<sup>167</sup> trying to contain its role in the conflict.

The most dramatic example was the huge demonstration in June 1982 in connection with the UN disarmament session. Chomsky notes that, the demonstration took place a week after the US-backed Israeli attack on Lebanon, which—apart from its murderous consequences—brought the superpowers close to nuclear confrontation as Israel attacked the forces of a Soviet ally, Syria, which had not attempted to impede the Israeli onslaught, assuming it to be aimed solely against the Palestinians.<sup>168</sup>

To the extent that Reagan explicitly declared that "in the Middle East, the Soviet evil empire spreads the differences through its regional powers: Syria, the PLO, Libya ... This means standing up to the Soviet Union even if it is at risk of a nuclear war."<sup>169</sup>

In the era of unilateral polarisation, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the official declaration of the end of the Cold War, the dismantling of the Communist camp; the United States quickly rearranged the papers and tried to contain the allies of its former rivals,

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<sup>167</sup> - Barout, Mohamed Djamal, How decision is made in the Arab regimes, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2010, p 283.

<sup>168</sup> - Noam Chomsky, Turning the Tide, 1987.

<sup>169</sup> - Jeremy Salt, the Unmaking of the Middle East: A History of Western Disorder in Arab Lands, 2001, p319.

especially in the Middle East, where the central containment project was a special understanding of the central security interests "What is needed is not to reconfigure the world in the image of the United States, but rather to preserve its diversity in the face of its re-imitating the image of others".<sup>170</sup>

### **3.3. Syria and its Position in the US Strategy**

The Anglo-American leaders had to strongly condemn French military unilateralism because the French military campaign in Syria coincided with the San Francisco Conference, which took place from April to June 1945 to establish the UN system, according to Hoopes. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, demanded immediate French withdrawal 'in order to avoid collision between British and French forces', and British troops subsequently intervened in Syria on 1 June 1945 with the approval of US President Truman.<sup>171</sup>

The underlying reason for the absence of a coherent Syria policy was that the US already focused on alliances with Saudi Arabia and Israel while the UK was already committed to Syria's Hashemite Arab neighbors Jordan and Iraq.

When Jamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt started to challenge the status quo in the Arab world from the mid-1950s onwards, the western powers immediately engaged in counter interventions to stop him. It was only the British military operation in Jordan against indigenous Jordanian supporters of Nasser in 1957 and the military intervention of the US in

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<sup>170</sup> - Ian Shapiro, *Containment: Rebuilding a Strategy against Global Terror*, 2012, p54.

<sup>171</sup> - Hoopes, Townsend, and Brinkley, Douglas *FDR and the Creation of the U.N.*, 1997 p.201

Lebanon against local Nasserists in 1958 that defended the rule of the Jordanian King and the then pro-American Lebanese President, respectively <sup>172</sup>

Thus, Nasser's project of Egyptian-Syrian union, which was implemented during the United Arab Republic between 1958 and 1961, was only possible due to Syrian actors in the Baath Party and elsewhere fearing domestic challenges from a US-backed right-wing coup in Syria, to similar US and UK interventions in Jordan (Brown 2013: 21-23; Little 1990).<sup>173</sup>

Moreover, the slow and unsure moves that the President of Syria and the Syrian Parliament to US demands to grant right of way for the Trans-Arabian Pipeline (Tapline) that was constructed between 1947 and 1949 on behalf of the US-owned Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco). At this time, Tapline was the most significant US-backed pipeline project in the Arab region. The project served to deliver oil from Qaisumah in Saudi Arabia to the port city of Sidon in Lebanon. It was crucial in terms of US oil interests in Saudi Arabia, as well as its strategic importance in terms of supplying oil to US allies in postwar Western Europe. According to Dostal, the original idea for the pipeline to conclude in the Palestinian port of Haifa was scrapped after Israel was founded in 1948. Instead, a new revised Tapline route was scheduled to first cross Jordan and then the Syrian Golan Heights to end in the port city of Sidon in Lebanon. <sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup>- Hiro 1982: 319-320; Blackwell 2009: 187).( Hiro, Dilip (1982) *Inside the Middle East*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.)( Blackwell, Stephen (2009) *British Military Intervention and the Struggle for Jordan*. King Hussein, Nasser and the Middle East Crisis, 1955-1958. Abingdon, Oxon: Blackwell.

<sup>173</sup>- Brown, Kevin (2013) 'The Syrian Crisis of 1957: A Lesson for the 21st Century', *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy, Paper 4*. Los Angeles, Cal.: Figueroa Press.)( Little, Douglas (1990a) 'Cold War and Covert Action: The United States and Syria, 1945-1958', *Middle East Journal*, 44(1), 51-75.)

<sup>174</sup>- Dostal, Jörg Michael , *Syria and the Great Powers (1946-1958): How Western Power Politics Pushed the Country Toward the Soviet Union*, 2015, p 21 .  
[https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/57358/ssoar-syriastudies-2015-4-dostal-Syria\\_and\\_the\\_Great\\_Powers.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y&lnkname=ssoar-syriastudies-2015-4-dostal-Syria\\_and\\_the\\_Great\\_Powers.pdf](https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/57358/ssoar-syriastudies-2015-4-dostal-Syria_and_the_Great_Powers.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y&lnkname=ssoar-syriastudies-2015-4-dostal-Syria_and_the_Great_Powers.pdf)

However, in the scholarly literature, there is an agreement that ‘the structure of the U.S. petroleum industry played a key role in determining the content and conduct of foreign oil policy’ and that ‘corporate power molded both policy objectives and outcomes’ Vitalis argues <sup>175</sup>.

There is, for sure, no agreement about the exact line of causality in terms of whether ‘business privilege’<sup>176</sup> dominated the conduct of US foreign policy or, alternatively, US policymaking converted oil companies into informal instruments of US diplomacy. What is certainly true is that covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), then newly founded, quickly became the instrument of choice to advance US political and economic interests in the region. In the Syrian case, US support for the first coup of Husni Zaim in 1949 is beyond reasonable doubt, although the actual extent of CIA involvement has never been fully established since the relevant CIA files remain closed.

The 1967 war operated in conjunction with a host of other international events and issues to lead U.S. policymakers and regional specialists to reassess U.S. security interests in the Middle East. A U.S. economic downturn, caused in part by high spending to fund the Vietnam War and the Great Society, as well as by increasing competition from Western Europe and Asia, coincided with the rise of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> - Vitalis, Robert (2002) ‘Black Gold, White Crude. An essay on American exceptionalism, hierarchy, and hegemony in the Gulf’, *Diplomatic History*, 26(2): 185-213.)

<sup>176</sup> - Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> - Wikipedia; is an intergovernmental organization of 15 nations, founded in 1960 in Baghdad by the first five members (Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela), and headquartered since 1965 in Vienna, Austria. As of September 2018, the 15 countries accounted for an estimated 44 percent of global oil production and 81.5 percent of the world's "proven" oil reserves.

Arab members of OPEC demonstrated the necessity of Middle Eastern oil to the maintenance of the U.S. economy and consumer culture by implementing a boycott on sales to the United States during and after the October 1973 war between Egypt, Syria, and Israel.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union achieved relative nuclear parity with the United States, just as the United States was in the final phases of withdrawal from the quagmire in Vietnam. In combination, these events made specialists, policymakers, and the wider populace keenly aware of just how vulnerable U.S. security and ways of living were at home and abroad. Policymakers were therefore much more willing than they had been at any previous point to pursue bilateral security arrangements with regional powers in order to protect U.S. interests. President Nixon formally articulated the policy, and Presidents Ford and Carter also pursued it. In the Middle East, this new policy meant arming three regional “pillars”—Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia—and it remained in place at least through the Iranian Revolution in 1979.

The exact relationships between Iran's revolutionary government of Shiite clerics, and the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood organizations in Syria and Jordan were not explored in depth—much as differences in local communist parties had been persistently overlooked, ignored, or simply not comprehended throughout the cold war, key differences between different sorts of Muslim organizations or local contexts were being ignored. By raising the of Iranian power dominance, Rowan did not wish to completely overlook happier outcomes—such as the Shiites of Iraq continuing their “thousand-year plus passive, largely a political state” or the “Arab regimes’ tenacity of control” withstanding “all challenges.”<sup>178</sup>

It is an important measure in the shift in US regional understanding of the nature of the threat to Persian Gulf oil that the persistence of the Assad regime in Syria—previously characterized as an 'extremist' regime for its Soviet links and anti-Israel stance—was now being championed as a moderate state in the context of a regional struggle against Iranian-influenced, anti- Western Muslim fundamentalism.

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<sup>178</sup> - 'Memorandum for Geoffrey Kemp from Henry S Rowen', CIA Report, p.3. 20 July 1982

Beginnings and developments of the US policy show that the post-Cold War strategic agenda was actually present from the inception. It is important to explore the historical roots and development of US security policy towards the area currently defined as the operational domain of Central Command (CENTCOM)<sup>179</sup>—which include the very designation of this area as a unified entity to be policed by a US military presence.

There were many protests against the western presence in general and the American presence in particular by many movements, organizations and elites of the above mentioned areas of Command, but most of times they were oppressed and neglected by the rulers. These confrontations between superpowers in these areas sometimes almost led to nuclear war as noted by Chomsky.<sup>180</sup>

Joseph Gerson, peace secretary of the AFSC (American Friends Service Committee), and a director of the Peace and Economic Security Program. He has worked with AFSC since 1976, in New England, comments about the arms race:<sup>181</sup>

*If the June 12 march was one of the greatest successes of the American peace movement, it was also one of our notable failures. After serious debate, the June 12 Coalition decided not to address questions of intervention in the organizing effort or at the rally in Central Park. On June 12, as people in the Middle East were being torn and seared with American-built cluster bombs, we were silent in New York. While the world lurched toward the nuclear holocaust that we had all come to prevent, we were silent. Only one woman had the insight and courage to speak about the war in Lebanon from the podium. Today it is President Reagan who tells us that an escalation of the war in Lebanon could lead to World War III.*

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<sup>179</sup> - Area of Responsibility Map from <http://www.centcom.mil/>, accessed 3/3/11. The countries highlighted in color—Yemen, Oman, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and contemporary Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan—form CENTCOM's area of responsibility. The latter four were part of the Soviet Union during the years I focus on in this study (1977-1988). CENTCOM's area of responsibility also includes the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Arabian Sea.-Map:2-p.215

<sup>180</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Turning the Tide*, 1987, p 143

<sup>181</sup> - Joseph Gerson, *Nuclear Times*, February 1984.

Media coverage of Syria and Arabs generally, slim at best, is extremely negative, apart from a few U.S. favourites. Syria and the contending elements within Lebanon are never depicted as "symbols of human decency" with exalted moral standards, "care for human life," nor were they conducting their slaughters with U.S. material, diplomatic, and ideological support.<sup>182</sup>

### **3.4. Syrian-American Relations during the Bush's Son Era 2001-2008:**

In the era of President Bashar al-Assad, the world was surprised by the events of September 11, 2001, since then Damascus was under the pressure and accusations of funding and embracing terrorist movements that threaten the interests of the United States in the region. After the invasion of Iraq 2003, and exactly since 2004, attempts are underway to surround the regional role of Syria..... The United States took advantage of the Syrian extension of the mandate of Lebanese President Emile Lahoud to issue Security Council Resolution 1559, and then invest in the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri to force Syria to withdraw its forces from Lebanon, its return to its borders under pressure, threat and encirclement, and then its transformation from a regional state into a normal one without any influence.<sup>183</sup>

President George W. Bush addressed the nation in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, in which he framed the event in an apparently self-evident five-word question: "Why do they hate us?" Bush's answer to that question appeared equally obvious: "They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other." Leaving aside the fact that both the question and the answer left who "they" were largely undefined, it is important

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<sup>182</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*, 1989, p.187.

<sup>183</sup> - Wakim Djamel, *The Great Powers Struggle for Syria*, Beirut, 2012, p146.

to note that the exercise met a rhetorical need at a particular moment in time as people tried to make sense of such terrible acts.<sup>184</sup>

It is true that President Bush did not guarantee Syria the axis of evil he was known for, but he often portrayed it as a rogue state, posing a threat to important US interests. The fall of Baghdad in April 2003 also fuelled speculation that the United States would also pursue Damascus.<sup>185</sup> The question is, "How can Syria's modest military forces pose a serious threat to vital American interests? Why regime change in Syria while other dictatorships have the same degree of political freedom for their citizens and perhaps more in the Middle East with the US sponsorship?"<sup>186</sup>

With a little insight the American slogans such as spreading democracy, bringing human rights and helping the oppressed peoples to freedom were merely camouflage slogans to win the support of the American interior, who every time revealed the falsification of the facts and the invalidity of the arguments for wars that have only ideology and extremist religious belief to fuel them.<sup>187</sup>

In this context, it is important to mention an important saying that highlights the truth with a realistic eye, not the truth imposed by the empirical vision, as Stephen Walt adds: "Israel and the lobby played a central role in pushing the Bush's administration to continue a policy of confrontation with Syria. The lobby worked hard to make the United States isolate and press Damascus. Washington's relations with Syria were clearly different in the absence

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<sup>184</sup> - Text of George Bush's speech, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/sep/21/september11.usa13>

<sup>185</sup> - Mohamed Djamal Barout; How decision is made in the Arab regimes, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2010, p 287.

<sup>186</sup> - John Mearsheimer, and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2007, p.383.

<sup>187</sup> - Omayma Abdel-latif, *Neoconservatives: reading in maps of thought and movement*, 2011, p 43.



of such a Pressure <sup>188</sup> . But perhaps more compatible with the national interest of America, if the lobby was less influential, it will not be difficult for Syria to become the United States ally, ".<sup>189</sup> he adds, If Syria is a real threat to America, and that America is permanently accusing Damascus of sponsoring terrorism, this is a blatant contradiction that Washington is trying to impose by force on the international community.

How so? "Everyone knows that al-Qaeda has links with the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, an organization that Syria accuses of terrorism, and has fought the secular Baathist government in Syria for more than twenty years <sup>190</sup>, and since Syria began in the aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup> to provide the Bush's administration with information and important intelligence about Bin Laden's organisation, how can Damascus be accused of supporting international terrorism? Mearsheimer asks <sup>191</sup>

In June 2004, French President Jacques Chirac and US President George W. Bush agreed to share influence in the Middle East. The agreement culminated in Security Council Resolution 1559 \* calling for the withdrawal of the Syrian army from Lebanon. The United

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<sup>188</sup> - John Mearsheimer, and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2007, p.383.

<sup>189</sup> - Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> - Hama events: Where the Islamic groups led a rebellion against the Syrian government, which reacted to it in a very violent way to end it in the province of Hama in 1983.

<sup>191</sup> - Ibid.

**\*- Resolution 1559 (2004):** The Security Council declared its support for a free and fair presidential election in Lebanon conducted according to Lebanese constitutional rules devised without foreign interference or influence and, in that connection, called upon all remaining foreign forces to withdraw from Lebanon. Or <https://www.un.org/press/en/2004/sc8181.doc.htm>.

States is convinced that it can benefit from France by involving it in its plans in the Middle East, in return for giving it a stake in Syria and Lebanon.<sup>192</sup>

In the face of the increased strategic depth of the Syrian state and closer alliances with Iran and Russia in an unprecedented manner, the entire region was surprised by the assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. Hence, the fingers of accusation quickly turned to Damascus, which decided to end its military presence permanently in Lebanon. Visions converged that something is being prepared for Syria after the assassination incident<sup>193</sup> especially that the regime in Damascus categorically denied any connection to the incident, accusing the United States of plotting to fuel a Syrian-Lebanese conflict. And that the Zionist entity is the one who assassinated Hariri, because the latter "followed the theory of political realism that takes into account personal interests, while ensuring the interests of the Syrian regime"<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> - Djamel Wakim, *The Great Powers Struggle for Syria*, Beirut, 2012, p 187.

<sup>193</sup> - Immediately after the assassination, Saad Hariri, the son of the late Rafik Hariri, accused Syria of being directly involved in the assassination of his father, when the Syrian government demanded that the parties it accuses of providing concrete evidence and searching for the first beneficiary of the assassination, Saad Hariri said at the time that his accusation of Damascus was a political accusation. A special court in the case was still held regularly in Beirut to hear witnesses' testimony. Four Lebanese intelligence officers were arrested for being behind the operation in coordination with Syrian intelligence. The last session was held on Tuesday, 18 September 2018.

<sup>194</sup> - Messaoud Dhaher, *Syria and Lebanon: International Relations and Diplomacy in the Middle East*, *Journal of the Arab Future*, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, issue 422, February 2014, p147.

Syria has played a prominent role in supporting the resistance front represented by Hamas, the Palestinian Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Lebanese Hezbollah that opposed the Zionist aggression against Lebanon in July 2006, known as the Thirty Day War. The US administration was alarmed by what could be seen as the victory of an armed militia against the strongest army in the region, as well as the fear of an appetite to rally forces for the liberation of the occupied territories and the failure of the Greater Middle East project.<sup>195</sup>

Some experts interested in geo-politics in the Middle East asserted that the war between Syria and the United States of America had already taken place but by proxies, the Zionist entity on behalf of Washington, and Hezbollah acting for Syria.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, Syria's help in the war by pushing its Lebanese ally to the field in 2006 was a preemptive strike against a secret American-Zionist conspiracies project to topple the Damascus regime and its Russian, Iranian and Chinese allies in preparation for the liquidation of the Palestinian cause by eliminating the last voice calling for the Arab rights, and responsible for defending the Palestinians' right to consolidate the pillars of the Greater Middle East project\*\* that was born after the events of September 11, 2001, and later replaced by the New Middle East.

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<sup>195</sup> - After the end of the war, the Zionist government formed a committee headed by Judge Eliyahu Winograd named after him to stand behind the causes of defeat. The results of the investigation were the great Syrian role in supporting Hezbollah.

<sup>196</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Middle East Illusions: Including Peace in the Middle East? Reflections on Justice and Nationhood*, 2003.

\*\* The term "New Middle East" was introduced to the world in June 2006 in Tel Aviv by the former U.S. Secretary of State C. Rice in replacement of the older and more imposing term, the "Greater Middle East". It was a plan of redrawing the region's map via changing borders and regimes. The plan was also part of the U.S. strategy to put military boots on the ground to establish control of all the major oil and natural gas resources of the Middle East, which would also provide a direct opportunity to blackmail China, the EU to control their economies.

On the other hand, Washington was waging a psychological war focused through the media to confirm to the world opinion that the Syrian regime is the first sponsor of the largest terrorist organisation in the Middle East, which threatens the interests of America and its Arab allies Along with Israel, <sup>197</sup> although many disagreed with Washington's convictions on this issue.<sup>198</sup>

Moreover, Media coverage of Syria and Arabs generally, slim at best, as Chomsky argues, is extremely negative, apart from a few U.S. favourites. Syria and the contending elements within Lebanon are never depicted as "symbols of human decency" with exalted moral standards, who "care for human life," as per Noam Chomsky, nor were they conducting their slaughters with U.S. material, diplomatic, and ideological support.<sup>199</sup>

### **3.5. US Strategy towards Syria under Obama:**

After the end of George W. Bush's presidential term, Democrat Barack Obama managed to reach the White House after launching a series of promises and projects for America with a new vision, an effective strategy and a different approach to the Middle East. Including the struggle for the elimination of al-Qaeda and its symbols, the withdrawal from Iraq, and to counter the Iranian nuclear project and its threat to the allies of Washington in the

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<sup>197</sup> - Samia Abu-Nasr, *Media and Psychological Processes in the Shadow of Contemporary Wars and the Strategy of Confrontation*, 2010, p99.

<sup>198</sup> - John Perkins, *The Secret History of the American Empire: The Truth About Economic Hit Men, Jackals, and How to Change the World*, 2008, p212.

<sup>199</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*, 1989.

region, headed by the Gulf States and the Zionist entity, also to face the financial crisis inherited from his predecessor.<sup>200</sup>

In this context, Brzezinski saw: "That America will have a second chance, but in 2008 after the departure of Bush the son, and the next president has to recognize that the strength of the great state shrinks if it stops servicing of an idea, and to link the American force with the aspirations of human vigilance politically"<sup>201</sup> especially when he used the terms of service of an idea, and the aspirations of humanity politically vigilant, perhaps this became clear later after Washington intervened indirectly in the crisis of Syria by recruiting the opposition, the media, satellite channels and psychological warfare, adding to arming the Syrian opposition and bringing fighters from 83 nationalities across the world to topple President Bashar al-Assad's regime.

The reason, according to some, is that President Obama has relied on a working group<sup>202</sup> composed of ultra-conservatives and hawks, like the neoconservatives of the Republican Party. Where a general trend emerged in America since 2001, called the fundamentalist conservative movement that includes Republicans and Democrats. The danger of this trend is

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<sup>200</sup> - That is what actually happened, the withdrawal from Iraq after 3 years of Obama's arrival to rule, then eliminated bin Laden and before him most of the heads and high ranking commanders of Al Qaeda Which led some to say that all these achievements were the announcement of the end of an old conspiracy, and another new beginning in which the revolutions of the Arab Spring and the overthrow of rogue regimes and classified in the axis of evil, such as Libya and Syria and the establishment of a new actor in the region which is ISIS/ISIL, that includes a large number of Iraqi army officers and Iraqi Baath Leaders.)

<sup>201</sup> - Mahmoud Abdo Ali, <https://www.wrmea.org/008-november/008-november-table-of-contents.html>.

<sup>202</sup> - The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives (1997) is one of the major works of Zbigniew Brzezinski, US national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter in the period 1977-1981, in which he explained the American policy plan of the 21st century to ensure its domination and superiority and to eliminate any alliance that could be formed against its interests.

summarised in the expectation that many of the Arabic and Islamic files will turn into bloody files.<sup>203</sup>

Only in April 29, 2011 Obama slaps sanctions on Syria's intelligence agency and two relatives of President Bashar al-Assad, in Washington's first concrete steps in response to a crackdown on anti-government protests inspired by the "Arab Spring." The most prominent evidence of this statement, according to retired US officer Ralph Peters, In a series of articles published in several newspapers and magazines including the New York Post and USS Today notes that " ideologies will not be the subject of future wars, but ethnic and sectarian conflicts will be the substance of wars called wars of blood and faith, and that the Middle East is doomed to chaos, and Israel cannot remain ".<sup>204</sup>

Moreover, powerful evidence can be found that the conspiracy in the Middle East is a tangible material means of implementing policies. This was recognised by the famous economic shock man John Perkins when he asserted that the United States does not hesitate to use all methods to reach its goals. Its slogans about democracy and Human Rights and helping developing countries used as a cover only for exploitative projects, and his publication to convince the unconvinced that the United States exercised hidden roles aimed at hegemony under the slogans of humanity glamorous not related to humanity.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> - Mohamed Gamal Arafa, Obama Administration Members: New Conservatives in a Democratic Dress, No. 836, December 19, 2008.

<sup>204</sup> - Al Safir Magazine, Date : 13 November 2008.

<sup>205</sup> - Ralf Peters, wars of blood and faith: the conflicts that will shape 21st century, mechanics bury, 2007, p367.

This is what the world discovered after the events of September 11, two years after the invasion of Iraq in the spring of 2003, where a large section of American public opinion supports the conspiracy theory. It is widely believed that the US administration practices conspiracy against its own people, allies and enemies. "And it became evident that the Americans are not attempting to colonize the entire world," Peters believes, "but rather to wage wars and leave behind governments to carry out their orders before returning to their country."<sup>206</sup>

However, if someone tries to drop this data on the situation in Syria, we actually find the truth on the ground, but the difference between the stage of Bush the son and the mandate of Obama, is that America intervened directly with its army in Afghanistan and Iraq; and took over the task of changing regimes and political conditions without a tool or agent in the era of the first (Bush the son). In the Obama period, it has merely conferred on the intelligence services of the armed opposition both secular and fundamentalist, in other words, indirect intervention and, more precisely, proxy wars or destruction, the indirect strategy of infiltrating from within through soft power.<sup>207</sup>

Some examples of that soft power can be noticed in the unknown snipers who played a pivotal role throughout the so-called « Arab Spring Revolutions », Alexandra Valiente notes

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<sup>206</sup> - Ralf Peters, wars of blood and faith: the conflicts that will shape 21st century, mechanics bury, 2007, p147.

<sup>207</sup> - We mean the secular opposition, the bloc that was created to represent the Syrian people, in the words of the Western and Arab powers that call for the overthrow of the Syrian regime; was formed from the regime opponents who left Syria after their release like Heithem Malih, as well as residents abroad, such as Burhan Ghalioun and others; the Free Army was the military wing that represents them in the field, which is formed mainly of officers and soldiers dissident from the Syrian Arab Army after the events.

that in spite of reports of their presence in the mainstream media, surprisingly little attention has been paid to their purpose and role.<sup>208</sup>

Obama was adamant that a military intervention would be a disaster. He feared that without a commitment of tens of thousands of troops, the US would be unable to assist win the war and maintain the peace. The battlefield, according to Barbara Plett Usher<sup>209</sup>, was too complicated: it was split into hundreds of armed organizations, with various regional and international powers supporting them.

According to former Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel, certain senior military and cabinet officials did not reach this decision, and they did not even recommend a big ground deployment. They claimed that a more restricted commitment would have effectively tipped the power balance against President Bashar al-Assad. Arming the rebels and establishing a safe zone from which they might operate early in the battle, as well as military strikes against Syria's air force to drive Assad to the bargaining table, are two possibilities.<sup>210</sup>

After years of resisting intervention in Syria's civil war, Obama announced that he's sending an additional 250 U.S. troops to eastern Syria, on top of 50 who arrived in 2015. As per Doyle McManus American airstrikes and efforts on the ground have taken a visible toll on the terrorist group. Its territory has shrunk; its finances are a mess, its recruitment numbers are down. U.S. Special Forces are training Syrian rebels with the aim of capturing Islamic State's capital of Raqqah — maybe even before Obama leaves office.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> - Snipers, Death Squads: Terror Tactics of US 'Soft Power':

<https://libyadiary.wordpress.com/2011/11/28/snipers-and-death-squads-terror-tactics-of-u-s-soft-power/>

<sup>209</sup> - Barbara Plett Usher <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38297343>.

<sup>210</sup> - <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0501-mcmanus-syria-east-vs-west-column-20160501-4-column.html>.

<sup>211</sup> - Ibid.



His rationale is that these troops are part of the campaign against Islamic State, a direct threat to the United States, not the civil war against Syrian President Bashar Assad. Officially, those 300 U.S. troops aren't on a combat mission; they're coordinating local forces, collecting intelligence and finding targets for airstrikes. But they include special operations teams capable of killing or capturing Islamic State leaders — and some have already done so.<sup>212</sup>

Nevertheless, they tried media pressure and economic blockade, such as freezing funds in banks, issuing special lists of officials issued with the right to freeze their money and assets, and their financial assets in European or Arab countries. Moreover, Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar as the forces of March 14<sup>213</sup> and The Zionist entity<sup>214</sup> were the direct links with the warring party of the Syrian regime on the ground, represented by the Free Army, the Nusra Front and some factions that neutral Western media outlets have proved to be involved

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<sup>212</sup> - <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0501-mcmanus-syria-east-vs-west-column-20160501-4-column.html>.

<sup>213</sup> - The March 14 Forces is a Lebanese political alliance composed of different political parties and forces that strongly oppose Syria and its allies, led by the Future Movement led by Saad Hariri, along with Christian parties like the Lebanese Forces led by Samir Geagea and the Phalange Party led by Amin Gemayel. This was due to the politics of the axis that prevailed in Lebanon following the assassination of Rafik Hariri. It was the result of the growing strength of Syria's allies such as Hezbollah, Michel Aoun, Talal Arslan, Suleiman Frangieh and the Amal movement led by Nabih Berri, especially after the July 2006 war, who formed a political alliance on March 8, the Lebanese political forces then divided into opposing forces and loyal forces.

<sup>214</sup> - What reveals the complicity of the Zionist entity is the transfer of wounded Syrian opposition to hospitals near the Syrian border in Quneitra and the occupied Golan, and visits from time to time by officers of the Zionist army and even Prime Minister Netanyahu ; and the number of wounded since the beginning of their transfer there is about 1600 elements, in addition to the reluctance of some Syrian opposition figures to visit Tel Aviv to request support on the border for the liberation of areas under the control of the Syrian regime, most notably Kamal Labwani.

with the British and American intelligence and even the Mossad, even though they belong to a jihadist Islamic movement calling for the establishment of the Islamic state or the application of Sharia.<sup>215</sup>

### **3.6. American dealing with the Syrian Crisis:**

The United States had to move quickly at the regional level so that the Egyptian fire does not extend to other countries loyal to it.<sup>216</sup> The protests began in Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain and Jordan, Which threatens US influence throughout the Middle East.

The threat that Gulf States feel from Iran clearly transcends the neighbourhood. One senior Emirati official argued that Iran has established beachheads in southern Lebanon, Gaza, Yemen and has sleeper cells in Bahrain, the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq, he continues, “is a done deal.”<sup>217</sup> A Lebanese writer for an Abu Dhabi-based centre echoed the concerns:

*From observation, it has become evident that the Islamic Republic has gained place in new negotiations in the region—ranging from Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, because of its large presence in the Arab region, through its alliances with Hezbollah and Hamas in Damascus. It has gained this influence at the expense of the role of Gulf countries—especially Saudi Arabia—that always played an influential role in the process of forming Middle East policies.*<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> - The United States and the Zionist entity are not a threat to the Islamic militant groups, and the commitment of the latter fully respect international covenants and conventions, and live in peace and coexistence with the Zionist entity in the event of the fall of the regime of Damascus and their assumption of power in Syria.

<sup>216</sup> - After the fall of Hosni Mubarak, the unrest in the Middle East begun.

<sup>217</sup> - Emirati royal no. 1, private discussion, May 2010.

<sup>218</sup> - Bechara Nassar Charbel, “GCC-Iran Relations: Trail of Tensions,”- May 26, 2010.

Facing this challenging situation, the US administration was obliged to move some of the other geography affected by or neighbouring Egypt. So it "embarked on a strategy of igniting fires around the fire to contain it by encouraging revolutions in the areas that constitute an extension of Egypt's national security, namely, Libya, Yemen, and Syria".<sup>219</sup> The start of the revolutions was from events of Daraa in November 2012.<sup>220</sup> This turbulent international scene, due to the influence of the Middle East region on the stability of other regions, prompted US President Barack Obama in his speech on the Arab revolutions to state explicitly: "Bashar al-Assad must lead the transition in his country or step down, suppressing demonstrators can lead to international intervention"., and the strange thing is that the Turkish Foreign Minister said the same words, where he said: "Assad has a week to begin reforms, or the international community will intervene"<sup>221</sup>, and here we are driven by the American and Turkish positions and then the European and Gulf countries and some Arab countries to ask about the secret of this agreement and the unified vision.

The special media advisor to the deceased President Jamal Abdel Nasser and his office director Mohamed Hassanein Heikal disclosed in the wake of the outbreak of the Arab Spring Revolutions, In the midst of his hosting on Al-Jazeera satellite channel, after the spark of events in Syria, the beginning of riots and protests in Daraa first which is a border city with Jordan, and then in Idlib which is adjacent to Turkey (map: 1), without moving the masses in

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<sup>219</sup> - Josef Bay, The future of America is bright and soft power is realized by gravity, Future Horizons magazine, The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, Abu Dhabi, Issue 08, November 2010, 98-101.

[http://www.ecssr.com/ECSSR/ECSSR\\_DOCDATA\\_PRO\\_EN/Resources/PDF/AafaqAlMustaqbal/Aafaq-2010/Aafaq-Issue-08/Issue08.pdf](http://www.ecssr.com/ECSSR/ECSSR_DOCDATA_PRO_EN/Resources/PDF/AafaqAlMustaqbal/Aafaq-2010/Aafaq-Issue-08/Issue08.pdf)

<sup>220</sup> - Wakim Djamel, The Great Powers Struggle for Syria, 2012, p 202. (for more details about the extent of US involvement in the plot with Saudi Arabia, Jordan, March 14<sup>th</sup> Forces, Turkey and some European countries.

<sup>221</sup> - Ibid.p.206.

the largest Syrian provinces such as Damascus and its countryside or Aleppo and its countryside, can be described as "the conspiracy of the border." Because the slogans and banners raised evidence that the border countries are the source of movement of those protests.<sup>222</sup> Moreover, He said: "I know that the notorious Blackwater company\*, which is famous for its clandestine and bloody history, is existing with a new name around Syria and inside it, and that it has about 6,000 people inside and outside Syria."

It should be noted that this veteran journalist and politician who worked as a preparatory for a TV program,<sup>223</sup> for many years on Al Jazeera, no longer appears on its screens since the introduction of these facts, at least till his death, and because of the keenness of Doha and other capitals participated in supporting the Arab spring revolutions to stick to a special agenda and not to violate the outlines of America's policy in the Middle East, especially in the conspiracy against Syria.

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<sup>222</sup> - Heikal provided interesting facts and evidence of the involvement of Turkey and the Jordanian intelligence in fabricating some of the events and scenes that were in the fabrication of some of the events and scenes that were represented before filming to move later to the satellite channels such as Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya, Citing some images that were transferred from the wars of the Zionist entity against Gaza as being taken in Syria, in order to condemn the regime of human rights violations.

-\*- is an American private military company founded in 1997 by former Navy SEAL officer Erik Prince as Blackwater, renamed as Xe Services in 2009 and now known as Academi since 2011 after the company was acquired by a group of private investors.

<sup>223</sup> - "Life Experience with Haikal" program that was broadcasted weekly, recounting his biography since he was director of Gamal Abdel Nasser's office Until the era of Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, and discloses some of the secrets of the officials at the time, which was not published through the press and the media.

The CIA, working with Turkey's intelligence agency, helped coordinate procurement and delivery of weapons and ammunition, paid by Saudi Arabia and Qatar, to Syrian rebels, and later sponsored its own anti-Assad faction. With Jordan, Qatar provided the CIA bases for training and arming anti-Assad insurgents<sup>224</sup>.

To shed some light on this point, it is very important to mention what Eric Hobsbawm said about US policy in the Middle East: "The policy that the madmen are talking about in Washington, and specifically the restructuring of the entire Middle East, is meaningless. If they seek to change the regime in Saudi Arabia, what do they put in place? If they are serious about changing the Middle East, we know that the only thing they have to do is rely on the Israelis."<sup>225</sup>

Bush's father was willing to do that, but the current influential White House is not ready, and even his administration undermined one of two guaranteed secular governments in the Middle East ( Iraq ), and is in the process of crawling against the other ... Syria."<sup>226</sup>

### **3.7. US Policy towards the Syrian Crisis 2012-2015:**

The limitation of the stage from 2012 to 2015 can be justified by this new vision in the US deal with the Damascus regime, after it has proved a kind of steadfastness on the ground, despite the intensive media campaign from the opposite side, whether Arab or Western, so that the US administration focused more efforts to overthrow the head of the Syrian regime, especially that the latter has succeeded in organising presidential and parliamentary elections

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<sup>224</sup> - Eric Hobsbawm, *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism*, 2007, p. 137.

<sup>225</sup> - Ibid

<sup>226</sup> - <https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/fall-eastern-aleppo-marks-turning-point-syrian-civil-war>

in most areas of the Syrian state before the expansion of military operations and direct confrontation with the armed opposition.

The Syrian government has also succeeded in organizing the elections outside the Syrian territory, despite its appeal to the opposition to resort to the election boxes and to participate in the elections by providing guarantees, including allowing the United Nations to send international observers to ensure good and fair conduct of the electoral process.

However, Washington strongly opposed this proposal and rejected all the reforms<sup>227</sup> made by the regime and demanded Assad to step down immediately, and demanded the Syrian opposition not to lay down arms and continue the war until the overthrow of the dictatorial regime<sup>228</sup>, and also asked the commanders of the army and officers and soldiers splitting up and joining the revolution of the people, eradicate dictatorship and restore democracy.

With the development of events and after the continued tremendous support from Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, Syrian armed opposition groups such as the Free Army and other groups such as the Al-Qaeda-affiliated Al-Ansar<sup>229</sup>, and even ISIS/ISIL (Daesh) has been able to control the Geographically significant areas of the Syrian map in parts of the

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<sup>227</sup> - The most important reforms were: the abolition of the state of emergency, the establishment of a new party law, the repeal of Article 8 of the constitution that the Baath Party is the leader of the Syrian state, and the amendment of the press and media law.

<sup>228</sup> - This was stated by Hillary Clinton when she was US Secretary of State, and expressed concern about the success of the Syrian regime in containing the protest movement through reconciliation and amnesty measures and other measures. Even worse, the former US ambassador to Damascus, Robert Ford, chaired the meetings of the opposition council in a session in Qatar.

<sup>229</sup> - Hamza Mostapha , Al Nusra front for the people of the Levant, from founding to division, November 2013 or [www.dohainstitute.org](http://www.dohainstitute.org)

Damascus countryside, Aleppo, Homs, Daraa, Hama and Lattakia. These provinces are located on the border with Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, and even the province of Raqqa, which fell completely in the hands of ISIS/ISIL (Daesh) and is located on the border with Iraq without excluding the parts of the countryside also Deir Al-Zour.<sup>230</sup>

In his speech on the Syrian crisis, President Bashar Al-Assad said: "What is happening in Syria is very different from what happened in Tunisia and Egypt, and stressed that the opposition is a political structure with a popular base and not mercenaries from abroad, and once the weapons were carried, the label was turned into rebellion and terrorism.....and that the Syrian problem is not complicated because countries like Saudi Arabia carry out the policies of the United States with all honesty. They openly support the terrorist groups in Syria and provide them with money and arms. Turkey opened the camps and its airports to the terrorists. We do not trust the United States, they always rely on the principle that all states and organisations are working for their service ".<sup>231</sup>

Moreover, there is a large number of analysis and studies on understanding what is happening in Syria, especially when the United States decided to intervene directly after more than two years by a limited military strike on sensitive targets of the Syrian regime, after accusing the Syrian army of using chemical weapons against the Syrian opposition in the Eastern Ghouta.

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<sup>230</sup> - See map 1. p. 214

<sup>231</sup> - Ba'ath Party Journal, Bashar al-Assad, The Relationship between Arabism and Islam has created a balance.

Damascus, Issue 163, October 2013, p.1.

Most of those interested in the Syrian affairs realized that it was not just a problem of a regime against insurgents, “but rather a race for interests and influence and a global crisis of money, economy and security ...” And that the tyranny of international interests has reduced the role of the international organizations and the abolition of the Arab role of the Arab League, but how do we explain the desire of Washington to intervene personally and by military force? ” Barakate argues.<sup>232</sup>

In an article published in the Journal of Political Writings on the Middle East issued on Sept 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013 under the title Why is Syria important? John Alterman said: "If the US government has to say why Syria is important to it, this raises the question: Why does not the US government do more to change the results in Syria? The obvious fact is that the United States remains closely linked to the Middle East, the latter is threatened to slip and there is no greater probability of that happening in Syria ".<sup>233</sup>

What shows the complex and thorny situation created by the Syrian situation in the region and returned negatively to the neighbouring countries and the interests of Washington itself as "Syrian leaders themselves are playing a zero-sum game where their cooperation is a concession they expect a reward ..." As Bashar al-Assad said: "Cooperation without reward is a sign of weakness." If the United States wants anything at all from Syria, It has to pay ".<sup>234</sup> “paying” here is probably clear, which is to give up or stop fabricating the crisis or raise the hand of the Syrian issue and bring things back to zero.

Moreover, the Syrian regime's insistence on making the game zero (ie, winning the other side is the loss of the other side or vice versa) is to invest in the very distinguished

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<sup>232</sup> - Ba'ath Party Journal, Salim Barakate, Obama's behaviour is an Israeli proposal, Damascus, Issue 163, October 2013, p.12.

<sup>233</sup> - Jon B Alterman, Why Syria is important, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, January 2014, p103 or [www.csis.org/amideast](http://www.csis.org/amideast).

<sup>234</sup> - Ibid.



international situations through the support of its strong Russian ally on the ground and in official international forums. "Russia has always been the official sponsor of Syria, but has never forgotten its own interests ... The fear of the proliferation of extremist networks from the Levant to the Caucasus, And the fear that these networks have access to chemical weapons, certainly played a major role to stimulate Russian diplomacy for years to come ".<sup>235</sup>

Mahiou, to be more explicit, argues that "In Syria, Moscow has come face to face with the United States and NATO... When the mandate of the NATO Security Council to protect civilians was amended to destroy the Libyan regime, the Russian government claimed that the West had deceived it. China then joined Russia in opposing any international action against Syria."<sup>236</sup>

The Russian role cannot be ignored in these situations, the Syrian government received a tremendous help both politically and economically <sup>237</sup>, Initially, Russia helped Syria diplomatically by vetoing UN Security Council resolutions – a move backed by China. The Kremlin's stance rests on the Putin Doctrine, which is any group that raises arms against an established government is a terrorist. Assad subscribes to the same doctrine. Both Putin and secular Assad are fierce opponents of political Islam as are Chinese leaders.

Nonetheless, this help was a turning point in changing the course of the Syrian crisis, as The Russian military intervention in the Syrian Civil War began in September 2015, after an official request by the Syrian government for military aid against rebel and jihadist groups.

The intervention began with air strikes by Russian aircraft stationed at the Khmeimim base against militant groups opposed to the Syrian government, including the Syrian National

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<sup>235</sup> - Jon B Alterman, Why Syria is important, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, January 2014, p104 or [www.csis.org/amideast](http://www.csis.org/amideast).

<sup>236</sup> - Saad Mahiou, Russia and the Arab Spring, Constants and variables, Journal of the Arab Future, issue 405, September 2012, p123.

<sup>237</sup> - <https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/fall-eastern-aleppo-marks-turning-point-syrian-civil-war>

Coalition, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), al-Nusra Front (al-Qaeda in the Levant), and the Army of Conquest, primarily in northwestern Syria..

Many political analysts think that a new era has begun, with the Syrian government regaining control of its borders following ISIS/ISIL's (Daesh's) defeat in Syria and Iraq. According to Russia's Foreign Ministry, ISIS/ISIL has lost control of 92 percent of Syrian territory.<sup>238</sup> De-escalation zones have been established in Idlib, Homs, Eastern Ghouta, and southwestern Syria, almost a year after the Astana talks began. With the Syrian army regaining control of more than 85 %<sup>239</sup> of the country, and a plan to expand the southern de-escalation zone to the Jordanian and Israeli borders, the war in Syria is almost over.

Russia saw the issue at a far too wide angle, recognizing that the overthrow of the Syrian regime was not of paramount importance to Washington, but to Riyadh and Doha, and that the main reason for Moscow's support for its ally in Damascus consists of three points:<sup>240</sup> First, the fall of the Assad regime will not lead to a democratic regime, but to a radical Islamic regime hostile to the West and Russia as well. Its argument is that the experience of America in Afghanistan and Iraq and Libya finally led to the rise of fundamentalism and chaos. Second, The Obama's administration does not care to bring down the regime in Syria, and this is due to the complications that may be misled by Israel if the regime falls. If it really wanted the regime to fall, it would form an alliance to hit Assad with the approval of the Security Council or without it like it did for Saddam. Finally, the main motivation for overthrowing the Syrian regime comes from Saudi Arabia and Qatar. Moscow is convinced that the Wahhabi kingdom is trying to spread radical Islam in Chechnya, the Caucasus and other areas of the former Soviet Union by supporting the Salafists in Egypt, Libya and Syria.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> - <http://vestnikkavkaza.net/analysis/Turning-point-in-the-Syrian-conflict.html>) Accessed, Nov 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017.

<sup>239</sup> - Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> - Saad Mahiou, Russia and the Arab Spring, Constants and variables, issue 405, September 2012, p124.

<sup>241</sup> - Ibid.

### **3.8. Conclusion:**

To conclude, The American's realization of its policies and projects in the Middle East region- especially Syria-has been linked to a large extent to an illegal behaviour, which is the behaviour of the conspiracy. For instance, the indirect intervention method in Syria behind the scenes; by supporting local elements and attracting foreign elements from different areas to this struggle with the help of allies in the region was not successful so far.

Moreover, investing in regional heavyweight countries such as Turkey, The Gulf countries except Oman and the Zionist entity didn't help America reach its objectives even by making them agents in the desired political change process in Syria.

The American conspiracy policy in Syria has shown the emergence of new considerations and new ways of provoking and managing the conflict. The most prominent of which is the transition from the war of **ideological rivalry** to a new war that researchers and research centres called the war of **blood and faith**. Nonetheless, ethnic, sectarian, and religious differences are the fuel for that war in the region. This is what the documents for dividing the Arab region showed, and what the Greater Middle East project revealed.

*Chapter 4:*

American Double Standards

**Chapter Four: American double standards**

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.....They are cooks meant to paralyze Arab oil as a strategic commodity, as an effective political weapon and as a factor of scientific and economic development. We have to make Iraq busy with a war on its eastern border, and then create the justification for direct military and political intervention in the region, to return it into conditions existed at least before the seventies.....

Saad Al Bazaz, *The Secret War*, 1985

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It is important to follow the preliminary processes and the way in which Israel collects information about the Gulf region, so that we can know the motives of the official declaration of the Israeli role in this region .... Keep the lines of Arab-Israeli contact naked and exposed and single.

General John Hackett, *The Third World War*, 1985

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We must carefully pursue what is happening in Iraq and the Gulf, so that things do not happen from behind us.

Ariel Sharon

#### **4.1. Introduction:**

The nature of American foreign policy in the Middle East has varied results during the Twentieth century. The many outcomes and consequences of US policies have produced adversaries and enemies, some of whom despise America so intensely that they carry out terrorist strikes within its borders. The question of whether US foreign policy in the Middle East has contributed to the current terrorism dangers that the US faces is too large to discuss adequately in this thesis, but it is central to it. The US is supporting Israel all the time.

At present, as mentioned in the previous chapter, members of Congress from all regions are still reluctant to offend a single-issue lobby that can and will subsidize their opponents; many journalists and policy experts privately express concern about being blacklisted by editors and publishers who are ardent supporters of Israel; Individuals with close personal and professional ties to Israel and its American lobby are often appointed to senior positions in the US national security system. Troops and career diplomats are occasionally vilified in whisper campaigns if they obstruct Israeli governments' ambitions. How could US policy not be slanted in favor of Israel given these circumstances?

Moreover, since the Jews are controlling the media at high levels in most countries including the Arab countries, it is very hard for a free journalist to post anything against them, oppose or at least comment on their Imperialist policies either American or American. Also their policies in the Middle East and elsewhere are subjected to criticism. For instance, most Americans don't have any idea about the borders of the State offered to the Palestinians by the Israelis and their allies.

## **4.2. Supporting Israel and the Peace Process:**

The follower of the American policies inside America or even at the International level, notices the American role in favor of Israel at all times no matter what the issue is, if any politician or any commentator is against this, he will be, automatically treated as anti-Semitic, and will be banned from politics, neglected and refused from politics at least in the American inside. For instance, the American media portrays the Palestinians as aggressors.<sup>242</sup>

As a result, events like the U.N. Security Council session in January 1976, when the United States vetoed a resolution proposed by Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, which was backed by the PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) and even "prepared" by it, according to Israel, must be erased from the record. It called for a diplomatic settlement between two states based on worldwide consensus.

The proposal of the Arab "confrontation states" and the PLO, which included territorial and security guarantees for Israel's rights, echoed the wording of UN Resolution 242. "Appropriate arrangements...to guarantee...all states in the area's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence, as well as their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries," it said. \* This is the first of several PLO affirmations of UN Resolution 242, which has the support of the Arab world's major powers.

The Golan Heights case is also complicated, not only because Israel annexed this Syrian territory (and was unanimously condemned by the United Nations Security Council for doing so, though sanctions were blocked by a US veto), but also because Israel attacked and conquered it in violation of the ceasefire.

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<sup>242</sup> - Michael Lind: Distorting U.S. Foreign Policy: The Israel Lobby and American Power Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, May 2002.



In 1983, Secretary of State George Shultz happily "rewarded the aggressors" with his "peace plan" for Lebanon. Since Syrian President Hafez Assad expressed grave reservations about the Israeli-Lebanese peace accord, there have been serious uncertainties about securing Syria's vital approval.<sup>243</sup> The plan in effect established a "Greater Israel," as the passionately pro-Israel New York Times conceded, while Syria was simply ordered to conform to the U.S.-Israeli dictates (as, predictably, it refused to do); an extreme form of linkage.

Israel was likewise "punished" for its 1956 invasion of Egypt. Clients in the United States, or the master himself, are not expected to slink away from assault and intimidation unless their "needs" and "wants" are met. As Third World critics frequently observe, the pattern is widespread, with little impact on the disciplined Western political culture.

Nasser's purchases of Soviet arms from 1955 on, as well as Soviet sales to Syria and Iraq in the late 1950s, presented the spectre of increasing communist influence in the Middle East. These sales also put increasing pressure on Israel, and increased pressure on the United States from the Israel lobby, to match Arab weapons procurements. Furthermore, when it was learned in September 1960 that the French had assisted in the construction of a massive reactor at Dimona, politicians and network members grew apprehensive about Israeli nuclear ambitions.

Israel wanted HAWK (Homing All Way Killer) missiles in the same year. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, HAWKS were the most advanced surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles on the market. Israeli leaders were concerned about Soviet jet fighter deliveries to Egypt and wanted the missiles to counter Egypt's military progress.

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<sup>243</sup> - The Washington Post-08 May 1983 [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1983/05/08/peace-plan-gets-frown-from-assad/8c31effc-ba55-4470-9b31-22da3c21b935/?utm\\_term=.05d48fc9765](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1983/05/08/peace-plan-gets-frown-from-assad/8c31effc-ba55-4470-9b31-22da3c21b935/?utm_term=.05d48fc9765))

Direct sales of conventional U.S. weapons therefore appeared less dangerous and might have been used as an incentive to prevent Israel from going nuclear.<sup>244</sup>

Israel's successes in the 1967 war reinforced the conception of Israel as a "strategic asset" as Chomsky argues,<sup>245</sup> that could serve U.S. interests by undermining independent nationalist forces. This thesis received further support as Israel acted to deter Syrian intervention in support of the Palestinians in 1970, regarded by Washington as a potential threat to the Hashemite kingdom and U.S. clients beyond.

According to Washington economic analyst Thomas Stauffer, who has written extensively on these issues, 40 percent of Israel's water comes from territories occupied in 1967, and diverting these resources to residents upstream in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and the West Bank would cost Israel \$1 billion or more per year. Control of the Golan Heights and southeast Lebanon, he adds, "enables Israel to protect the system of canals, pumps, and pipelines that transport Jordan River water through Israel as far as the northern Negev desert."<sup>246</sup>

In February 1971 the UN mediator Gunnar Jarring presented a proposal to Egypt and Israel that called for full peace between them in return for full withdrawal from Egyptian territory,

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<sup>244</sup> - See Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship," 567–73. Memorandum of conversation, 27 June 1960; and memorandum from the under secretary of state for political affairs to the secretary of state, 15 July 1960, both in FRUS, 1958–1960, 13:341–44 and 349–50, respectively. Memorandum of conversation, 8 May 1961; and memorandum of conversation between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Ben Gurion, 30 May 1961; both in FRUS, 1961–1963, 17:102–3 and 135–37, respectively.

<sup>245</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New*, 1994, p.350.

<sup>246</sup> - Gvirtzman, Ha'aretz, May 16, 1993. Gvirtzman, interview, Israel Zamir, *Al Hamishmar*, March 12, 1993, translated by Israel Shahak, "Collection: the settling ideology and its opponents," April 1993. Stauffer, David Francis, *CSM*, Sept. 17, 1993.

in accord with the general consensus on UN 242.<sup>247</sup> President Sadat accepted the proposal. While Egypt's declaration "of its willingness to enter into a peace accord with Israel" was greeted positively, Israel's leadership rejected the agreement, claiming that "Israel will not withdraw to the pre-June 5, 1967 lines."<sup>248</sup> A position that it maintains until today.

When a U.S. ally is forced to mobilize by threatening actions, Chomsky notes that, we regard this threat as tantamount to aggression, justifying a pre-emptive military strike in self-defense. When Israel was forced to mobilize in late May 1967 as Arab armies deployed in potentially dangerous positions, U.S. and Western opinion viewed it as intolerable—how could Israel be expected to continue mobilization for more than a few days?—so that Israel's attack was therefore justified in self-defense.<sup>249</sup>

Kissinger's "stalemate" approach precipitated the 1973 war. During this period of US-Israeli triumphalism, Sadat's repeated warnings that he would go to war if the US and Israel blocked his diplomatic initiatives were dismissed on the basis that "war is not the Arab's game," as explained by Israeli Arabist and former director of military intelligence General

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<sup>247</sup> - Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967. The document "emphasiz[es] the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area can live in security." It calls for "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" and "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." It calls for an agreement among *states*; Palestinian rights are mentioned only in the reference to "a just settlement of the refugee problem," left unspecified.)

<sup>248</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New*, 1994, p.356.

<sup>249</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *The Culture of Terrorism*, 1988, p.59.

Yehoshaphat Harkabi.<sup>250</sup> On the same assumptions, the US rebuffed Sadat's offers to drop Soviet patronage and transform Egypt to a US client state.

For a decade, the Camp David Peace Accords<sup>251</sup> alienated Egypt, shattered Arab unity, and essentially bound Cairo to a series of international accords and protocols that it could never break for fear of losing billions in US economic and military aid. Moreover, in the 1970s, Egypt was the Arab superpower and the counterweight to Israeli military might. Its transformation from a military adversary to a diplomatic rival left a schism in the geopolitical map. However, in 1979, Egypt was kicked out of the Arab League, as Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Libya and Algeria vied for the role of “Arab superpower.”

Whenever the International community agrees for a settlement of disputes the US backs Israel. For instance, Israel's illegal occupation of southern Lebanon, in violation of Security Council resolution 425 of March 1978, which called for its immediate and unconditional withdrawal from the territory it had invaded. The US response was that there would be no diplomacy.<sup>252</sup>

The U.S had additionally continuously blocked any "peace process" within the geographical area that enclosed a global conference and recognition of a Palestinian right of self-determination. For twenty years, the U.S.A. has been nearly alone during this stance. UN votes indicate the regular annual

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<sup>250</sup> - Kapeliuk, Amnon, op. cit., *Peace in the Middle East?* 1974, chap 4.

<sup>251</sup> - The Camp David Accords were signed by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin on 17 September 1978, following twelve days of secret negotiations at Camp David. The two framework agreements were signed at the White House, and were witnessed by United States President Jimmy Carter. The second of these frameworks (A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel) led directly to the 1979 Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty. Or [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camp\\_David\\_Accords](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camp_David_Accords)).

<sup>252</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, 1993.

pattern. The United States vetoed the Security Council Resolution, as it did again in 1980, effectively removing the UN Security Council from Middle East diplomacy.<sup>253</sup> The General Assembly continued to advance peace proposals in its annual winter meetings. In December 1990, the General Assembly voted 144-2 (United States and Israel) to call an international conference.<sup>254</sup> A year before, the Assembly voted 151-3 (United States, Israel, Dominica) for a settlement incorporating the wording of UN 242, along with “the right to self-determination” for the Palestinians.

Another example of supporting Israel there was no mention of the "other weapons systems," and there's a reason for that. Israel is not just the only country in the Middle East possessing chemical and biological weapons, but it is also the only country in the region with nuclear weapons (probably about 200 of them). But, as Chomsky points out, "Israeli nuclear weapons" is a phrase that can't be published or spoken by any official US government source. That remark raises the question of why all help to Israel is permissible, given that foreign aid legislation passed in 1977 prohibits funding from going to any country secretly developing nuclear weapons.<sup>255</sup>

Nonetheless, Arab nationalists have continued to repeat the propaganda of the 1973 successes, applying the same chant to Israel's "retreat" from Lebanon in 2000 and what Hezbollah refers to as Israel's "Divine Defeat" in 2006.

This history helps provide us with the background and context for discussing today's Middle East and the manifold and dangerous problems that confront U.S. policy there. Among them; the continuing and festering Israel- Palestinian conflict that if unresolved will continue to foster violence, conflict, and war. Moreover, rising Islamic fundamentalism in North Africa and throughout the Middle East is very dangerous for U.S. interests.

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<sup>253</sup> - Between 1973 and 1987, the United States vetoed nineteen Security Council resolutions concerning Israel and Middle East peace, voting alone. Mark Curtis, *Obstacles to Security*. For more detail and later examples, see *Deterring Democracy*, chap. 6, and sources cited.

<sup>254</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Keeping the Rabble in Line*, 1994, p.85.

<sup>255</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, 1993, p.138.

In addition to that, confirming the certain failure of the imperial alliance with Israel, Professor Boukhari Hammana argues that it is noticed in the American contradictions when dealing with the Arab Nation: Winning the sympathy of Arabs in the other hand developing their enemy (Israel). The U.S continues with its policy to protect the Arab countries from the Russians. However, that policy leads Arabs to make treaties with the Russians.<sup>256</sup>

In the United States, centrist criticism of Israel that can be found in the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe, criticism that recognizes Israel's right to exist and defend itself while condemning its brutal occupation of Palestinian land and discrimination against Arab Israelis, is far less visible. What is required at this point in American and global history is a responsible critique of the US Israel lobby that, unlike the left's critique, accepts the broad outlines of US grand strategy as legitimate and, unlike the far right's critique, is not motivated by animus against either Jewish Americans or the state of Israel as a whole.

### 4.3. The Turkish Role in the American Project in Syria and Iraq:

Turkey, Syria's neighboring country, has played an influential role and has contributed significantly to prolonging the crisis. The reason, according to one analyst, is the new spirit of the geopolitical discourse that Turkish politicians believe in after the eruption of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions, and giving that new Ottoman dimension. In many statements by Turkish officials, headed by Turkish Foreign Policy Engineer and its current Prime Minister Ahmet Davuto lu, who explained the dimensions of Turkish politics based on Zero problems in his book Strategic Depth.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> - Boukhari Hammana, La Politique Arabe Des U.S.A, El moudjahid, Alger 30 Août 1980.

<sup>257</sup> - Ahmed Davutuglu, Strategic Depth, Explaining the behavior of Turkish diplomacy in its regional and global dimension, 2001

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, current President of the Republic of Turkey, also endorses Turkey's involvement in the scheme of overthrowing Syria and its regime and its alliance with Washington in adopting the neoconservative vision of the Middle East project. In which Turkey and the Zionist entity will have a future role in defining the features of the Arab and Middle East region. Especially after the elimination of obstacles that prevent the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian issue and the closure of the file of the Arab-Israeli conflict forever.

To return to the subject of the conspiracy against Syria, Turkey has not declared hostility directly to Damascus, but the attitudes of foreign policy towards the events in Syria gradually shifted from the quiet tone "to discontent, to anxiety, to condemnation, to direct intervention on the line. By forming an organized opposition front leading the campaign to topple the regime in Damascus, "the Turkish position was upward from statements to pressure".<sup>258</sup>

What raises questions about this escalating situation is the constant denial of all the Syrian government's accounts- by the Turkish government- about the reality of what is happening on the ground. Thus, without convincing proof of the reasons for the denial, as some observers have described, Turkey's interest is to keep the image of the regime largely distorted and to show it in the image of the murderer of its people, as in the events of Hama in 1983.

What comes to mind from the first glance, are the following questions: What is the interest of Turkey in this? What will they get in return if President Assad's regime falls? Perhaps the answer to these questions is simple, which will allow us to know how much the

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<sup>258</sup> - Ahmed Hassan Bakir, Determinants of the Turkish position on the Syrian crisis, the immediate dimensions and future implications, A series of studies and papers, June 2011, p.1

United States plans are geo-strategically in the long term: Drawing on neighboring countries to re-map the region, and to consolidate the pillars of the new Middle East, as mentioned earlier.

The position of the Syrian government on this matter may be presented as an answer, as reported in the Syrian newspaper *Al Watan* <sup>259</sup>: “It is the first time that the Turkish model shows that it is in the process of adopting the most political cases against it and its history.” It is not sure whether this is due to Ottoman awakening, the writer adds, or that it is one of the fields of partnership with the American strategy that is working here to reproduce the Islamic powers, non-jihadist and has a clean behaviour towards Israel in order to take over the Arab States for several decades to come. <sup>260</sup>

If this talk was said in May 2011, the difficult international events that followed have largely confirmed this proposition. For instance, the recent war launched by the Zionist entity on the Gaza Strip in 2014, despite the fact that the Hamas movement in Gaza, which is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood sponsored by Turkey globally, did not move to curb Tel Aviv. Knowing that, Turkey has strong diplomatic relations, to the degree of ambassador, but Ankara did not bother itself to expel the ambassador of the Zionist entity and recall its ambassador from Tel Aviv.

Hamas' leader has released a new political platform that softens Hamas' approach toward Israel by recognizing the concept of a Palestinian state in lands conquered by Israel during the 1967 Six-Day War. Other countries, such as Egypt, are likely to embrace the new document's assertion that Hamas is not a revolutionary force seeking to intervene in other countries.

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<sup>259</sup> - <http://alwatan.sy/>

<sup>260</sup> - Ahmed Hassan Bakir, Determinants of the Turkish position on the Syrian crisis, the immediate dimensions and future implications, A series of studies and papers, June 2011, p.26



Khaled Meshal, the movement's political bureau chief, revealed the policy platform at a news conference in Doha. " Hamas supports the liberation of all of Palestine," he stated, "but is willing to accept the state on 1967 borders without acknowledging Israel or renouncing any rights."<sup>261</sup>

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his chief adviser and (as of 2009) foreign minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu, welcomed Hamas when it won Palestinian legislative elections in January 2006. They condemned Israel's onslaught against Hamas in Gaza in December 2008-January 2009.

Representatives from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan signed a "Levant Quartet" agreement in Istanbul in early December 2010, drafted by the Turkish Foreign Economic Board (DEK). Those countries wanted to create tighter economic and cultural ties in what was envisioned as a "Middle East EU" — albeit Turkey saw it as "not an alternative" to the EU.<sup>262</sup>

Moreover, In January 2011, Turkey's prestigious *Hürriyet* newspaper labeled Turkish-Syrian relations a "model partnership in the Middle East."<sup>263</sup>, and in November 2011, less than one year after the announcement of the Levant Quartet, Turkey's Prime Minister Recep

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<sup>261</sup> - Patrick Wintour, Mon 1 May 2017,

(<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders>).

<sup>262</sup> - This fact was stated by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu on June 10, 2010, at a meeting of the Turkish-Arab Economic Forum in Istanbul attended by delegations from 22 Arab countries. It was at the Forum that Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced plans for the "Levant Quartet." "Turkey to Open Free Trade Zone with Arab States as Erdogan Denies Axis Shift," *Los Angeles Times*, June 11, 2010, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2010/11/israel-turkey-ira...>

<sup>263</sup> - Gamze Coşkun, "Model Partnership in the Middle East: Turkish-Syrian Relations," *Hürriyet Daily News*, January 2, 2011, [www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=model-partnership-in-the-middle-east-...](http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=model-partnership-in-the-middle-east-...)

Tayyip Erdoğan explained his growing criticism of Bashar al-Assad's regime and his call for sanctions against it, "We had a friendship that began nine years ago, but Syria failed to realize it," he said. [The Syrian government] did not pay heed to our warnings...,[and instead] unfortunately ... massacres and kills people, making them martyrs.... I believe that the Syrian people will be successful in their glorious resistance.<sup>264</sup>

Some have also said that Turkey's policy in the region is a political Islam in the American way, which Washington calls moderate Islam that should spread its experience in the Islamic world<sup>265</sup> " that the hostile attitude adopted by Ankara regarding the events in Syria stems from internal political games related to the elections".<sup>266</sup>

Moreover, contemplating the course of the Turkish government's handling of the Syrian situation, finds it accelerating on the one hand and in line with the American point of view, to the extent that the same words are used in official statements and media statements. Bakir notes that, "Because Ankara understands the importance of Syria in the Middle East, because of the growing number of explosive files that extend from Palestine and Israel to Lebanon and Iraq, and even the pressures exerted," he adds, as well as the nature of the developments in Syria may reflect not only those countries mentioned, but may extend to the neighbourhood of Turkey and Jordan as well as Syria's first ally Iran.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> - "Erdoğan Says Syria's 'Glorious Resistance' Will Succeed," *Today's Zaman*, November 1,

2011, [www.todayszaman.com/news-261588-erdogan-says-syrias-glorious-resistance](http://www.todayszaman.com/news-261588-erdogan-says-syrias-glorious-resistance)).

<sup>265</sup> - RAND Report about the Rise of Political Islam in Turkey, Angel Rabasa, F. Stephen Larrabee,

<https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG726.html>.

<sup>266</sup> - Ahmed Hassan Bakir, Determinants of the Turkish position on the Syrian crisis, the immediate dimensions and future implications, A series of studies and papers, June 2011, p.26.

<sup>267</sup> - Ibid.p.32

Moreover, the Zero Problems policy of the Islamic-oriented Justice and Development Party (AKP) government would not have succeeded in the Arab world if Syria had not been the gateway to Turkey. However, the Turkish policy based on the settlement of disputes and problems has become, according to some, a policy of diminishing confidence because of the total coup of the Turkish government on the Syrian regime from the first serious test it has faced since the reestablishment of relations in 2002.<sup>268</sup>

Erdogan considered that the situation in Syria was an “internal Turkish affair” that aroused the anger of Damascus and considered it an excuse to interfere in the Syrian internal affairs. "Not to mention the successive official statements, not to mention the almost daily continuation of official Turkish statements as if Ankara would be the guardian of the Syrian people and regime, not to mention Turkey's full coordination with Washington, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia on the situation from Syria, " Nouredinne argues.<sup>269</sup>

Nevertheless, since 2011, the government of Recep Erdogan has supported Syrian rebels and foreign jihadists seeking to oust Syria's government and occupied towns in the north of the country. The Turkish army has deployed a surrogate force of largely jihadist fighters from all nationalities in Turkish-held areas along the Syrian-Turkish border and in Syria's northwestern Idlib province. Furthermore, as already mentioned, Erdogan wants to prevent Syrian Kurds from contacting rebellious Turkish Kurds in his country's southeast. However, in reality, he is establishing Turkish-protected jihadist bases in Syria, ensuring the survival of extremists, allowing them to strike outside of these bases, and allowing them to migrate.

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<sup>268</sup> - relations with Syria deepened in a very short time due to several reasons at the international, regional and domestic levels. On the one hand, the radical change in the region with the ‘regime change’ strategy of the US and the subsequent Iraqi War brought the two countries together. On the other hand, the domestic reasons in both in both countries worked for deeper relations – on the Syrian side the change of leadership bringing Bashar Asad to power in 2000, the need for economic development and Syrian international isolation and on the Turkish side, the change in Turkey's politics with the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party 2002

<sup>269</sup> - Mohamed Nouredinne, Turkey and Syria: from Zeroing Conflicts to Zeroing Trust, Issue 392, 2011, p.30

He is determined to reclaim former Ottoman possessions in both Syria and Iraq.<sup>270</sup> His efforts in Syria are likely to risk clashes with Moscow and Tehran that are fighting to restore Damascus's sovereignty over the entire country and could lead to conflict with Baghdad's ally Iran and, perhaps, the United States in Iraq.

This leads us to say that the Turkish involvement and its exposition of the strategic interests it has built with Syria and its traditional allies such as Russia and Iran to danger. That rises more than one question. The replacement by the Turkish government of a policy of Zero Problems with neighbours that Davutoglu brought by the policy of Zero Trust that Erdogan launched through his diplomacy since 2011, invites us to pause and reflect on the reality of the American project in the region, Nouredinne thinks, and the hopes of the Zionist entity in the fragmentation of Syria and its division.<sup>271</sup>

#### **4.4. The Ankara-Tel Aviv Alliance and its Influence on the Region**

Turkey was the first Muslim country to recognize Israel in 1949, and the two countries had a long history of friendly relations. As allies of the West, modern and generally secular countries in a region dominated by Arab nationalism and growing Islamic extremism, Turkey and Israel shared many interests in the region.

The relationship reached its pinnacle in the 1990s and early 2000s, with military and economic ties strengthening. In Beersheba, a memorial for killed Ottoman soldiers was built,

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<sup>270</sup> - <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/erdogan-re-election-threatens-further-instability-in-middle-east-1.3545803>.

<sup>271</sup> - Mohamed Nouredinne, Turkey and Syria: from Zeroing Conflicts to Zeroing Trust, Issue 392, October 2011, pp.32-33.

as was a statue of Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey. In 2007, a large delegation of Turkish businesspeople visited Israel. Moreover, back in history, according to the New York Times, Kurdish protestors attacked the Israeli Embassy in Berlin in 1999, accusing Israel of aiding the Turkish detention of Kurdistan Workers Party Leader Abdullah Ocalan.<sup>272</sup>

Relations were initially good under Erdogan and the advent of his Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2002. Erdogan paid a visit to Israel, condemning antisemitism and expressing interest in helping to broker a peace deal between Israel and Syria. Moreover, Erdogan told *The Washington Post* in 2009 that Israel should engage Hamas: “Hamas is not an arm of Iran. Hamas entered the Palestinian elections as a political party. He argues that If the whole world had given them the chance of becoming a political player, maybe they would not be in a situation like this after the elections that they won in January 2006”.<sup>273</sup>

However, A flotilla headed by the Turkish passenger ship Mavi Marmara and manned by members of the Turkish Foundation for Human Rights, Freedoms and Humanitarian Aid (IHH) attempted to break the Gaza blockade in May 2010. In a scuffle on deck, ten Turkish people were killed by Israeli Navy commandos. Turkey recalled its ambassador and accused Israel of committing a "bloody massacre" on the ship. Joint military exercises were canceled.<sup>274</sup>

Israel and Turkey have reached an agreement to resolve a six-year diplomatic standoff. The accord, which came after months of talks and US prodding, restores full diplomatic connections between the two countries and paves the way for a huge natural gas deal; in 2016

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<sup>272</sup> - <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/02/20/world/us-helped-turkey-find-and-capture-kurd-rebel.html>

<sup>273</sup> - <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>

<sup>274</sup> - <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jun/01/gaza-flotilla-raid-turkey-prime-minister-israel>

when Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim patched up relations to a degree, with Israel agreeing to pay \$20 million<sup>275</sup> to Turkey for those slain on the Marmara incident.

The deal will allow Turkey to build a 200-bed hospital in Gaza and invest in other infrastructure projects as part of Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan's policy of casting himself as a champion of the Palestinians.

Israel recently discovered massive natural gas reserves off the Mediterranean coast, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu implied that the arrangement may lead to a profitable natural gas supply agreement for Israel. Netanyahu said in Rome, "I think it's a big move here to normalize relations on one side." "It has also immense implications for the Israeli economy – and I use that word advisedly." He adds.<sup>276</sup>

Turkish officials, eager to sell the agreement to a Turkish public that is generally hostile to Israel, said the deal had the support of the Palestinians because of the economic benefits it could bring to both Gaza and the occupied West Bank. Erdogan is attempting to use the Palestinians as a shield to deflect criticism from his own Islamist supporters for reaching an agreement with the Jewish state, according to one Palestinian official.

Any observer of the Turkish role in the Middle East has the right to question the meaning and secret behind the transfer of politics with Syria from networking to entanglement. But if one looks at the nature of the relations between the neighbouring countries in this sensitive

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<sup>275</sup> - <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/26/israel-and-turkey-end-six-year-stand-off-with-deal-on-gaza-floti>

<sup>276</sup> - Ibid.

region, and the complexities that characterize the behaviour of the countries towards each other, then perhaps they will reach a result in which one understands why the alliances are divided in this way.

From here, at least one can deduce the cause of Turkish hostility to Syria, that dates back to decades, which focused mainly on border problems and Damascus' demand for the Iskenderun Brigade and its historical right, which was cut off from Syrian geography in 1939.<sup>277</sup> Mouine adds, then the distribution of Euphrates water, Turkey's accusation of Syria supporting the PKK, and Turkish fears of Syrian military cooperation with Greece.<sup>278</sup>

In the face of this complex historical memory, the Middle East has learned from dramatic political events, especially after the declaration of the end of the Cold War and the United States became the only player, unique in the monolithic international order of the 1990s.

However, Professor Mouine notes that the signing of the Turkish-Israeli military agreement in early 1995, and the Arab-Turkish relations are at a critical stage, that military agreement did not emerge suddenly and without justification. It was a result of the political, economic and military conditions of both Turkey and Israel and their relations with neighbouring countries. In addition, it came in line with US foreign policy in the Middle East."<sup>279</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> - In addition, the Syrian government has never recognized the legality of Turkey's possession of Hatay Province, which was the Syrian province of Iskenderun until France ceded it to Turkey in 1939. Diversion of water from the Euphrates River for dams is a continuing source of conflict between Syria and both Turkey and Iraq.

<sup>278</sup> - Ma moud Ahmed Mouine, "Israel" and break the Asian front, 2009, p.99

<sup>279</sup> - Ibid. p.97

It came in order to achieve long-term goals because of the convergence of interests and the intersection of strategic visions with the Zionist entity. Former Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Shetin justified that: "Because of geographic and geostrategic factors, Turkey's location next to most of the unstable countries makes it face many challenges... Turkey has the concerns of four neighbouring countries: Greece, Iran, Russia and Syria "<sup>280</sup>

The Zionist entity took advantage of this situation and worked to provide the necessary ground, to build a strong strategic alliance with Turkey, based on strengthening it politically, economically and militarily <sup>281</sup>. In addition, he adds, the development of areas of cooperation to the highest levels possible, which has been translated by the visits between officials of both countries since 1995 to the present day. This has reached the point of signing a military agreement, which states in one of its clauses that the two armies will fight side by side in case of aggression by another state on one of them.

This is what Israeli strategist Yehezkel Dror wrote in his book *A Great Strategy for Israel*. He said: Turkey and Israel are the two largest forces outside the Arab arena. Their cooperation will prevent the emergence of an Arab force in the region that carries out a threatened policy; the two countries can create divisions and divide Arab capabilities... "<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> - Ma moud Ahmed Mouine, "Israel" and break the Asian front, 2009, p.98

<sup>281</sup> - Turkey has traditionally approached Israel as a strategically significant regional power merely because it provided access to the American policy-making process. Hence, the possible formation of a new alliance with Israel outside of the US strategic paradigm is an interesting development that will have repercussions for the entire region.

<sup>282</sup> - Ibid. p.143



This is reminiscent of the New Middle East project, which was brought by George Bush the son,<sup>283</sup> and attempted to establish it after the events of September 11 by invading Iraq in 2003. That was the initial plan of redrawing of the Old World regime's map.

This redrawing of the Middle East map is part of a plan to put US military boots on the ground in charge of all of the Middle East's key oil and now natural gas fields. The goal was to have direct control over China's and the European Union's economy and to be able to blackmail them, as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, the regional role of Turkey and the Zionist entity is a manifestation of this project mainly to eliminate the forces against the Zionist entity which is in a conflict with it since 1948.

Therefore, after mentioning the reasons why Ankara has become entangled in the face of the Syrian regime and its bad relations with Iraq because of the Kurdistan region and the oil pipelines, one will inevitably understand, Mouine notes that Turkey's unreasonable attempt to resurrect the politics of suspicious military alliances on historical, geographical, temporal, spatial, and economic grounds is unjustified, which is pushing the countries of the Middle East to the circle of fire, tension and the source of acute conflicts. To develop an additional closed loop aimed at encircling the Arab region, or the so-called dual containment, and to paint frightening features for the future of the Middle East<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> - The Greater Middle East is sometimes referred to as "The New Middle East", (*Nazemroaya, Mahdi Darius* (2006-11-18). "Plans for Redrawing the Middle East: The Project for a "New Middle East"". *Global Research*. Retrieved 2008-08-21.

<sup>284</sup> - Ma moud Ahmed Mouine, "Israel" and break the Asian front, 2009, p.146

#### **4.5. The Zionist Role and its Relationship with the Kurdish Issue:**

A study of Jews and Kurds reveals many parallels. Both are small countries (15 million Jews and 30 million Kurds), traumatized by wars and persecutions. Both have been fighting for survival of their distinct identities, both have been delegitimized and denied the right to self-determination. Furthermore, both are ethnically distinct from the Arabs, Persians, and Turks who make up the Middle East's majority.

Following the creation of the state of Israel, these attitudes were changed into appreciation and a desire to emulate Jewish achievement in Palestine. "At the same time, relations were distinguished by reciprocal trust," Berman adds, "which has become a vital asset for ties in modern times."<sup>285</sup>

Kurdish Jews who immigrated to Israel in the 1940s and early 1950s, on the other hand, served as effective ambassadors for Iraqi Kurds, promoting and advocating for their cause among Israelis. Following Saddam Hussein's defeat of the 1991 Kurdish rebellion, Israel's Kurdish population, estimated at 100,000 at the time, coordinated a large relief mission for Iraqi Kurds. They also held protests in front of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, urging the US government to protect the Kurds from Saddam Hussein, as reported by Sargis.<sup>286</sup>

In fact, during a meeting with U.S. secretary of state James Baker, Shamir urged the administration to defend the Kurds.<sup>287</sup> Following that, an Israeli-Kurdish friendship league was founded in Jerusalem with the goal of strengthening ties between Israel, Jews, and Kurds around the world, according to their website. In the early 1990s, when they launched

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<sup>285</sup> - Lazer Berman, "The World's Oldest Kurd: A Beloved Rabbi in the Heart of the Holy City," *Serbesti*, 2014.

<sup>286</sup> - Mamikonian, Sargis, "Israel and the Kurds," 2005, p. 398.)

<sup>287</sup> - Jaques Neriah, "Kurdistan: The Next Flashpoint between Turkey, Iraq, and the Syrian Revolt," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Aug. 5, 2012.

movements with the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG),<sup>288</sup> Israel's Kurdish Jews created a bridge to other Israelis, enabled by their same language and cultural heritage.

On another level, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) maintained relations with Kurdish officials from the 1990s onwards because "pro-Israel Jewish activists viewed support for the Kurds, a small nation struggling for self-determination in a hostile Arab neighborhood, as helping Israel reach out to a natural ally." "Our Israeli friends always welcomed our friendship with the Kurds," says Morris Amitay (AIPAC's executive director from 1974 to 1980)<sup>289</sup>. From 1996 to 2005, Mike Amitay, Amitay's son, served as executive director of the Washington Kurdish Institute (WKI). The WKI assisted in the establishment of a number of organizations that addressed a variety of issues impacting Kurdish communities in Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria.

The guideline that has governed relations between Israel and the Iraqi Kurds is: "My enemy's enemy is my friend." Their common enemy was the government in Baghdad, the most dangerous for both being the Baath party that ruled Iraq in 1968-2003. Israeli-Kurdish ties, on the other hand, precede the Baath, dating back to the 1950s, when Israel's peripheral alliance foreign policy plan was first implemented. In order to combat the greater Arab bloc, this plan stated that Jerusalem should seek relationships with non-Arab states as well as minorities in the Middle East.<sup>290</sup>

The aphorism that regulated Israel's dealings with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was, on the other hand, the polar opposite of that which dictated Israel's relations with the Barzani-dominated Kurdish Democratic Party. "My enemy's buddy is my enemy," the PKK's reality was. Syria and radical Palestinian factions acting under Damascus' auspices were the PKK's friends, whereas Turkey was Israel's long-time ally. As a result, Israel's relations with Turkey's Kurdish leadership have been tense.

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<sup>288</sup> - Israeli-Kurdish Friendship League, Jerusalem, accessed Mar. 31, 2018

<sup>289</sup> - The Forward; <https://forward.com/> accessed Mar. 31, 2018

<sup>290</sup> - Ofra Bengio, *The Turkish-Israeli Relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 33–71.

Because of the Kurdish issue in northern Iraq, it was difficult not to observe that if the US supported a Kurdish uprising, Iraqi forces facing US troops would be significantly weakened. This alternative was rejected by Washington, possibly because of concerns that a Kurdish insurrection in Iraq would extend to Eastern Turkey, where the large Kurdish community (whom the Turks do not acknowledge) is subjected to severe mistreatment.

"The West fears that pursuing the 'Kurdish question' with Turkey, Syria, and Iran could fracture the anti-Iraq alliance," the Wall Street Journal wrote in a rare mention of the issue in the news.<sup>291</sup> "The US administration flatly refused to meet with an Iraqi Kurdish leader who visited Washington in August" to plead for support, according to the article, "Kurds fear Ankara is using the Gulf crisis and Turkey's subsequent popularity in the West as cover for a crackdown," according to the report.<sup>292</sup>

The West is attempting to rally Iraqi Kurds against Turkish Kurds. Chomsky, on the other hand, believes that Turkish Kurds are by far the most numerous, and that they have traditionally been the most oppressed. Because Turkey is an ally, the atrocities committed by its citizens are not often reported in the West. However, they began targeting Kurdish territories shortly after the Gulf War began. Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to flee. Nonetheless, the western purpose now is to utilize the Iraqi Kurds as a weapon in order to reestablish "stability" in Iraq, which they define as their own form of government.<sup>293</sup>

Iraqi opposition groups have always received short shrift in Washington, and as a result, they have been mostly disregarded in the media. The same was true in the United Kingdom. Jalal Talabani, the Kurdish leader, went to Washington to seek backing for guerrilla operations against Saddam Hussein's regime. Officials from the Pentagon and the State

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<sup>291</sup> - <https://www.wsj.com/europe>

<sup>292</sup> - Tony Horwitz, "Gulf Crisis Finds Kurds in Middle Again," WSJ, Dec. 3, 1990.)

<sup>293</sup> - Noam Chomsky, *Keeping the Rabble in Line*; 1994, p.219.

Department refused to speak with him, and he was turned down again in March 1991. The most plausible explanation was apprehension about the Turkish "defender of civilized ideals," who regarded Kurdish rebellion with suspicion.<sup>294</sup>

However, Kurdish involvement in bilateral ties with Israel has sparked outrage in the Arab world, particularly among Iraqis. The Arab media accused the Kurds of carrying out an "imperialist project to partition Iraq,"<sup>295</sup> according to the Arab press. Israel, for its part, is prepared to strengthen ties with the Kurds but is wary of antagonizing Turkey, despite the fact that Ankara has no qualms about supporting one of Israel's most vehement foes, Hamas.

In recent years, deteriorating relations between Ankara and Jerusalem have aided Israel's connections with Turkey's Kurdish leadership. According to Seymour Hersh, tensions between Israel and Turkey arose around the end of 2003 as a result of Israel's cooperation with the KRG, he adds:

Turkish sources confidentially report that the Turks are increasingly concerned by the expanding Israeli presence in Kurdistan and alleged encouragement of Kurdish ambitions to create an independent state. ... The Turks note that the large Israeli intelligence operations in northern Iraq incorporate anti-Syrian and anti-Iranian activity, including support to Iranian and Syrian Kurds who are in opposition to their respective governments.<sup>296</sup>

The upheavals in Syria have also brought Syrian Kurds to the forefront. They were previously an unknown entity as far as Israel was concerned. Here again the rule of "my enemy's enemy" became relevant as both the Kurds of Syria and the Israelis confronted Islamist terrorist

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<sup>294</sup> - Wall Street Journal.

<sup>295</sup> - *Al-Musawwar* (Cairo), Sept. 8, 2006; *al-Hawadith* (Kuwait City), Sept. 15, 2006.

<sup>296</sup> - Seymour Hersh, "Plan B- The Kurdish Gambit.", As June 30th approaches, Israel looks to the Kurds.  
(<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/06/28/plan-b-2>)

organisations such as Jabhat al-Nusra and Dawlat al-Iraq wa-l-Sham al-Islamiya. Relations between Jerusalem and Syrian Kurds, on the other hand, appear to have existed prior to the recent upheavals. The German intelligence community had information that Jerusalem was exploiting its new power within Kurdish populations in Syria (and Iran) for intelligence and operational goals, according to Hersh, who referenced German officials in a 2004 piece.

Hersh also described Michel Samaha, the Lebanese minister of communication, as saying that his government had evidence that Israel was involved "Kurds are being prepared to fight in Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and Iran. They're being trained to carry out commando missions."<sup>297</sup> While it is impossible to verify such extraordinary stories, it appears likely that Syrian Kurds and Israelis are putting out feelers for possible collaboration. Some Syrian Kurdish organizations appear to be hoping for Israeli support.

#### **4.5.1. The Impact of the invasion of Iraq in strengthening the influence of the Zionist Entity:**

The Gulf War of 1991 was the outcome of a protracted series of events that mixed US Middle East policy with oil to varying degrees, but it would have been unthinkable in a Middle East where the Arab–Israeli conflict had been settled. For one thing, Saddam Hussein believed the time had come to seize pan-Arab leadership against Israel because of the deadlock in the peace process.

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<sup>297</sup> - Seymour Hersh, "Plan B- The Kurdish Gambit.", as June 30th approaches, Israel looks to the Kurds.

(<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2004/06/28/plan-b-2>.)

However, Saddam's threat to make the terms of oil sales conditional on a favorable Western policy in the Arab–Israeli conflict caught US politicians between two powerful contradictory domestic demands—for cheap gasoline and the advancement of Israel's interests. What was at stake, therefore, was not access to oil but access on *Washington's terms*, not Saddam's. Hinnebusch notes <sup>298</sup>

By the 1970s, indeed, the main challenges to US oil hegemony were rooted in the basic contradiction in The U.S policy identified by Sherle Schwenninger that:

For more than three decades, American policy has been driven by two at times incompatible goals: the support of Israel and (indirect) control over the world's oil markets. Managing the tensions between these two goals has been one of the most important and difficult policy challenges of every president since Lyndon Johnson. <sup>299</sup>

The increasing breakdown in the US effort to manage this contradiction derives from the fact, he argues, that US policy makers have not in practice been able to distinguish between the legitimate defense of Israel and tacit support for its illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and its overly aggressive military policy. <sup>300</sup>

In order for the United States to maintain hegemony in the Middle East, it had to balance its backing for Israel with ties with Arab clients, which necessitated US leadership in the Arab–Israeli peace process. The breakdown of the peace process, which coincided with continued

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<sup>298</sup> - Raymond Hinnebusch, R. *The International Politics of the Middle East*, 2003 , pp. 214–218.

<sup>299</sup> - Sherle R. Schwenninger. 'Revamping American Grand Strategy,' *World Policy Journal*, 20(3), 2003, pp. 25-44.

<sup>300</sup> - Ibid

Israeli settlement development in Palestinian territory and the resulting Islamic terrorism, widened the gap between the US and Arabs who had been promised a peace solution in exchange for their support in the 1991 Gulf War.

Many say that controlling Iraq's oil reserves and barring rivals in a tighter oil market was a primary cause of the war, and that this was fueled by America's twin addictions to cheap gasoline and billions of petrodollars. According to John Judis, neo-conservatives believed that capturing Iraq would mortally weaken the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and that continuing US occupation of the nation would keep this oil prize out of US hands.<sup>301</sup>

Another material explanation is that the military industrial complex had a vested interest in war (jobs, profits, and careers), that maintaining it after the fall of communism necessitated the creation of an enemy (rogue regimes in the Middle East), and that military aggrandizement created an environment in which resorting to force was a first rather than a last resort. Without America's huge war machine and military industrial complex, an invasion of Iraq would almost certainly not have been considered. It's not as if the military was lobbying for this war.

What seems inescapable is that no single factor explanation will do. Multiple factors—interests and ideology in congruence which each other—drove the war. Geoffrey Hodgkins is not the only one who fingers the combination of Israel, oil, and American exceptionalism.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> - John Judis, *The New Republic Online*, 26 April 2006.

<sup>302</sup> - Godfrey Hodgson, <http://www.opendemocracy.net>, accessed 13 December 2018.



Before starting to analyze the role played by the US military invasion of Iraq in 2003, in facilitating the penetration of Tel Aviv to the Iraqi front from the gate of the Kurdish issue, it is important to ask the following questions:

Who really controlled Iraq during the 2003-2011 US occupation? What was the mystery of the city of Tal Afar? Why the US army emptied it of the Iraqis?

After the entry of the US military to Iraq and the imposition of control, concentrated in the strategic area of Tal Afar and established a military base with strength of 17 thousand soldiers. By the security and intelligence coordination between the Mossad and the CIA, and Washington's constant and absolute commitment to protect the security of the Zionist entity, this preference has enabled it a sphere of influence extending from northern Iraq, from Mosul to the Syrian border, through Tal Afar, 80 kilometers from the border with Turkey, and about 100 km from the border with Syria.

As a result of this American presence, the purchase of Iraqi land of about 200 km<sup>2</sup> was distributed within the area extending from the Syrian border, to the east of the borders of Iran and Turkey, from inside Iraq to secure a project that the neoconservatives have always maintained and achieved, ensuring the security of the Zionist entity and the elimination of all the sources of power that make the Palestinian cause and Palestinian resistance movements alive and well. We also note, without difficulty, that the suspicious areas of movement inside Iraq are concentrated in the Kurdish region.

In this context, Seymour Hersh, a New Yorker journalist, reported that Israeli intelligence and military officers trained Kurdish Peshmerga forces. It should be noted that Israel provided

assistance to the Kurds in the sixties and seventies in support of their struggle against Saddam Hussein ... In addition, about 50 thousand Israelis of Kurdish origin... "<sup>303</sup>

Based on these facts, one can tell who was buying land along the above-mentioned area, and why 17,000 US troops were stationed in Tal Afar. Moreover, and one can also recognize the importance of the Mosul area, which represents an important strategic depth for Turkey in Iraq and even with the withdrawal of the US military from Iraq in late 2011, which coincided with the outbreak of the events of the Arab Spring, but Washington insisted on a strong civilian presence in Iraq to ensure the service of US interests.

After all the facts, one has the right to ask the question: Why did Washington impose on the Iraqis to keep a large number of American staff at the US Embassy after the withdrawal? Why did the ISIS /ISIL (Daesh) organization start to launch the project of the Khilafah state in Iraq and the Levant from Mosul in particular? Does not this have anything to do with all the arrangements and preparations that have taken place throughout the US military presence in 2003-2011? Is it not possible to define a Turkish Zionist plot for all that took place and is happening in the region after the American withdrawal from Iraq? Why the US withdrew its military, and kept a civilian army of thousands of employees and investors. <sup>304</sup>

In other words, the military invasion was the first preliminary stage, supporting the armed opposition in Syria and Iraq then supporting Al Quaida and ISIL/ISIS and advocating a

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<sup>303</sup> - Bill Park, *Turkey's Policy Towards Northern Iraq: Problems and Perspectives*, Routledge, 2005, p.72.

<sup>304</sup> - The U.S.–Iraq Status of Forces Agreement, (official name: Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq, for more details see Anex1).

second phase of the project of destruction and fragmentation from the inside or the so-called open bleeding policy.

#### **4.6. Installing Client Regimes, and Fighting Terrorism.**

The United States has always used its military power to protect client regimes throughout the world that were supportive of US interests. For instance, the overthrow of Mossadegh, who had nationalized the oil fields of Iran, and his replacement by the Shah in 1953. The subsequent reliance upon him to look out for US interests in the Gulf region was typical of this approach.

Access to the Middle East, with its oil reserves, was also crucial to the US (Franklin. D. Roosevelt went out of his way to stop off to talk with the Saudis and others about the importance of maintaining the flows of oil on his way back from the Yalta conference). However, the control over Middle Eastern oil reserves would serve US interests very well if it ever felt it necessary to rein in Chinese geopolitical ambitions. They would fight without mercy, to get a handle on the oil supplies that China increasingly needs from the Caspian Basin and from the Middle East.

The Bush administration's desire to act militarily in the Middle East has a lot to do with gaining stronger control over the region's energy resources. "The necessity to impose that control had steadily increased since President Carter first enunciated the idea that the US was prepared to employ military methods to assure the continuing supply of Middle Eastern oil into the global economy," Harvey claims.<sup>305</sup>

Nonetheless, The U.S domination of the Gulf region had already come under threat in 1958,

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<sup>305</sup> - David Harvey, *New Imperialism*, 2003, p 180.

when the Iraqi military overthrew the main British client regime. In his book *Pirates and Emperors*, Chomsky confirms that the Internal U.S.-UK records provide a revealing account of their concerns and plans, essential background for understanding the Gulf War in 1991.<sup>306</sup>

When Washington's friend and ally Saddam Hussein fell out of favour for disobeying orders (his huge crimes and programs to develop weapons of mass destruction were of little consequence, as the record of U.S.-UK support for him demonstrates), the U.S. turned to the "dual containment policy," aimed at Iran and Iraq.

From a different perspective, the term "terrorism" came into use at the end of the eighteenth century, Cherif Bassiouni argues that, primarily to refer to violent acts of governments designed to ensure popular submission. He adds, "That concept plainly is of little benefit to the practitioners of state terrorism, who, holding power, are in a position to control the system of thought and expression. The original sense has therefore been abandoned, and the term "terrorism" has come to be applied mainly to "retail terrorism" by individuals or groups".<sup>307</sup>

Important questions should have arose, such as: What is terrorism? What distinguishes it from either aggression or resistance? The operational responses are eye-opening, yet the questions were never brought up in public. Our leaders came up with a convenient definition: terrorism is what our authorities deem it to be. As the war is re-declared, the practice continues. Herman is debating.<sup>308</sup>

Moreover, Chomsky argues, that the term was once applied to emperors who molest their own subjects and the world, now it is restricted to thieves who molest the powerful – though

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<sup>306</sup> - Chomsky, Noam, *Pirates and Emperors*, Old and New, 2002. p 90.

<sup>307</sup> - "Origins and Fundamental Causes of International Terrorism," UN Secretariat, reprinted in M. Cherif Bassiouni, ed., *International Terrorism and Political Crimes* (Charles Thomas, 1975) Charles C Thomas Pub Ltd; First Edition edition (June 1, 1975).

<sup>308</sup> - For discussion of some of these questions, see Chomsky and Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, op. cit; Herman, *Real Terror Network*, op. cit.; *Pirates and Emperors*, Old and New, op. cit; and George, ed., *Western State Terrorism*, op. cit.

not entirely restricted: the term still applies to enemy emperors, a category that shifts with the needs of power and ideology.<sup>309</sup>

The concept of "international terrorism" is an act of terrorism enters the canon only if it is committed by "their side," not ours. Herman argues, that was the guiding doctrine of the public relations campaign about "international terrorism" launched by the Reagan Administration as it came to office, Edward Herman confirms. However, It relied on scholarship claiming to have established that the plague is a "Soviet-inspired" instrument, "aimed at the destabilization of Western democratic society," and terrorism is not "directed against the Soviet Union or any of its satellites or client states," but rather occurs "almost exclusively in democratic or relatively democratic countries."<sup>310</sup>

In the 1980s the two main foci of the "war on terror" were Central America and the Mideast/Mediterranean region. In the Middle East, the commanders in Washington and their local associates were again responsible for crimes far exceeding anything charged to their official enemies. The facts are particularly noteworthy because the retail terror they were opposing was inflated by their propaganda systems to become the lead story of the year by the mid-1980s.

When Israel bombs Palestinian refugee camps killing many civilians - often without even a pretence of "reprisal" - or, for instance, sends its troops into Lebanese villages in "counter terror" operations (2006 war example) where they murder and destroy, or hijacks ships and dispatches hundreds of hostages to prison camps under horrifying conditions, this is not "terrorism"; moreover, the voices of protest are condemned by loyal party liners for their "anti-Semitism" and "double standard".

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<sup>309</sup> - Chomsky, Noam, *Pirates and Emperors, Old and New*, 2002. p 90.

<sup>310</sup> - Edward S. Herman, *the Real Terror Network*, South End Press, 1982.

One of the endeavours of the current incumbents has become well known: the success of the CIA and its associates during the 1980s in recruiting radical Islamists and organizing them into a military and terrorist force. The goal, according to Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was "to draw the Russians into the Afghan trap,"<sup>311</sup> initially by secret operations that would induce them to invade Afghanistan. However, after the withdrawal of the Russians, the terror organizations recruited, armed, and trained by the US and its allies (among them Al Qaeda and similar jihadist) turned their attention elsewhere.

Also at least partially familiar is the long-standing support of the incumbents for Saddam Hussein, often attributed to obsession with Iran. That policy continued without change after Iran's capitulation in the Iran-Iraq war, because of "our duty to support U.S. exporters," the State Department explained in early 1990—adding the usual boilerplate about how aiding Saddam would improve human rights, regional stability, and peace. In October 1989, President Bush I issued a national security directive declaring that "normal relations between the United States and Iraq would serve our longer term interests and promote stability in both the Gulf and the Middle East."

The US keeps a list of countries that sponsor terrorism. Only one country has ever been taken off the list—Iraq in 1982—because the Reagan administration, basically the guys in office again under Bush II, wanted to be able to supply Saddam Hussein with weapons and aid "without Congressional scrutiny"<sup>312</sup>. So Iraq was suddenly a state that didn't sponsor terrorism, and the United States could provide aid for agribusiness exports, for developing weapons of mass destruction.

The United States was helping Saddam Hussein to destroy Iran for a period of time or at least weaken its capacities, economy and infrastructure for the benefit of its only ally in the

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<sup>311</sup> - The Brzezinski Interview with *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 1998,

[https://dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/brzezinski\\_interview](https://dgibbs.faculty.arizona.edu/brzezinski_interview)

<sup>312</sup> - Reginald Dale, *Financial Times*, 1 March 1982.

region (the Zionist Entity), in the one hand and weakening Iraq for future wars in the years to come. However, Iraq finished the war with Iran victorious, as per the Arab Media, thanks to Algerian intervention, that, didn't suit the American and allies interests, and Iraq became a threat. Thus, Iraq turned from a friendly ally to a sponsor of terrorism according to the US administration and its allies.

In addition to that, Syria is crucial to the existing of the Zionist entity, as mentioned by Mitt Romney in a televised debate with Barack Obama, he said: "Syria is an opportunity for us because Syria plays an important role in the Middle East, particularly right now. Syria is Iran's only ally in the Arab world. It's their route to the sea. [Iraq lies between Iran and Syria – editor's note.] It's the route for them to arm Hezbollah in Lebanon, which threatens, of course, our ally, Israel. And so seeing Syria remove Assad is a very high priority for us."<sup>313</sup>

Moreover, Seymour M. Hersh argues, that Barack Obama led an allied military intervention in Libya without consulting the US Congress In 2011. Nonetheless, he adds:

*After the sarin attack on the Damascus suburb of Ghouta, he was ready to launch an allied air strike, this time to punish the Syrian government for allegedly crossing the 'red line' he had set in 2012 on the use of chemical weapons. Then with less than two days to go before the planned strike, he announced that he would seek congressional approval for the intervention. The strike was postponed as Congress prepared for hearings, and subsequently cancelled when Obama accepted Assad's offer to relinquish his chemical arsenal in a deal brokered by Russia.*<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> - <https://www.euronews.com/2012/10/23/obama-and-romney-differences-slight-over-foreign-policy>.

<sup>314</sup> - Seymour M. Hersh: <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v36/n08/seymour-m.-hersh/the-red-line-and-the-rat-line>

#### **4.7. Conclusion.**

To sum up, The US has always supported the Zionist Entity (Israel), arguing that the safety of Israel is an extension of its national security, this support is endorsed by lobbies inside the US and their great influence in shaping the US foreign policy in favor of Israel, even though these policies will result in waves of hate within the Arab communities. However, the ruling elites are always covering up their secret relation with this entity and also their treaties under the table with their masters (the Western world).

Nonetheless, the conventions and treaties signed with Arabs are always in favor of Israel, in which this latter breaks all the time without hesitation, knowing that these regimes are not democratically elected, i.e, they don't have any influence and don't constitute any threat to the Zionist Entity. Moreover, Israel is trying all the time to show its good relations with these governments, including Turkey and especially the Gulf countries (monarchies).

Turkey who is the most important ally of the US, Israel and the European countries due to the treaties signed with them, including NATO, is always trying through its government to convince the Arab World that it is working as a Muslim majority country for the promotion of democracy and human rights and supporting Muslims around the world. However, it is clear for any observer, the NATO aircrafts and armies destroying the Arab countries are functioning from its territories, which is called double standards. This is very clear to the elite in the free world especially the Arabs, but their voices can't be heard due to the media establishment and control of the West through its puppets, especially in Qatar, Saudi Arabia and UAE. Examples already mentioned earlier, including the Hassanein Heikel example.

The existing alliances, between the US and Gulf monarchies, between Turkey and Israel, between the European countries and some Arab government, all contributed to the destruction and destabilization of some Arab countries, such as Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Syria, Iraq and



lately Libya all of this, of course in favor of the West, their weapons factories increased their sales, their pharmaceutical companies increased their sales, through spreading viruses and providing their medicines, their Oil and Gas companies signed contracts: an example of this is the Syrian stolen oil is sold from the Turkish ports illegally, that led to the enrichment of Turkey and the downfall of Oil prices. Moreover, another example of this is the Turkish government signed contracts lately with the Libyan government for the exploration of Oil and Gas in the Mediterranean (Libyan Offshore).

The follower of the Israeli political objectives notices that this entity is trying to engage in strengthening its relations with the client regimes of the West in order to bleach or whiten its black image in the communities minds, aggressions, terrorism, overthrowing of governments with the help of Western secret services. However, there are always free think tanks and elites whose only preoccupation is to shade light on the Western true images.

More examples of that can be seen in the destruction of Iraq and stealing their resources for the years to come, through contracts signed with the so called free government that doesn't even represent a small town in the Iraqi suburbs. Dividing Iraq to ethnicities helped the occupier to empty this rich country in less than a decade. The only barrier to the expansion of the Zionist Entity is Iraq, and by overthrowing Saddam Hussein the Middle Eastern scene is free to the Western World and Israel. This lesson is not learned, yet, by some governments relying on their masters' good intentions and dreams.

*General Conclusion*

As a conclusion, since the French military campaign in Syria coincided with the San Francisco Conference, which took place from April to June of 1945 to set up the UN system, the Anglo-American leaders had to condemn French military unilateralism in strong terms. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, demanded immediate French withdrawal 'in order to avoid collision between British and French forces', and British troops subsequently intervened in Syria on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1945 with the approval of US President Truman.<sup>315</sup>

America has played a very bad role in its relations with third world countries, especially with the Middle East, as it considered it mostly as important energy markets dealing with market democracy. It supported the regimes there and overthrew them after a while, then armed the opposition until it became an established system in a political game in which, people were the biggest loser. In his latest book, "Power Systems", "Noam Chomsky" considered that the American hegemony system was a type of paranoia and superiority, which was gradually eroding, because the centers of power have become multiple and independent. Therefore, attempts to re-establish control over the Middle East, for example, through the recent war on Iraq, were unsuccessful, especially after the rise of the democratic spring uprisings and the emergence of emerging liberal democracies. Therefore, the political elite described the events as another loss of American control in the region.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> - Hoopes, Townsend, and Brinkley, Douglas (1997) FDR and the Creation of the U.N. New Haven: Yale University Press. p201

<sup>316</sup> - Ait Kharouch, Mustafa .The War on America ... When Will it End? (02/09/2013)  
<https://www.mominoun.com/articles/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A3%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%83%D8%A7-%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%89-%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%87%D9%8A-921>

The US regarded the world as individual property, and any loss of this property was a disaster that called for a review of the external strategies of the law of domination. The excessive use of force by America outside the laws of the United Nations, and unilaterally, prompted other emerging international centers to operate in strict secrecy, in order to possess the power of arms, because the logic of domination imposed that. Ait Kharouch notes, it is a crazy race to ruin, led by the super-rich owners, war geeks, and looters of peoples' rights.<sup>317</sup>

The underlying reason for the absence of a coherent Syria policy was that the US already focused on alliances with Saudi Arabia and Israel while the UK was already committed to Syria's Hashemite Arab neighbors Jordan and Iraq. However, in the scholarly literature, there is agreement that the structure of the U.S. petroleum industry played a key role in determining the content and conduct of foreign oil policy' and that corporate power molded both policy objectives and outcomes'.<sup>318</sup>

There is, however, no agreement about the exact line of causality in terms of whether 'business privilege'<sup>319</sup> dominated the conduct of US foreign policy or, alternatively, US policymaking converted oil companies into informal instruments of US diplomacy. What is certainly true is that covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency

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<sup>317</sup> - Ait Kharouch, Mustafa .*The War on America ... When Will it End?* (02/09/2013)

<https://www.mominoun.com/articles/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A3%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%83%D8%A7-%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%89-%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%87%D9%8A-921>

<sup>318</sup> - Painter, quoted in Vitalis 2002).( Vitalis, Robert (2002) 'Black Gold, White Crude. An essay on American exceptionalism, hierarchy, and hegemony in the Gulf', *Diplomatic History*, 26(2): 185-213.

<sup>319</sup> - Anderson, quoted in Vitalis 2002

(CIA), then newly founded, quickly became the instrument of choice to advance US political and economic interests in the region. In the Syrian case, US support for the first coup of Husni Zaim in 1949 is beyond reasonable doubt, although the actual extent of CIA involvement has never been fully established since the relevant CIA files remain closed.

Thus, Syria's turn to the Soviet Union, allowed the country to acquire the patronage necessary to become a serious regional power. The parallel strengthening of the Syrian military and Syrian state by the Soviet Union since the second half of the 1950s had geopolitical significance that continues to influence Middle East politics today.

It is an important measure in the shift in US regional understanding of the nature of the threat to Persian Gulf oil that the persistence of the Assad regime in Syria—previously characterized as an 'extremist' regime for its Soviet links and anti-Israel stance—was now being championed as a moderate state in the context of a regional struggle against Iranian-influenced, anti- Western Muslim fundamentalism.

Joseph Gerson, peace secretary of the AFSC in New England, comments: <sup>320</sup>

*If the June 12 march was one of the greatest successes of the American peace movement, it was also one of our notable failures. After serious debate, the June 12 Coalition decided not to address questions of intervention in the organizing effort or at the rally in Central Park. On June 12, as people in the Middle East were being torn and seared with American-built cluster bombs, we were silent in New York. While the world lurched toward the nuclear holocaust that we had all come to prevent, we were silent. Only one woman had the insight and courage to speak about the war in Lebanon from the podium. Today it is President Reagan who tells us that an escalation of the war in Lebanon could lead to World War III.*

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<sup>320</sup> - Joseph Gerson, Nuclear Times, February 1984.

Moreover, other New York Times reports on the same U.N. session provide further insight into the style of coverage of world opinion. Two days after the overwhelming U.N. votes in favour of the unreported disarmament resolutions that the United States opposed virtually alone, a Times story reported a vote on a resolution that "reaffirms the United Nations' previous strong condemnation of international terrorism in all its forms," calls "on all countries to cooperate in eradicating terrorism," and "invites the Secretary General to seek the views of member states on terrorism and on 'the ways and means' of combating it." The resolution passed 128 to 1, Israel alone in opposition, with the United States abstaining and "the other 128 members present voting in favour." The headline reads: "Syria, Isolated at U.N., Drops Terrorism Plan."<sup>321</sup>

Israel's experience in bombing Iraqi (1981) and Syrian (2007) reactors gives some Israelis confidence that they can succeed in at least setting back the Iranian program while suffering only limited retaliation. American strategy must therefore constantly take into account the possibility of unilateral Israeli action, which will obstruct more dovish positions or long-term containment scenarios.<sup>322</sup>

Saddam Hussein, the man who unleashed the eight-year Iran-Iraq war in 1981, was the Iran's worst enemy, and his Baathist government was replaced by leading members of the Shiite majority in Iraq. Many of them lived in Iran or enjoyed Iranian sponsorship for decades before the US invasion. All of this has greatly enhanced Iran's regional influence even as it continued to develop its nuclear program.

The case of the Golan Heights is also difficult, not only because Israel annexed this Syrian territory (and was unanimously condemned by the U.N. Security Council for doing so, though a

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<sup>321</sup> - Paul Lewis, NYT, Dec. 2, 1987.

<sup>322</sup> - Upheaval U.S. Policy Toward Iran in a Changing Middle East By Marc Lynch, 2011 ([https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/129602/CNAS\\_Upheaval\\_Lynch\\_1.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/129602/CNAS_Upheaval_Lynch_1.pdf))

U.S. veto blocked sanctions), but because Israel attacked and conquered it in violation of the ceasefire. Moreover, when Trump sold the Golan Heights, or in other words, publically announced and recognized Israel's annexation of the occupied Golan Heights) no one intervened; neither China nor Russia.<sup>323</sup> Thus, the Arab proverb applies for this situation, that says, What was taken by force can only be recovered by force. For instance the case of Crimea, we don't recall any objection to Russia for doing so.

Nonetheless, going back to the Arab uprisings or what is called " the Arab spring" what helped these movements were snipers, or ISIS/ISIL (Death) Squads as mentioned by Alexandra Valiente on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2011, for the Terror tactics of US "Soft Power", she argues that unknown snipers played a pivotal role throughout the so-called « Arab Spring Revolutions » , despite allegations of their presence in the mainstream media, their purpose and role have received relatively little attention.<sup>324</sup>

Nikolay Starikov, a Russian investigative journalist, has authored a book about the role of unknown snipers in destabilizing countries targeted for regime change by the US and its allies. Moreover, he tries to elucidate some historical examples of this technique with a view to providing a background within which to understand the current cover war on the people of Syria by death squads in the service of Western intelligence.<sup>325</sup>

Furthermore, the terrorist group has suffered a clear cost as a result of American bombings and ground operations. Its area has decreased, its finances are in shambles, and its recruitment numbers have plummeted. Special Forces from the United States are training Syrian rebels in the hopes of seizing the Islamic State's capital of Raqqa before Obama leaves office. Furthermore,

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<sup>323</sup> - <https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/27/trump-officially-recognized-israels-annexation-of-golan-heights.html>.

<sup>324</sup> - <https://libyadiary.wordpress.com/2011/11/28/snipers-and-death-squads-terror-tactics-of-u-s-soft-power/>

<sup>325</sup> - <https://nstarikov.ru/en>

his justification is that these forces are involved in the fight against Islamic State, which poses a direct threat to the US, rather than the civil conflict in Syria, which is led by Syrian President Bashar Assad. Officially, Doyle Mcmanus argues that those 300 U.S. troops aren't on a combat mission; they're coordinating local forces, collecting intelligence and finding targets for airstrikes. But they include special operations teams capable of killing or capturing Islamic State leaders — and some have already done so.<sup>326</sup>

Obama was adamant that a military intervention would be a disaster. He feared that without a commitment of tens of thousands of troops, the US would be unable to assist win the war and maintain the peace. The battlefield, according to Barbara Plett Usher, was too complicated: it was splintered into hundreds of armed organizations, with opposing regional and international powers supporting them.<sup>327</sup>

According to former Defence Secretary Chuck Hagel, certain senior military and cabinet officials did not reach this decision, and they did not even recommend a big ground deployment. They claimed that a more restricted commitment would have effectively shifted the power balance against President Bashar al-Assad. Arming the rebels and establishing a safe zone from which they might operate early in the battle, as well as military strikes against Syria's air force to drive Assad to the bargaining table, are two possibilities.<sup>328</sup>

On April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2011, in Washington's first tangible steps reacting to a crackdown on anti-government protesters inspired by the "Arab Spring," the US imposes sanctions on Syria's intelligence agency and two relatives of President Bashar Al-Assad. Since then the US view of the

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<sup>326</sup> - <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0501-mcmanus-syria-east-vs-west-column-20160501-4-column.html>

<sup>327</sup> - Barbara Plett Usher BBC State Department correspondent.

<sup>328</sup> - <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-38297343>



Syrian conflict wasn't clear, they wanted to withdraw but keep their reputation and pride, till the arrival of Trump who declared that Obama and Hillary Clinton created ISIS/ISIL( Daesh).<sup>329</sup>

The Russian military participation in Syria began in September 2015, following an official request for military assistance from the Syrian government against rebel and terrorist groups. The intervention began with air strikes by Russian aircraft stationed at the Khmeimim base against militant groups opposed to the Syrian government, including the Syrian National Coalition, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), al-Nusra Front (al-Qaeda in the Levant), and the Army of Conquest, primarily in northwestern Syria.

Thus, a whole new phase has started, with the Syrian government recovering control of its borders after the demise of ISIS/ISIL( Daesh) in Syria and Iraq. Russia's Foreign Ministry said 92 percent<sup>330</sup> of Syrian territory was free from Daesh control. Almost a year after the launch of the Astana talks, agreement was reached to set up de-escalation zones in Idlib, Homs, Eastern Ghouta and southwestern Syria.

The Syrian war is nearly ended, with the Syrian army recovering control of more than 85% of the nation and plans to expand the southern de-escalation zone to the Jordanian and Israeli borders.

In the other hand, The CIA, working with Turkey's intelligence agency, helped coordinate procurement and delivery of weapons and ammunition, paid by Saudi Arabia and Qatar, to Syrian rebels, and later sponsored its own anti-Assad faction. With Jordan, Qatar provided the CIA bases for training and arming anti-Assad insurgents. Initially, Russia helped Syria

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<sup>329</sup> - <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2016/aug/11/donald-trump/donald-trump-pants-fire-claim-obama-founded-isis-c/>

<sup>330</sup> - <http://vestnikkavkaza.net/analysis/Turning-point-in-the-Syrian-conflict.html>) Accessed, Nov 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017.

diplomatically by vetoing UN Security Council resolutions – a move backed by China.

The Kremlin's stance rests on the Putin Doctrine, which is that any group that raises arms against an established government is a terrorist. Assad subscribes to the same doctrine. Both Putin and Assad are fierce opponents of political Islam as are Chinese leaders.

Hamas has unveiled a new political program softening its stance on Israel by accepting the idea of a Palestinian state in territories occupied by Israel in the six-day war of 1967. Moreover, the new document also insists that Hamas is not a revolutionary force that seeks to intervene in other countries, a commitment that is likely to be welcomed by other states such as Egypt. The policy platform was announced by the head of the movement's political bureau, Khaled Meshal, at a press conference in Doha. "Hamas advocates the liberation of all of Palestine but is ready to support the state on 1967 borders without recognising Israel or ceding any rights," he said, Patrick Wintour, Mon 1 May 2017.<sup>331</sup>

Thus, the US administrations failed through their containment policies to control or even manage the regimes it backed since the end of the Second World War; even though the great help they provided to these regimes, because they were not democratically elected, they didn't represent the populations, till now where we see these policies, and unfortunately the elites in these countries if not most of them are reluctant to help the West in their policies.

America's foreign policy that was dominated by the rejection of containment was not fruitful, especially, in the Middle East; instances of this failure are present in various policies undertaken

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<sup>331</sup> - <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders>

by Middle Eastern countries and even in North Africa, such as Iraq, Syria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt to some extent.

Due to strength of the Jewish Lobby in the US that favours Israel first and last, Most American Politicians agree to whatever the IPAC or Tel Aviv decide especially when it comes to Israel-Palestinian conflict. Moreover, the weakness of the Arab axis against the coloniser's policies that is apparent in their dealing with these cases. The Arab countries, as mentioned earlier, tried to form alliances to counter American-Israeli alliance in vain. Another example, alliances with Turkey, or what the Turkish President Erdogan proposed "Levant Quartet"<sup>332</sup>

The American use of its NATO important ally in the region (Turkey) to deter any external power from controlling the Oil flow from the Middle East was to some extent fruitful, for instance, the Turks buying Oil from the terrorist controlled areas in Syria and selling it from its ports, without passing by the OPOC, which led to dramatic fall of Oil prices. Moreover, Erdogan accused the Syrian government of killing it's own people and making them "martyrs"<sup>333</sup>. That situation pushed the Russians and their allies to intervene militarily in Syria and strengthen their presence in the Mediterranean Sea. Thus, that was a heavy blow in the face of Americans.

Nonetheless, the American policy in Syria and Iraq failed completely, no democracy was installed, no client regimes successfully installed except Iraq to some extent, and no superpowers left outside the Middle East, but the contrary, the chaos in American administrations and their internal problems was reflected on their policies in the Middle East what pushed external powers or American enemies to be present and very powerful at the expense of thousands of people killed and millions fled their countries.

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<sup>332</sup> - Los Angeles Times, June 11, 2010, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2010/11/israel-turkey-ira...>

<sup>333</sup> - Erdo an Says Syria's 'Glorious Resistance' Will Succeed," *Today's Zaman*, November 1, 2011, [www.todayszaman.com/news-261588-erdogan-says-syrias-glorious-resistance...](http://www.todayszaman.com/news-261588-erdogan-says-syrias-glorious-resistance...)

Turkey also wanted to assist in Israeli-Palestinian peace efforts, and both Shimon Peres and Mahmoud Abbas paid visits to the country. “ Hamas is not an arm of Iran,” Erdogan said in a 2009 interview with The Washington Post. Hamas ran as a political party in the elections. Maybe they wouldn't be in this predicament now if the entire world had given them the opportunity to become a political factor after the elections they won [in January 2006].”

Then in 2016, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yildirim patched up relations to a degree, with Israel agreeing to pay \$20 million to Turkey for those slain on the Marmara\* *aboard the ship. Joint military exercises were canceled.*). Economic relations were a backdrop to the deal.

Israel has benefited from one of its enemies, Saddam Hussein and his army, as weak and preoccupied. It is no coincidence that the defenders and newspaper analysts most defending the US invasion occurred to be strong advocates of the will of the Israeli right. The evidence clearly showed that some Israeli supporters were part of a culture of deception to take the United States into war with Iraq - as they were working to bring them to war with Iran with a similar pattern of spurious intelligence. Likewise, the fact that any group in the Middle East has hostility to Israel is a terrorist in nature to Americans. It was the fact that the Israeli lobby strongly propelled the war with Iraq.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>334</sup>- Global Research Captain America. *9/11: Who Really Benefits?*.24/07/2011.  
<https://www.globalresearch.ca/9-11-who-really-benefited/25762>

\*In May 2010, a flotilla led by the Turkish Mavi Marmara passenger ship and manned by members of the Turkish Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Aid (IHH) sought to break the blockade of Gaza. A raid by Israel Navy commandos led to the deaths of 10 Turkish citizens in a melee on deck. Turkey withdrew its ambassador and accused Israel of a “bloody massacre”

As a result of the "terrorism" experienced by the Americans, laws were passed to make the enemies of Israel the enemies of America. Hezbollah, Hamas, and other Palestinian freedom fighters were portrayed as terrorists and enemies of America and the world. Although they had nothing to do with September 11th, their funding was frozen. Everyone associated with them was treated and treated as a criminal in any part of the world and arrested. Islamic charitable societies that help victims of the Zionist aggression were closed, and many innocent Muslims were sentenced to long prison terms for donating money to these charities. As a result of the Israeli aggression, any Muslim who dared to fight was immediately described as a terrorist.<sup>335</sup>

US President Donald Trump said in a televised interview with an American channel that what might sound staggering for many, when the broadcaster asked him whether the world would be better if Saddam Hussein, Muammar Gaddafi, and Bashar al-Assad remained in power, he replied immediately: "I did not talk about Bashar Assad, but I speak certainly about the authority of Muammar Gaddafi and Saddam Hussein, if they were now in power in Libya and Iraq, the world would be in a hundred percent better position. See how the situation in Iraq and Libya became after their departure. It turned into a disaster. There were absolutely no terrorists in Iraq.

When the terrorists were appearing, Saddam Hussein was killing them immediately. Now, Iraq has turned into a hotbed of terrorism in the world, it has become a hotbed of terrorism and tomorrow too to train terrorists. I do not say that Saddam was a great person, but rather he was terrifying, yet the situation in his time was much better in Iraq than it is now".<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> - Ansar. *9/11 :Who Benefits?* . Rence.com, 09/12/2005. <https://renew.com/general67/benefits.htm>.

<sup>336</sup> - Donald Trump Mourns on Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi! He Wishes He Stayed in Power.

(31/12/2018). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c0LgYAMrc>

In an interview ,he also described that the decision of invading Iraq was the worst decision that the United States have had, and it should not have happened.<sup>337</sup>

The important point to mention is that Trump wants to withdraw his troops from Syria and leave the scene to Russia in order to exhaust the Eastern block and weaken their powers fighting gangs and proxy wars. The same thing is happening in Libya. Moreover, Russia returned back to the M. East very powerful especially now it has access to the warm waters of the Mediterranean. Nonetheless, Americans are withdrawing.

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<sup>337</sup>- Donald Trump Describes the Decision of Invading Iraq as the Worst Decision in American History.

(Youtube , 17/012017). [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0\\_8PyIgQQ8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0_8PyIgQQ8)

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# U.S.-Iraq Withdrawal/Status of Forces Agreement: Issues for Congressional Oversight

(name redacted)  
Legislative Attorney

January 21, 2011

Congressional Research Service

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[www.crs.gov](http://www.crs.gov)

R40011

## Summary

The United States has been involved in military operations in Iraq since March 2003. The legal framework under which the United States has operated includes H.J.Res. 114 (P.L. 107-243), multiple U.N. Security Council Resolutions, orders under the Coalition Provisional Authority, and, currently, agreement with the government of Iraq.

On November 26, 2007, U.S. President George W. Bush and Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri Kamel Al-Maliki signed a Declaration of Principles for a Long-Term Relationship of Cooperation and Friendship Between the Republic of Iraq and the United States of America. Pursuant to this Declaration, the parties pledged to “begin as soon as possible, with the aim to achieve, before July 31, 2008, agreements between the two governments with respect to the political, cultural, economic, and security spheres.” Among other things, the Declaration proclaims the parties’ intention to enter an agreement that would commit the United States to provide security assurances to Iraq, arm and train Iraqi security forces, and confront Al Qaeda and other terrorist entities within Iraqi territory.

On November 17, 2008, after months of negotiations, U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker and Iraq Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari signed two documents: (1) the Strategic Framework Agreement for a Relationship of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and the Republic of Iraq, and (2) the Agreement Between the United States of America and Republic of Iraq On the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq. The second agreement is commonly referred to as the SOFA between the United States and Iraq and is incorporated by reference into the larger strategic agreement.

Congress has several tools by which to exercise oversight regarding negotiation, form, conclusion, and implementation of agreements by the United States. The agreements with Iraq were negotiated and concluded as executive agreements and entered into force on January 1, 2009, and yet there remain many unanswered questions about the specific terms within the SOFA. As the withdrawal deadline of December 31, 2011, approaches, it remains to be seen if Iraq will be able to maintain security on its own and whether the United States will be able to complete the pullout in accordance with the terms of the Security Agreement. This report begins by discussing the historical legal framework governing U.S. military operations in Iraq. The report then provides a general background as to the content of agreements traditionally considered Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs). Finally, the report discusses specific aspects of the SOFA, highlighting issues that may require continued congressional oversight.

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## **Military Operations in Iraq: A Historical Perspective**

U.S. military operations in Iraq are congressionally authorized pursuant to H.J.Res. 114 (P.L. 107-243), which authorizes the President to use the armed forces of the United States

as he determines to be necessary and appropriate in order to - (1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2) enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.

It also requires as a predicate for the exercise of that authority that the President determine that diplomatic efforts and other peaceful means will be inadequate to meet these goals and that the use of force against Iraq is consistent with the battle against terrorism.<sup>1</sup> H.J.Res. 114 appears to incorporate any future resolutions concerning the continuing situation in Iraq that the Security Council may adopt, as well as those adopted prior to its enactment.<sup>2</sup> The authority also appears to extend beyond compelling Iraq's disarmament to addressing the full range of concerns expressed in those U.N. resolutions, as well as for the broad purpose of defending "the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq."

The United States and Great Britain, along with a number of other countries, invaded Iraq in March of 2003, asserting the authority to enforce compliance with earlier Security Council resolutions that addressed the situation in Iraq and Kuwait.<sup>3</sup> Other Security Council members disagreed with this interpretation of the previous resolutions, denying that these resolutions contained a continuing authorization to use force against Iraq. Despite the initial lack of consensus regarding the legality of the invasion, the Security Council adopted subsequent resolutions recognizing the occupation of Iraq and generally supporting the coalition's plans for bringing about a democratic government in Iraq.<sup>4</sup>

The first of these, Resolution 1511 (October 16, 2003), recognized the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and underscored the temporary nature of its obligations and authorities under international law, which it said would cease "when an internationally recognized, representative government established by the people of Iraq is sworn in and assumes the responsibilities of the [CPA]." (Para. 1). In paragraph 13, Resolution 1511 authorized

a multinational force under unified command to take all necessary measures to contribute to the maintenance of security and stability in Iraq, including for the purpose of ensuring necessary conditions for the implementation of the timetable and programme [for establishing a permanent government in Iraq] as well as to contribute to the security of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, the Governing Council of Iraq and other

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<sup>1</sup> In March 2003, President George W. Bush reported to Congress the determination that was required by P.L. 107-243 regarding his exercise of authority for military operations against Iraq. House Document 108-50. March 19, 2003. A report in connection with Presidential Determination under P.L. 107-243. Communication from the President of the United States transmitting a report consistent with Section 3(b) of the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002.

<sup>2</sup> For a historical overview of Security Council Resolutions addressing the situation in Iraq prior to 2003, see CRS Report RS21323, *The United Nations Security Council—Its Role in the Iraq Crisis: A Brief Overview*, by (name redacted).

<sup>3</sup> See Sean Murphy, *Assessing the Legality of Invading Iraq*, 92 Geo. L.J. 173 (2004).

<sup>4</sup> For an overview of the process, see CRS Report RL31339, *Iraq: Post-Saddam Governance and Security*, by (name redacted).

institutions of the Iraqi interim administration, and key humanitarian and economic infrastructure.

The Security Council included in Resolution 1511 a commitment to “review the requirements and mission of the multinational force ... not later than one year from the date of this resolution.” It further established that “in any case the mandate of the force shall expire upon the completion of the [electoral process outlined previously],” at which time the Security Council would be ready “to consider ... any future need for the continuation of the multinational force, taking into account the views of an internationally recognized, representative government of Iraq.”

The Security Council resolutions do not provide for the immunity of coalition troops from Iraqi legal processes. A SOFA was not deemed possible prior to the recognition of a permanent government in Iraq.<sup>5</sup> Immunity for coalition soldiers, contract workers, and other foreign personnel in Iraq in connection with security and reconstruction was established by order of the CPA, which relied for its authority on the laws and usages of war (as consistent with relevant Security Council resolutions). CPA Order 17, Status of the Coalition Provisional Authority, MNF - Iraq, Certain Missions and Personnel in Iraq,<sup>6</sup> established that all personnel of the multinational force (MNF) and the CPA, and all International Consultants, are immune from Iraqi legal process, which are defined to include “arrest, detention or proceedings in Iraqi courts or other Iraqi bodies, whether criminal, civil, or administrative.” Such persons are nevertheless expected to respect applicable Iraqi laws, but are subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of their “Sending States.” States contributing personnel to the multinational force have the right to exercise within Iraq any criminal and disciplinary jurisdiction conferred on them by their domestic law over all persons subject to their military law.<sup>7</sup>

In June, 2004, in anticipation of the dissolution of the CPA and handover of sovereignty to the Interim Government of Iraq, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1546, reaffirming the authorization for the multinational force in Resolution 1511 while noting that its presence in Iraq “is at the request of the incoming Interim Government of Iraq.” The terms of the mandate for the MNF are expressed in paragraph 12, in which the Security Council

Decides further that the mandate for the multinational force shall be reviewed at the request of the Government of Iraq or twelve months from the date of this resolution, and that this mandate shall expire upon the completion of the political process set out ... above, and declares that it will terminate this mandate earlier if requested by the Government of Iraq.

Resolution 1546 incorporated letters from U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and Prime Minister of the Interim Government of Iraq Dr. Ayad Allawi. Secretary Powell wrote:

In order to continue to contribute to security, the MNF must continue to function under a framework that affords the force and its personnel the status that they need to accomplish their mission, and in which the contributing states have responsibility for exercising jurisdiction over their personnel and which will ensure arrangements for, and use of assets

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<sup>5</sup> The United States reportedly made an effort to establish a SOFA with the Iraqi Governing Council prior to the handover of sovereignty and establishment of the Iraqi Interim Government, but Iraqi officials took the view that only a permanently established government in Iraq would have the authority to enter binding international agreements. See Robin Wright, “U.S. Immunity in Iraq Will Go Beyond June 30,” *Washington Post*, June 24, 2004, at A01.

<sup>6</sup> Available at [http://www.iraqcoalition.org/regulations/20040627\\_CPAORD\\_17\\_Status\\_of\\_Coalition\\_Rev\\_with\\_Annex\\_A.pdf](http://www.iraqcoalition.org/regulations/20040627_CPAORD_17_Status_of_Coalition_Rev_with_Annex_A.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* § 4.

by, the MNF. The existing framework governing these matters is sufficient for these purposes. In addition, the forces that make up the MNF are and will remain committed at all times to act consistently with their obligations under the law of armed conflict, including the Geneva Conventions.

Prior to the handover of sovereignty to the interim government, Ambassador Bremer issued CPA Order 100 to revise existing CPA orders, chiefly by substituting the MNF-Iraq for the CPA and otherwise reflecting the new political situation.<sup>8</sup> CPA Order 100 stated that its purpose was

to ensure that the Iraqi Interim Government and all subsequent Iraqi governments inherit full responsibility for these laws, regulations, orders, memoranda, instructions and directives so that their implementation after the transfer of full governing authority may reflect the expectations of the Iraqi people, as determined by a fully empowered and sovereign Iraqi Government.<sup>9</sup>

Under Article 26 of the Transitional Administrative Law of Iraq (TAL),<sup>10</sup> “The laws, regulations, orders, and directives issued by the Coalition Provisional Authority pursuant to its authority under international law shall remain in force until rescinded or amended by legislation duly enacted and having the force of law.”

Accordingly, CPA Order 17 (as revised) survived the transfer of authority to the Iraqi Interim Government, which took no action to amend or rescind it. Iraq’s permanent constitution was adopted in 2005. Article 130 of the permanent constitution continues the validity of existing laws, presumably including CPA Orders that were not rescinded by the Transitional Government.

The U.N. Security Council extended the mandate for the multinational forces until December 31, 2006,<sup>11</sup> and again until December 31, 2007,<sup>12</sup> and finally, until December 31, 2008.<sup>13</sup> Iraqi Prime Minister al-Maliki requested the Security Council extend the MNF mandate “one last time” until the end of December, 2008, “provided that the extension is subject to a commitment by the Security Council to end the mandate at an earlier date if the Government of Iraq so requests and that the mandate is subject to periodic review before June 2008.”<sup>14</sup>

On November 26, 2007, U.S. President George W. Bush and Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri Kamel Al-Maliki signed a Declaration of Principles for a Long-Term Relationship of Cooperation and Friendship Between the Republic of Iraq and the United States of America.<sup>15</sup> Pursuant to this

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<sup>8</sup> CPA Order 100, Transition of Laws, Regulations, Orders, and Directives Issued by the Coalition Provisional Authority, June 28, 2004, available at [http://www.iraqcoalition.org/regulations/20040628\\_CPAORD\\_100\\_Transition\\_of\\_Laws\\_Regulations\\_Orders\\_and\\_Directives.pdf](http://www.iraqcoalition.org/regulations/20040628_CPAORD_100_Transition_of_Laws_Regulations_Orders_and_Directives.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* § 1.

<sup>10</sup> Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period, 8 March 2004, available at <http://law.case.edu/saddamtrial/documents/TAL.pdf>.

<sup>11</sup> U.N.S.C. Res. 1637 (November 11, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> U.N.S.C. Res. 1723 (November 28, 2006).

<sup>13</sup> U.N.S.C. Res. 1790 (December 18, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Nouri Kamel Al-Maliki, Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq, to the Security Council, attached as Annex I to U.N.S.C. Res. 1790.

<sup>15</sup> The text of this agreement is available at [http://iraq.usembassy.gov/pr\\_11262007.html](http://iraq.usembassy.gov/pr_11262007.html) [hereinafter “*Declaration of Principles*”]. The Declaration is rooted in an August 26, 2007 communiqué, signed by five top political leaders in Iraq, which called for a long-term relationship with the United States. The strategic arrangement contemplated in the Declaration is intended to ultimately replace the United Nations mandate under which the United States and allied (continued...)

Declaration, the parties pledged to “begin as soon as possible, with the aim to achieve, before July 31, 2008, agreements between the two governments with respect to the political, cultural, economic, and security spheres.”<sup>16</sup> Among other things, the Declaration proclaims the parties’ intention to negotiate a security agreement

To support the Iraqi government in training, equipping, and arming the Iraqi Security Forces so they can provide security and stability to all Iraqis; support the Iraqi government in contributing to the international fight against terrorism by confronting terrorists such as Al-Qaeda, its affiliates, other terrorist groups, as well as all other outlaw groups, such as criminal remnants of the former regime; and to provide security assurances to the Iraqi Government to deter any external aggression and to ensure the integrity of Iraq’s territory.<sup>17</sup>

During a joint hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia and the Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight, on March 4, 2008, Ambassador David M. Satterfield, Senior Advisor to the Secretary and Coordinator for Iraq, testified that seven background briefings by senior administration officials had been held with Members of Congress concerning the prospective U.S.-Iraq agreement.<sup>18</sup> He further testified concerning the Administration’s intent to negotiate two separate agreements with Iraq. The first agreement would constitute a legally-binding SOFA to define the legal status of U.S. forces within Iraq. The second agreement, described as a “strategic framework agreement,” would broadly address topics outlined in the Declaration of Principles. According to Ambassador Satterfield, the Administration does “not at this stage contemplate it as a legally-binding agreement.... Should that change in the course of the discussions, we will, of course, so inform the Congress and we’ll take appropriate measures in accordance with our constitutional provisions.”<sup>19</sup> However, according to the U.S. Department of State the “strategic framework” agreement is considered a legally-binding agreement between the United States and Iraq, and as such, is listed in the publication *Treaties In Force*.<sup>20</sup>

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(...continued)

forces are responsible for contributing to the security of Iraq. For further background on the implications of the prospective U.S.-Iraq agreement, see *The Proposed U.S. Security Commitment to Iraq: What Will Be In It and Should It Be a Treaty?: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight & Subcomm. on the Middle East and South Asia of the House Comm. on Foreign Affairs*, January 23, 2008 (statement by CRS Specialist (name redacted)). For further discussion of U.S. operations in Iraq and issues related to Iraqi governance and security, see CRS Report RL31339, *Iraq: Post-Saddam Governance and Security*, by (name redacted), and CRS Report RL33793, *Iraq: Regional Perspectives and U.S. Policy*, coordinated by (name redacted)

<sup>16</sup> *Declaration of Principles*, *supra* footnote 15.

<sup>17</sup> White House Office of the Press Secretary, *Fact Sheet: U.S.-Iraq Declaration of Principles for Friendship and Cooperation*, November 26, 2007, available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/11/20071126-1.html>.

<sup>18</sup> *Hearing of the Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia, and the Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; Declaration and Principles: Future U.S. Commitments to Iraq*, March 4, 2008 (statement by Ambassador David M. Satterfield in response to question by Representative William Delahunt).

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* (statement by Ambassador David M. Satterfield in response to question by Representative William Delahunt concerning legally-binding nature of proposed agreement).

<sup>20</sup> *Treaties in Force: A List of Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States in Force on January 1, 2010*. Prepared by the Department of State for the purpose of providing information on treaties and other international agreements to which the United States is a party and which are carried on the records of the Department of State as being in force as of January 1, 2010. Available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/143863.pdf>.

On November 17, 2008, after months of negotiations, U.S. Ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker and Iraq Foreign Minister Hoshyar Zebari signed two documents: (1) the Strategic Framework Agreement for a Relationship of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States and the Republic of Iraq, and (2) the Agreement Between the United States of America and Republic of Iraq On the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq. The second agreement is commonly referred to as the SOFA between the United States and Iraq and is incorporated by reference into the larger strategic agreement.<sup>21</sup> The agreements, while negotiated and concluded as executive agreements by the U.S. government and without the consent of the Congress,<sup>22</sup> required approval on multiple levels by the Iraqi government. The Iraqi Council of Ministers first approved the agreements on November 16, 2008; the Iraq Council of Representatives followed on November 27, 2008; and finally the Iraqi Presidential Council approved them on December 4, 2008. The agreements entered into force on January 1, 2009, following an exchange of diplomatic notes between the United States and Iraq, and are set to expire on December 31, 2011.

## What is a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)?

A SOFA is an agreement that establishes the framework under which armed forces operate within a foreign country.<sup>23</sup> The agreement provides for rights and privileges of covered individuals while in the foreign jurisdiction, addressing how the domestic laws of the foreign jurisdiction shall be applied to U.S. personnel.<sup>24</sup> SOFAs are peacetime documents and therefore do not address the rules of war, the Law of Armed Conflict, or the Law of the Sea. In the event of armed conflict between parties to a SOFA, and because the agreement is a contract between the parties and may be canceled at the will of either, the terms of the agreement would no longer be applicable.

With the exception of the multilateral SOFA among the United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries, a SOFA is specific to an individual country and is in the form of an executive agreement.<sup>25</sup> The Department of State and the Department of Defense, working together, identify the need for a SOFA with a particular country and negotiate the terms of the agreement. The NATO SOFA<sup>26</sup> is the only SOFA that was concluded as part of a treaty.<sup>27</sup> The

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<sup>21</sup> Strategic Framework Agreement for a Relationship of Friendship and Cooperation between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq, Section III, November 17, 2008.

<sup>22</sup> For further background on tools available to Congress related to oversight, see CRS Report RL34362, *Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning the Prospective Security Agreement Between the United States and Iraq*, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and (name redacted).

<sup>23</sup> For additional background on SOFAs, see CRS Report RL34531, *Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA): What Is It, and How Has It Been Utilized?*, by (name redacted). (It must be noted that there are at least 10 SOFAs that currently are classified documents. The agreements are classified for national security reasons and therefore their attributes are not discussed in this report.)

<sup>24</sup> U.S. personnel may include U.S. armed forces personnel, Department of Defense civilian employees, and/or contractors working for the Department of Defense. The scope of applicability is specifically defined in each agreement.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion on the form and content of international agreements under U.S. law, distinguishing between treaties and executive agreements, see CRS Report RL34362, *Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning the Prospective Security Agreement Between the United States and Iraq*, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and (name redacted).

<sup>26</sup> 4 U.S.T. 1792; T.I.A.S. 2846; 199 U.N.T.S. 67. Signed at London, June 19, 1951. Entered into force August 23, 1953.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., Agreement under Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Regarding Facilities and (continued...)



Senate approved ratification of the NATO SOFA on March 19, 1970, subject to reservations. The resolution included a statement

that nothing in the Agreement diminishes, abridges, or alters the right of the United States to safeguard its own security by excluding or removing persons whose presence in the United States is deemed prejudicial to its safety or security, and that no person whose presence in the United States is deemed prejudicial to its safety or security shall be permitted to enter or remain in the United States.<sup>28</sup>

The Senate reservations to the NATO SOFA include four conditions: (1) the criminal jurisdiction provisions contained in Article VII of the agreement do not constitute a precedent for future agreements; (2) when a servicemember is to be tried by authorities in a receiving state, the commanding officer of the U.S. armed forces in that state shall review the laws of the receiving state with reference to the procedural safeguards of the U.S. Constitution; (3) if the commanding officer believes there is danger that the servicemember will not be protected because of the absence or denial of constitutional rights the accused would receive in the United States, the commanding officer shall request that the receiving state waive its jurisdiction; and (4) a representative of the United States be appointed to attend the trial of any servicemember being tried by the receiving state and act to protect the constitutional rights of the servicemember.<sup>29</sup>

The Department of Defense issued Directive 5525.1 providing policy and guidance specific to SOFAs.<sup>30</sup> The Department of Defense policy is “to protect, to the maximum extent possible, the rights of U.S. personnel who may be subject to criminal trial by foreign courts and imprisonment in foreign prisons.”<sup>31</sup> The directive addresses the Senate reservations to the NATO SOFA by stating even though the reservations accompanying its ratification only apply to NATO member countries where it is applicable, comparable reservations shall be applied to future SOFAs. Specifically, the policy states that “the same procedures for safeguarding the interests of U.S. personnel subject to foreign jurisdiction” be applied when practicable in overseas areas where U.S. forces are stationed.<sup>32</sup>

There are no formal requirements governing the content, detail, and length of a SOFA and the United States has concluded agreements as short as one page and in excess of 200 pages. A SOFA may address, but is not limited to, criminal and civil jurisdiction, the wearing of uniforms, taxes and fees, carrying of weapons, use of radio frequencies, license requirements, and customs regulations. They do not generally authorize specific military operations or missions by U.S. forces, but the inherent right of self-defense is not affected or diminished. U.S. personnel always have a right to defend themselves, if threatened or attacked, and a SOFA does not take away that right.<sup>33</sup>

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Areas and the Status of United States Armed Forces in Japan, 11 U.S.T. 1652, entered into force Jun. 23, 1960 (SOFA in the form of an executive agreement pursuant to a treaty).

<sup>28</sup> S. Res. of July 15, 1953, Advising and Consenting to Ratification of the NATO SOFA. *See also* 32 C.F.R. § 151.6.

<sup>29</sup> *Id.*

<sup>30</sup> Available at <http://www.dtic.mil/whs/directives/corres/pdf/552501p.pdf>.

<sup>31</sup> *Id.*

<sup>32</sup> *Id.*

<sup>33</sup> *See* CJCSI 3121.01B, Standing Rules of Engagement for US Forces (U), June 13, 2005. (The SROE is a classified document, but portions are unclassified).

The issue most commonly addressed in a SOFA is the legal protection from prosecution that will be afforded U.S. personnel while present in a foreign country. The agreement establishes which party to the agreement is able to assert criminal and/or civil jurisdiction. In other words, the agreement establishes how the domestic civil and criminal laws are applied to U.S. personnel while serving in a foreign country. The United States has entered agreements where it maintains exclusive jurisdiction, but the more common agreement results in shared jurisdiction between the United States and the other signatory country. Exclusive jurisdiction is when the United States retains the right to exercise all criminal and disciplinary jurisdiction for violations of the laws of the foreign nation while the individual is present in that country. Shared jurisdiction occurs when each party to the agreement retains exclusive jurisdiction over certain offenses but also allows the United States to request that the host country waive jurisdiction in favor of the United States exercising criminal and disciplinary jurisdiction. The right to exert jurisdiction over U.S. personnel is not solely limited to when an individual is located on a military installation. It may cover individuals off the installation as well. The right to exert jurisdiction can result in complete immunity from the laws of the receiving country while the individual is present in that country.

## **U.S.-Iraq Withdrawal/Status of Forces Agreement**

The withdrawal agreement signed on November 17, 2008, is included by reference as part of the larger strategic agreement and although it is titled differently, it is commonly referred to as the SOFA. As indicated above, there are no formal requirements as to the content, detail or length of a SOFA, but many agreements share the same basic framework, and this one is no different. Rules and procedures related to such issues as carrying weapons, the wearing of uniforms, entry and exit into Iraq, taxes, customs, and claims, among other operational concerns, are addressed in the agreement. While there are many similarities between this and other SOFAs concluded by the United States, most do not have an expiration date, but this agreement is set to expire on December 31, 2011. Additionally, there are substantial departures from the clauses most often found in a traditional SOFA, including, in such areas as civil and criminal jurisdiction, the authorization for military operations, the establishment of a withdrawal timeline, and the creation of committees to implement the agreement.

### **Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction**

The right to assert criminal and civil jurisdiction is a common component of SOFAs and is addressed in Article 12 of this agreement. The agreement creates two distinct classes of individuals: (1) U.S. forces, including the civilian component, and (2) U.S. contractors and their employees.<sup>34</sup> The two classes are treated differently with respect to civil and criminal jurisdiction. Iraq maintains exclusive jurisdiction over U.S. contractors and their employees, but shares jurisdiction with the United States over U.S. forces, including the civilian component. As the term is defined in the agreement, “U.S. contractors and their employees” only applies to contractors that are operating under a contract/subcontract with or for the United States Forces.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, U.S. contractors operating in Iraq under contract to other U.S. departments/agencies are not

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<sup>34</sup> Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq, Article 12, November 17, 2008 [hereinafter *Withdrawal Agreement*].

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*, Article 2.5.

subject to the terms of the SOFA. In what appears to be the first assertion of jurisdiction by Iraq, the Ministry of Interior announced on June 3, 2009, that Iraqi Security Forces arrested five American contractors as part of an investigation into the killing of James Kitterman, an American contractor found dead in Baghdad's Green Zone.<sup>36</sup>

According to the terms of the agreement, Iraq is able to assert exclusive jurisdiction over U.S. forces, including the civilian component, for the commission of "grave premeditated felonies" while off-duty and outside agreed upon facilities and areas.<sup>37</sup> What crimes constitute a grave premeditated felony is not further defined. Rather, the agreement calls for the creation of a U.S.–Iraqi Joint Committee to enumerate the grave premeditated felonies.<sup>38</sup> Only after the committee enumerates the offenses, and also establishes procedures and mechanisms consistent with due process standards and protections available under U.S. and Iraqi law, will Iraq be able to assert jurisdiction over U.S. forces and members of the civilian component.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, Iraq is required to give notice to the United States within 21 days of discovery of the alleged offense that it intends to assert jurisdiction.<sup>40</sup> At that point, the United States may request that Iraq waive its right to jurisdiction, but Iraq is not obligated to relinquish its right.<sup>41</sup>

All offenses committed by U.S. forces or members of the civilian component, not considered grave premeditated felonies, remain under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States. The U.S. forces and civilian components are entitled to due process standards and protections pursuant to the Constitution and laws of the United States.<sup>42</sup> In the event that the victim of the crime is an Iraqi citizen, the United States, when mutually agreed by the parties, will seek to hold the trial of the accused in Iraq, but if it isn't feasible to do so, efforts will be undertaken to allow for the personal attendance of the victim at the trial in the United States.<sup>43</sup>

If a member of the U.S. forces or civilian component commits an offense considered to be a grave premeditated felony, a determination must be made as to duty status. If the individual is determined to not be in a duty status, Iraq will be able to assert jurisdiction. However, if the determination is made that the individual is in a duty status at the time of the offense, the U.S. will retain exclusive jurisdiction. The determination of duty status is the responsibility of the U.S. authorities.<sup>44</sup> If the Iraqi authorities believe that an individual was not in a duty status and therefore should be subject to their jurisdiction, they may appeal the determination to the Joint

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<sup>36</sup> The five contractors were detained on the basis of possession of controlled items during a search as part of the investigation. According to an Iraqi government spokesman, three of the detained contractors were released due to a lack of evidence, but Iraq retained custody of the remaining two contractors on drug issues. Our research did not produce additional status updates on the remaining detained contractors. See *Iraq Status Report*, U.S Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, June 10, 2009. Available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/124886.pdf>.

<sup>37</sup> *Withdrawal Agreement*, Article 12.1.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*, Article 12.8.

<sup>39</sup> *Id.*, Article 12.8.

<sup>40</sup> *Id.*, Article 12.6.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.*

<sup>42</sup> *Id.*, Article 12.7.

<sup>43</sup> *Id.*

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*, Article 12.9.

Committee, the same committee responsible for establishing the procedures and mechanisms for asserting jurisdiction, but the ultimate determination remains with the U.S. authorities.<sup>45</sup>

Article 12 of the agreement also includes one very unusual clause, a requirement to review the terms of the article every 6 months.<sup>46</sup> While the overall agreement is for a term of three years, and may be canceled by either party with one-year notice, the terms of the civil and criminal jurisdiction clause are reviewable, but the agreement does not specify any mechanisms for modifying the agreement. It remains to be seen who would approve the changes. Would it require the consent of all the political bodies in Iraq, like the original agreement, or might it be changed at a lower level?

## **Military Operations**

As noted above, the right to engage in military operations is not something found in previously concluded SOFAs. However, this agreement is different in that it specifically addresses military operations by U.S. forces in cooperation with Iraqi forces. In Article 4, Iraq requests the temporary assistance of the United States in supporting Iraqi forces in efforts to maintain security and stability in Iraq.<sup>47</sup> Iraq specifically requests assistance with cooperation in the conduct of operation against al-Qaeda, other terrorist groups, outlaw groups, and remnants of the former regime.<sup>48</sup>

All military operations conducted must be with the agreement of the Government of Iraq.<sup>49</sup> The agreement calls for the creation of a new Joint Military Operations Coordination Committee (JMOCC) which will oversee the coordination of all military operations.<sup>50</sup> There is an additional requirement that all operations shall not infringe upon the sovereignty of Iraq and its national interests, as defined by Iraq, and U.S. forces must respect the laws, customs, and traditions of Iraq.<sup>51</sup> It has been suggested that U.S. forces are in some manner under foreign command and control through the creation of the JMOCC, but there is nothing in the agreement that would lead to this belief. The agreement calls for coordination of activities and operations. It doesn't appear to require the Iraqi government controls the operations. Additionally, the requirement that U.S. forces respect the laws, customs, and traditions of the foreign country is a common clause found in many, if not all, SOFAs.

The potential for military operations is also addressed in Article 27 (Deterrence of Security Threats) of the agreement. The agreement calls for "strategic deliberations" in the event of external or internal threat or aggression against Iraq, and states the United States "shall take appropriate measures, including diplomatic, economic, or military measures" to deter the threat.<sup>52</sup> It has been argued that this clause requires the United States to come to the defense of Iraq, and therefore this agreement is more than a SOFA; but rather it is a security agreement and requires

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<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*, Article 12.10.

<sup>47</sup> *Id.*, Article 4.1.

<sup>48</sup> *Id.*

<sup>49</sup> *Id.*, Article 4.2.

<sup>50</sup> *Id.*

<sup>51</sup> *Id.*, Article 4.3.

<sup>52</sup> *Id.*, Article 27.1.

the input and consent of Congress.<sup>53</sup> When the clause is read in its entirety, the United States is not required to do anything other than engage in strategic deliberations, and then only at the request of Iraq. As part of the deliberations, all options are available to the parties, including military measures, but none are absolutely required actions.<sup>54</sup>

## Withdrawal Timeline

SOFAs have been drafted in the past for specific exercises and/or events,<sup>55</sup> but including a date for the withdrawal of all forces from a foreign territory appears unique to this agreement.<sup>56</sup> The withdrawal is a two-phase process. The first requires the withdrawal of all U.S. combat forces from Iraqi cities, villages, and localities no later than June 30, 2009; the second requires the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Iraqi territory no later than December 31, 2011.<sup>57</sup> The JMOCC, created to coordinate military operations, will establish the areas and facilities where U.S. forces will be stationed between June 30, 2009, and December 31, 2011.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, the agreement recognizes the sovereign right of Iraq to request the departure of U.S. forces at any time and also the right of the United States to withdraw its forces at any time.<sup>59</sup> Even though the term of the agreement is three years, and either party may cancel the agreement with one-year notice, both countries retain the right to remove U.S. forces independent of the agreement. In an April, 2009, interview, General Odierno, Commanding General of Multi-National Force Iraq, stated that U.S. forces may not meet the June 30, 2009, deadline to withdraw from Iraqi cities.<sup>60</sup> However, on June 30, 2009, General Odierno announced that U.S. combat forces had completed the withdrawal from Iraqi cities in accordance with the agreement.<sup>61</sup>

As of August 31, 2010, the United States had withdrawn the last major combat unit, the U.S. Army's 4<sup>th</sup> Stryker Brigade Combat Team, 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division, allowing Iraq to officially take over combat operations within the country.<sup>62</sup> The post-combat phase of operations, Operation New Dawn, includes the presence of approximately 50,000 U.S. troops conducting stability operations, focusing on advising, assisting, and training Iraqi Security Forces in how to handle their own security.<sup>63</sup> Although the United States has transitioned from combat operations,

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<sup>53</sup> For a discussion on security agreements, see CRS Report RL34362, *Congressional Oversight and Related Issues Concerning the Prospective Security Agreement Between the United States and Iraq*, by (name redacted), (name redacted), and (name redacted).

<sup>54</sup> *Withdrawal Agreement*, Article 27.1.

<sup>55</sup> For a survey of current U.S. SOFAs, see CRS Report RL34531, *Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA): What Is It, and How Has It Been Utilized?*, by (name redacted).

<sup>56</sup> *Withdrawal Agreement*, Article 24.

<sup>57</sup> *Id.*, Articles 24.1 and 24.2.

<sup>58</sup> *Id.*, Article 24.3.

<sup>59</sup> *Id.*, Article 24.4.

<sup>60</sup> Deborah Haynes, "General Ray Odierno: we may miss Iraq deadline to halt al-Qaeda terror," *Times Online*, April 9, 2009. (A joint U.S.-Iraqi assessment would determine if the forces should remain in certain cities in order to continue fighting members of Al Qaeda. The ultimate decision to maintain the troop presence beyond the June 30, 2009, withdrawal deadline rested with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki.) Available at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/iraq/article6069734.ece>.

<sup>61</sup> Statement of General Odierno, Department of Defense News Briefing from Iraq, June 30, 2009. Available at [http://www.mnf-iraq.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=27118&Itemid=131](http://www.mnf-iraq.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=27118&Itemid=131).

<sup>62</sup> Aamer Madhani, "Withdrawal of U.S. combat forces is 'New Dawn' for Iraq," *USA Today*, August 19, 2010 available at [http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2010-08-20-iraq20\\_ST\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/iraq/2010-08-20-iraq20_ST_N.htm).

<sup>63</sup> "Operation New Dawn," *Army Live, The Official Blog of the United States Army*, September 1, 2010 available at (continued...)

allowing the Iraqi military to take the lead in maintaining security within Iraq, it remains to be seen if the security situation will allow for the complete withdrawal of U.S. forces by the end of 2011. Some within the Iraqi government have argued that the United States should not completely withdraw according to the terms of the Security Agreement, while others have argued that even though Iraq may not be fully ready to maintain security, it will not require the presence of U.S. forces beyond the end of 2011.<sup>64</sup> It is unclear what types of agreements, if any, may be concluded with Iraq upon the expiration of the current Security Agreement, or whether the parties will seek to amend the existing Agreement to extend its duration and the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq.<sup>65</sup>

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<http://armylive.dodlive.mil/index.php/2010/09/operation-new-dawn/>.

<sup>64</sup> Jomana Karadsheh, "Spokesman: Iraq will stand by U.S. troop withdrawal deadline," *CNN World*, August 12, 2010

<sup>65</sup> For additional background on the Iraq war, see CRS Report RL34387, *Operation Iraqi Freedom: Strategies, Approaches, Results, and Issues for Congress*, by (name redacted).

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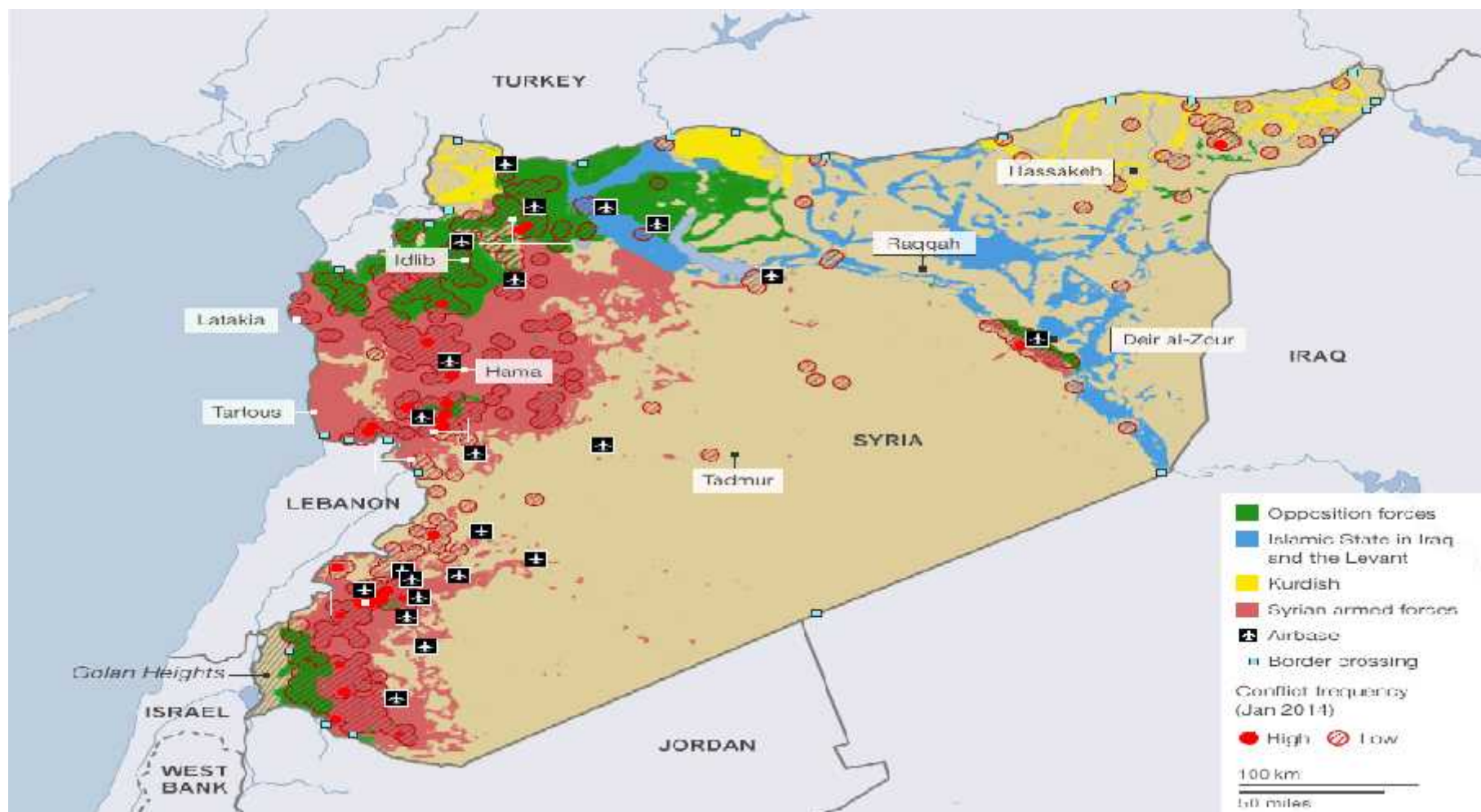
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Map 1: Damascus countryside, Aleppo, Homs, Daraa, Hama and Lattakia, 2014





Map 2: Central Command (CENTCOM)

## Politique étrangère Américaine au Moyen-Orient après 1945, étude de cas Irak, Syrie

### Résumé

Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les médias américains, à travers des techniques de propagande, ont convaincu le peuple qu'un énorme établissement militaire américain était nécessaire pour contenir un mouvement communiste mondial expansionniste avec son quartier général à Moscou. La Grande-Bretagne était la puissance occidentale dominante au Moyen-Orient jusqu'aux années 1960, et l'influence américaine a été contrée dans une grande partie de la région par l'Union Soviétique jusqu'à la fin de la guerre froide. L'effondrement de l'empire soviétique a créé un vide de pouvoir qui a été comblé par les États-Unis, d'abord dans le golfe Persique après la guerre du Golfe, puis en Asie centrale à la suite de la guerre en Afghanistan. Les États-Unis ont utilisé leur pouvoir pour sauvegarder tous leurs intérêts nationaux dans la région. Par exemple, envahir l'Irak. Certains intérêts nationaux sont en quelque sorte contradictoire. Par exemple, la sécurité d'Israël en affaiblissant ses voisins comme la Syrie; et le besoin de pétrole des États arabes de la région.

**Mots clés :** Politique étrangère Américaine, Moyen-Orient, Iraq, Syrie, Deuxième Guerre Mondiale.

### American Foreign Policy in the Middle East after 194 - Case study: Iraq, Syria

#### Abstract

After the Second World War the American main stream media, through propaganda techniques, was convincing the people that a huge U.S military establishment was necessary to contain an expansionist world Communist movement with its headquarters in Moscow. Britain was the dominant Western power in the Middle East until the 1960s, and U.S. influence was countered in much of the region by the Soviet Union until the end of the Cold War. The collapse of the Soviet empire created a power vacuum which has been filled by the U.S., first in the Persian Gulf following the Gulf war, and later in Central Asia as a result of the Afghan war. The United States used its power to safeguard all its national interests in the region. For instance, invading Iraq. Some national interests are in some ways contradictory to each other. For example, the security of Israel through weakening its neighbors like Syria; and the need for oil from the Arab states in the region.

**Key words:** American foreign policy, Middle East, Iraq, Syria, Second World War.

السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط بعد عام 1945 ، دراسة حالة العراق ، سوريا

#### ملخص

العالمية الثانية،  
شيعية  
الأمريكي  
انهيار الإمبراطورية السوفيتية  
نتيجة  
الأفغانية.  
الوطنية  
سوريا؛  
العربية

الأمريكية،  
ومقرها  
السوفيتي  
الولايات  
بعضها  
العربية

الدعاية رفيعة  
بريطانيا هي  
نهاية  
ملأته الولايات  
قوتها لحماية جميع مصالحها الوطنية  
سبيل

العربية المهيمنة  
الولايات  
سبيل  
إسرائيل

عسكرية أمريكية  
سنتينيات

الخليج  
سبيل  
جيرانها

ضرورة  
العشرين  
آسيا

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية سوريا العالمية الثانية