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## **The Neoconservative Agenda, the Oil Interests and the War on Iraq 2003**

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in English*

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## **Dedication**

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## **Abstract**

The present research examines the issue of the Iraq invasion 2003, and the major driving forces behind it. The invasion was undertaken by the Bush Jr. administration for the sake of achieving specific old agenda. It asserts that the war was not a current result of the 9/11 and its aftermath of fighting global terror. However, it was snowballing among the veteran actual policy makers even before their coming to the White House. The major operants who enhanced the war consisted into two categories; the Straussian neoconservatives with their fantasy to the hegemony of the United States and unquestioned support to Israel, and the over- rich oilmen with their thirst to Iraq's oil reserves. The alliance inside the White House worked rapidly to enact the legality of invasion, especially, after the raise of the global terror notion and the necessity to eradicate it. Also, the thesis explores the main political scenes that accompanied the pre-war process and dwells in the intelligentsia's rational opinion about war's dimensions. Deep insight focused on the invalidity stereotype of the U.S. senior officials and propagandist intellectuals' claims to promote the U.S. western ideals abroad. Eventually, the thesis looks into the severe violations on the right of Iraqis and robbery that occurred in the aftermath of main military operation official end. In the propose study we are aiming at clarifying the weaknesses of the neoconservative asserts, and uncover the oil cartels' greed, consequently, reaching the real ends behind the war on Iraq.

## ملخص

يفحص هذا البحث قضية الغزو الأمريكي للعراق العام 2003 وأهم الأسباب الدافعة لذلك. هذا الغزو الذي تم خلال إدارة الرئيس بوش الابن من اجل تحقيق أجندة سابقة، حيث يتناول البحث واقع أن غزو العراق لم يكن وليد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر و ما تلاها من موجة الحرب على الإرهاب العالمي، بل حقيقة أن فكرة الحرب تبلورت ضمن أوساط الصناع الفعليين للسياسة الأمريكية حتى قبل وصولهم إلى سدة الحكم في البيت الأبيض. اللاعبون الاساسيون في إثارة الحرب يندرجون ضمن تكتلين أساسيين: المحافظون الجدد و ولعهم بالهيمنة الأمريكية و دعمهم غير المشروط للكيان الإسرائيلي بالإضافة إلى عمالقة النفط و عطشهم إلى المخزون الاحتياطي النفطي للعراق. تحالف التكتلين داخل البيت الأبيض سرع عملية تشريع الغزو خصوصا في ظل تنامي فكرة الإرهاب العالمي و الضرورة الملحة لاستئصاله. هذا البحث أيضا، يستعرض أهم المشاهد السياسية التي زامنت فترة ما قبل الحرب مستشهدا بالأراء المنطقية للمفكرين حول مختلف أبعادها. كما يعن في الاسطوانة المشروخة لأكابر الرسميين و المفكرين الدعائيين حول مزاعم الولايات المتحدة في نشر مثلها الغربية حول بقاع العالم. في الأخير، هذا البحث يستظهر التجاوزات الصارخة و الجرائم المرتكبة في حق العراقيين، و عمليات النهب التي تلت النهاية الرسمية للعمليات العسكرية الأساسية. في هذه الدراسة، نحن نسعى لتبيين ضعف حجة المحافظين الجدد و كشف جشع عمالقة النفط الاحتكاريين، و بالتالي استنتاج أهم الأسباب الأساسية وراء الحرب.

## List of Acronyms

ABM:	Anti –Ballistic Missile
ACDA:	Arm Control and Disarmament Agency
AEI :	American Enterprise Institute
CEO :	Chief Executive Officer
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
CTEG:	Counter- Terrorism Evaluation Group
EIA:	Energy Information Administration
INC:	Iraqi National Congress
IPI:	International Petroleum Institute
ISI:	Inter-Service Intelligence
KBR:	Kellogg Brown and Roots
MPA:	Master Business Administration
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSC:	National Security Council
NSS:	National Security Strategy
OPEC:	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSP:	Office of Special Plans
PNAC:	Project for the New American Century
SALT:	Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
U.S.:	United States
UN:	United Nation
UNMOVIC:	United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspection
UNSCOM:	United Nation Special Commission
USLAW:	United States Labor Against the War
WMD:	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WWII:	Second World War

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## General Introduction

The American led-invasion to Iraq 2003 has been encircled by doubts. The propaganda that was aiming at ameliorating the war's image was vulnerable, and the occupation itself had been disputing the U.S. arguments through the 116 months that the occupation lasted for. The administration senior officials belonging to the neoconservative credo and to the oil interests were unstoppable in their furious endeavors. Their goals were at the top of the U.S. administration agenda. Consequently, invading Iraq was becoming conceded issue. The conditions that accompanied the 2000 presidential campaign; the return of veteran administrators from the Reagan era, the infiltration of the oilmen into the political arena, and the exhausted but oil wealthy Iraq, were heavy actors that convulsed the American reputation during the Bush Jr. first term.

For Intellectuals, it was hard to believe that the war over Iraq has been a pure American struggle for idealistic world, and in worst case, a defensive phase against the external threat. In fact, the intellectuals were not exaggerating when they considered that the Iraq war had been a tough daring link in an enduring long-term new imperialistic agenda. The Bush's decisiveness as a doer rather than a thinker, the centralization of the neoconservative hawks at the level of the Pentagon and advising apparatus; in addition, to the greed of the capitalist oil cartels shaped the major leading forces behind the Iraq invasion.

The story began in September 2000, when a Washington think-tank, co-founded by a staunch neoconservative such as William Kristol, a famous political magazine editor, Paul Wolfowitz, occupied later the Pentagon's second high civil rank, and other neoconservative extremist politicians, issued a typical

neoconservative manifesto, which claimed the establishment of America's superiority for the next century. Five months later, the think-tank members were occupying the most important offices in the Bush administration, enhancing the military expenditure and working on the U.S. withdrawal from the disarmament treaties that traced back to the Cold War.

Believing in America's leadership and primacy; solving the foreign policy affairs muscularly, and seeking the economic hegemony shaped the cornerstones of neoconservatism. Thus, the aims listed by the neoconservative agenda to invade Iraq and to remodel it on the Western norms were underway. They wanted Iraq to be a sample to the Middle-East countries as a democratic nation. They wanted the Middle-East nations to be transformed in the same way. The neoconservative tendencies to transform the whole Islamic Middle-East were coming from fears of looming conflicts that Huntington's *Clash of Civilization* theorized.

The oil interests were existing strongly in the Bush administration. Represented by the president himself and his major adviser and delegate Dick Cheney, the American energy security was topic A on the president's desk few days after the inauguration. During his presidential campaign, Bush was funded and supported at a large scale by the oil corporations. The support was not for free, the Iraq oil reserves were the precious requital may the president gives back. The quick rising of powerful rivals that depend on oil-based industry such as China, India, and the European Union; in addition, to the geological phenomenon named The Global Peak of Oil which predicted a world running out of oil and decrease of oil production, doubled the American fears on their country's energy security, consequently, the American superiority embodied in

the American dream.

Taking in consideration the importance of oil as an axial pillar in the American economy, the Bush administration was looking forward to the Iraqi oil reserves- the second biggest in the world- to have control over the oil industry there. Seizing the Iraqi actual oilfields and reserves by the U.S. oil giants would, doubtless, satisfy the American oil cartel and survive the American economy for the next century.

In this way, Iraq had been targeted by the most powerful decision makers in the United States, some were loyal to an ideological credo and some others were loyal to the American Dollar. Iraq which had been suffering from a lethal blockade, harsh sanctions and severe casualties from fierce wars, was again in charge of developing nuclear weapons program that threaten not only the United States but the whole world by "Mushroom Clouds". The Bush administration also claimed the regime change in Iraq accusing the former ally and friend, Saddam Hussein, of tyranny and harboring terrorists. Indeed, Saddam's regime was weaker than to develop such costly program. Hence, the Bush administration arguments for invading Iraq were groundless.

After the suspected atrocities of the 9/11, Bush and his senior advisers extracted an extreme legitimacy for what became known "Preemptive War". Under this strategy, the United States launched a massive attack on Iraq in March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2003. In less than a month of bombing accompanied by what pro-war censors called the collateral damage which is, paradoxically, thousands of civilian innocent victims, Baghdad was captured, and the oil and non-oil cartel were heading Iraq for "sharing the cake".

It should be mentioned that the present thesis is not interested in describing chronically the events of the war in Iraq and its battle fields, neither tending to detail the official processes of enacting a foreign policy decision, or definitions concerning this domain. But it is aiming at investigating how the idea of launching a war against Iraq was snowballed, enacted then prepared in the White House's corridors. And mentioning directly the final reports, speeches, and declarations on which the decision makers in the Capitol Hill depended to proclaim the war. Also, The proposed thesis concentrates on criticizing the U.S. arguments for war, consequently, intensifying the validity of the real causes that the intelligentsia and intellectuals insisted on. Eventually, it aims at supporting the idea of the neoconservative agenda and the oil interests influence over the decision making by including unanswerable facts about the robbery of U.S. corporations to the Iraqi oil, and, alas, the failure of democracy promotion.

The present thesis is divided into four chapters, in addition to a general introduction and general conclusion. The first chapter is aiming at investigating the backgrounds of the main operants in the Bush administration, focusing on the link between them and the neoconservative credo. Also, it highlights the main components of neoconservatism and how those officials are influenced in the Straussian philosophy which believes in the elite's right to lead and the privilege to violate, leap, and applying mendacity to achieve the desired ends. Eventually, it assessed the Jewish influence on the U.S. decision making.

The second chapter dwells in the oil issues in the United States. It described the importance of oil as an axial actor in the country's economy. Focusing on America's need to oil in a hand; and the Global Peak of Oil, in the

other hand. The chapter concluded by America's necessity for external sources to secure its energy requirements.

The third chapter is devoted to highlight the 9/11 events focusing on the Bush administration involvement in it. It also, concentrates on the new Doctrine extracted in the aftermath of the atrocities. Concluding that it was in the behalf of the administration to ground her wars against the global terrorism and to fake the regime change and WMD verification as driving forces for the invasion.

The last chapter clarifies the real causes for the Iraqi war, describes the pre-war scene and the power of the American propaganda. Also, it tries to investigate the stratagem that was plotted by Pentagon's senior officers to enhance the war over Iraq. The chapter is intend to explain the U.S. military failure against the Iraqi resistance. Concluding by condemning the scandal committed by the greedy oil corporation in Iraq and their relentless seek to the goods of the raped nation.

Indeed, a large number of scholars have written and rewritten papers and books on this issue. Hypotheses and assertions have been made on the question of the Iraq war; however, in this humble work we are trying to introduce a coherent analysis to the hidden facts about the American agenda behind the war. trying to clarify the erosion of the American democracy abroad by manifesting the duality, ideals and ideology that the U.S.A may use again to launch another "economic" war against Iran, the second state in the Axis of Evil, a Muslim Middle-East country and oil wealthy nation.

# **Chapter One**

## **The New Leaders in the White House**

### **Introduction**

Although many specialists assumed that Bush formed a moderate administration, many others emphasized the right-wing method that was adhered by the most of his administrators. This first chapter dwells in the Bush's pre-presidency biography and the backgrounds of the main officers in his crew.

It also highlights the basic keystones of neo-conservatism and its impact on the Bush's officials. The chapter is aiming mainly in distinguishing the real foreign policy makers during this mandate taking in consideration the external influence of the Jewish lobby and his ambitions.

### **1. The Bush Administration**

The presidential electoral campaign of 2000 ended up with the win of the republican candidate George W. Bush. The close between the two candidates' votes urged the intervention of the Supreme Court. Apparently, Al Gore won the popular vote but the Supreme Court decided Bush who won the Electoral College to be the 43<sup>rd</sup> president of the United States. The new president was supposed to announce his administration the day of his inauguration.

January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001, the president announced the main officers. Bush named Colin Powell secretary of state. Powell, the general with four stars, was a famous and a beloved figure among the Americans. Many Democrats and Republicans had hoped Powell would follow Dwight Eisenhower's lead and run for president (Daalder and Lindsay 51). The National Security Adviser office was devoted for Condoleezza Rice. Censors emphasized



that Bush selected her on January 22<sup>nd</sup>, to be the first woman to hold this position in the U.S. history (Karalov 113). The other expert and military man who supported the administration was Donald H. Rumsfeld, a secretary of defense for the second time in his career.

The last major position on the national security team to be filled was the director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Bush announced that George Tenet, the incumbent CIA director, will stay for a transition period Paul Wolfowitz occupied the office of deputy Secretary of Defense after a recommendation from Donald Rumsfeld ( Daalder and Lindsay 54).

The other senior posts in the American administration were hold also by former veterans and policy practitioners. Richard Armitage was named deputy Secretary of State, so cooperating with his friend Powel. Dov Zakheim was appointed comptroller of the Pentagon and Richard Perle accepted an unpaid position to head up the Defense Policy Board (56), in addition to Dick Clark who hold the national coordinator for security and counter terrorism office (Tenet and Harlow 128).

The most noticeable on the Bush-Cheney cabinet is that many of the officers served in the Reagan administration during the 1980s. This experience endowed them with a great cleverness and ability to deal with hard dilemmas and difficult situations that faced the nation through that mandate. Cheney, Powel and Rumsfeld served as military cadres in different successive American administrations, consequently, this history may justify their military tendency to solve the global crisis.

The following table illustrates all the Bush first administration officials who had been mainly selected by Bush and vice-president Cheney. The noticeable was that the president appointed officials from all the U.S. spectrums and races.

Table.1. Cabinet of George W. Bush ( "Bush George W.")

<b>The department</b>	<b>The officer</b>	<b>Date of appointing</b>
<b>Agriculture</b>	Ann Margeret Veneman	Januray 20 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Commerce</b>	Donald Louis Evans	Januray 20 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Defense</b>	Donald Henry Rumsfeld	Januray 20 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Education</b>	Roderick R. Paige	Januray 24 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Energy</b>	Edward Spencer Abraham	Januray 20 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Health and Human Services</b>	Tommy George Thompson	February 2 <sup>nd</sup> 2001
<b>Housing and Urban Development</b>	Melquidas Rafael Martinez	Januray 24 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Interior</b>	Gale Ann Norton	Januray 30 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Labor</b>	Elaine L. Choa	Januray 29 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>State</b>	Colin Luther Powel	Januray 20 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Transportation</b>	Norman Yoshio Minetta	Januray 25 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Treasury</b>	Paul Henry O'Neil	Januray 20 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Veterans' Affairs</b>	Anthony Joseph Principi	Januray 24 <sup>th</sup> 2001
<b>Homeland Security</b>	Thomas joseph Ridge	Januray 24 <sup>th</sup> 2003
<b>Justice</b>	John David Ashcroft	February 1 <sup>st</sup> 2001

## 1.2. George W. Bush

Following the steps of his father, George Bush had been inaugurated as the 43<sup>rd</sup> president of the United States. He was one the most controversial leaders who triggered extreme and different opinions and views among the global public opinion. Bush run the

country for two terms starting from January 20<sup>th</sup> 2001, and During his first mandate the country witnessed the blaze of two wars abroad. Hence, many Americans had been considered him as wartime leader just like his ancestors Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and his father George H.W. Bush.

George Walker Bush, the eldest of six sons of George H.W. Bush, the former president of the U.S. (1989–93), and Barbara Bush, was born in July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1946 in New Haven, Connecticut. Two years later, the family moved to the west of Texas where his father worked in the oil sector. In Midland, Bush grew among religious rituals based on respecting the elders and the neighbors. Although he had a life of luxury, his marks were not special, however; all his attention was devoted to sport. George Bush graduated from Yale University in 1968 with a bachelor in history. In the university, he was a member of Yale's secretive Skull and Bones society. The fraternity was practicing odd and ghastly ceremonies and it still a secret organization hitherto (Karalov 22-24).

In 1968, Bush applied as a pilot trainee in the Texas Air National Guard ,becoming a second lieutenant In July 1969. He also became a certified fighter pilot in June 1970. After he received Master Business Administration (MPA) degree from Harvard University in 1975, Bush returned to Midland, and started his own oil and gas firm, then he married Laura Welch in 1977 (" Bush George W."). Trying to enter the political arena, Bush wanted to replace a retired senator in the Congress; therefore, he run a campaign in Texas but he failed. This first frustration affected him deeply and he turned a drunkard, yet with assistance from his wife, Bush gave up drinking, and turned to his previous normal life with optimism and ambition (Karalov 26-27).

Bush founded his oil company; Arbusto Energy Inc, the company strove through the early 1980s, until the collapse of the oil prices. In 1984, as Arbusto reached the rock bottom of its fortunes, the company was purchased by another company; Spectrum Energy

7 Corp and as part of deal, and in spite of his unimpressive performance as an oil company executive, Bush was made Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Spectrum. In 1986, Spectrum was purchased by Harken Oil and Gas because of the oil crisis and Bush became a Director of Harken with an annual salary of \$80,000 a year rising to \$ 120,000 per year in 1989(Routledge 54-55).

In 1994, after a hard campaign, Bush the republican son became a governor of Texas which was usually giving its votes to democrats. As a governor, Bush worked on legislating many acts that concerns the adults, education and salary amendments. In 1998, Bush nominated himself for another term, and again, he achieved a historical victory wining 69% of the votes being Texas governor for the second time (Karalov 29).

### **1.3.The Vulcans**

During his presidential campaign, Bush's performance in front of the American media revealed that the man's world view is terribly deficient. The dozens of interviews he passed through, unclothed his weakness in foreign policy. Voters supposed that their candidate is a foreign policy expert like his father, however; he failed their expectations. The most awkward situation occurred when he was interviewed by WHDH-TV in Boston in early November 1999. The questions of reporter Andy Hiller about naming the leaders of Chechnya, Taiwan, Pakistan found no answers in the candidate's mind, who kept hesitating instead of giving decisive answers. This position was a black mark against Bush who had been encountering to a furious criticism. His foreign policy cracks earlier in the year, such as confusing Slovakia and Slovenia and referring to Greeks as "Grecians" and Kosovars as " kosovians " made intellectuals skeptics about his ability to lead the nation and that he will be the administration's Achilles heel. By the campaign getting to an end, Bush's understanding of the broader world became better and his performance in interviews and debates developed to omit the black image as a provincial unconcerned

with the broader world. For the sake of administrating an effective foreign policy, George W. Bush surrounded himself with a team of officials nicknamed the "Vulcans" devoted for advisory. The most influential and strong members of this team were Condoleezza Rice, Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle(Daalder and Lindsay 17-22).

### **1.3.1. Condoleezza Rice**

“In 1999, Rice was invited to lead the younger Bush's foreign policy team, a group referred to cheekily as the vulcans” (Morris and Mcgann 68). It is Condoleezza Rice, the tough black woman in the hawks' nest. She was born in November 14<sup>th</sup> 1954 in Birmingham, Alabama. She entered the University of Denver at the age of 16, and earned a bachelor's degree in international relations, and then obtained a master's degree (1975) from the university of Notre Dame in economics . she also, earned a doctorate in international studies from the university of Denver(1981) specialized in eastern and central Europe and the soviet union, including military and security affairs. Condi wrote several political books about European foreign affairs in addition to numerous articles about the Soviet Union’s international relation crisis. Rice worked in different think tank institutions. During the Bush Sr. administration she became director for Soviet and eastern European affairs for the National Security Council (NSC)and a special assistant to the president (Karalov 113-117).

Condi's performance and knowledge brought her a wide praise from specialized media intelligentsia. “The Rice is clear: tackle a subject, master it thoroughly and completely, perform at the highest level-preferably in front of movers and shakers and then effortlessly become their protégée, accepting their mentoring on the path to power and success” (Morris and Mcgann 64). Rice the foreign policy expert, the provost in Stanford University and the fluent speaker of Russian, French and Spanish became at the age of 46 the first black woman to serve as National Security Adviser( 2001-05) and then Secretary

of State(2005-09) to president George W. Bush. Censors, journalists, political specialists and even former officials who hold the same job, admired her vast experience and unique performance; arguing that this pianist was the most influential adviser on a president after the genius Kissinger of the 1970<sub>s</sub>.

### **1.3.1.1.Rice's World View**

Through her performance, interviews, statements, and compilations, Rice manifested extreme ties to the neoconservative credo. She criticized the Russians for the war on Chechnya, assuming that the Russians purpose is the Caucasian's oil. More radically, she emphasized that nothing must stand between America and its interests considering that the global warming or the human rights are no obstacles against America's foreign affairs. As a mutual neoconservative, Rice criticized the Clinton policy of undermining the defense budget and supporting the Russian president Boris Yeltsin instead of benefiting from his countries miserable situation. About her relationship to Bush, she worked hard to enlarge his knowledge about the broader world, that's why she earned his complements and blind confidence ( Karalov 117-123).

Bob Woodward described her in his book *Bush at War* as “ tall, with near perfect posture, a graceful walk and a beaming smile, she had become the permanent fixture in the presidential inner circle. The president and first lady had in a sense become her family” (29). The National Security Adviser's philosophy pertained to her deep belief in America's right to protect her vital interests abroad using the military power, free market, and making alliances especially with Russia and China to endorse the U.S. supremacy to keep up with the so called the New World Order ( Karalov 123).

### **1.3.2. Paul Wolfowitz**

Paul Dundes Wolfowitz was born to a polish immigrant in December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1943 in Brooklyn. At Cornell University, he earned a bachelor's degree in Mathematics (1965),

but as anxious history and politics reader, he attended Chicago University and became a doctoral candidate in political science (1974). At the university he had been lectured by his most influential professor: Leo Strauss a leading figure in neo-conservatism("Wolfowitz Paul").

After abandoning teaching in New Haven University, Connecticut, Wolfowitz worked for the Ford administration(1973), first in the U.S. Arm Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) where he was on the staff of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks(SALT). Wolfowitz had a long career in the White House serving in several jobs during the Reagan-Bush Sr. administrations. He served as an assistant Secretary of State for east Asian and pacific affairs and then as U.S. ambassador to Indonesia (1981-89). Also, he served undersecretary of defense for policy, working on plans for the Persian Gulf War (1989-93). He spent the Clinton's years outside the White House primarily as the dean of the school of advanced international studies at Johns Hopkins University. In 2001, he returned to the Pentagon as deputy Secretary of Defense (Daalder and Lindsay 24-26).

#### **1.3.2.1. Wolfowitz Logic**

The Jewish-origin hawk was described as a tough hard –liner, a war apostle and a rightist neoconservative. He was a unilateralism apologist who plotted for the Iraqi regime's collapse since years, and the mastermind for the American military policies in the Middle East (Karalov 142-143)

#### **1.3.3.Richard Perle Logic**

Richard Perle, a former Reagan defense official who served in the Bush's term as a member of defense policy board, he was the most outspoken public advocate for war with Iraq (Woodward Plan 164). Nicknamed "Prince of Darkness", Richard the 62 years old official in the Pentagon was described as an interventionist, non- compromising negotiator who tried to cancel the Anti –Ballistic Missile(ABM) treaty but to no avail. He was

considered by the leftists as the demon who manipulate all the American new imperialism strings. As a youth he used to be a mutual McCarthist who favors "Witch Hunting ". Perle was known as a theorist rather than a politician (139-140).

The Vulcans team included also famous political rightist officials both inside and outside the White House. Richard Armitage, Dov Zakheim, Robert Blackwill, Robert Zoellick and Karl Rove were also influential advisers for Bush. The president also had been assisted by former experts such Kissinger, Scowcroft and Brzezinski.

## **2.Neoconservatism**

### **2.1.Concept**

According to Stanley Aronowitz,“ neoconservative movement had some background in the socialist movement of the 1930s and 1940s, and moved slowly to the right” (57). This statement denies that neoconservatism had been derived from the old fashion movement labeled conservatism; however, he adds that the relationship between the two is entirely strategic and does not share neoliberal economics, budget and slashed welfare programs which are the signature policies of conservatism (57).

Neoconservatism is an outlook to the government's line, mostly considers communism as an anathema to the political practice in the White House. Its main ends are the support for the free market limited welfare and traditional culture values (Watts 202). Unlike the conservatives who had an "agoraphobia" from international military interventionism, the Neocons made at the top of their agenda; the prompt military act as an effective legal strategy to protect the American interests abroad.

Neoconservatism has become a key word for back-ward thinking and a crest of unity for the vulcans advocating a new imperialist foreign policy: an assault on the welfare state, and a return to " family values", Neocons insisted from the beginning on a muscular



anticommunist foreign policy and a critique of détente, arms control, and the language of idealism (Brooner 119-127).

Foreign policy analysts argues that the Neocons are far from being realists referring to the democracy promotion abroad which is the pillar of American ideals and how it became an article of faith to the president Bush. Bush and his administrators discussed the democratization of the oligarchies, dictatorships and juntas more than any other thing. They believe in the danger notion that threatens the U.S. security, consequently they prefer what it became known as the "pre-emption" instead of deterrence or containment policies. Eventually, Aronowitz sees that “ for the real Neocons, foreign policy is the arena that will determine the fate of the American empire” (57)

## **2.2. Roots**

“ what Strauss theorized, neoconservatives implemented” ( Kerboua-Salim). Thus, Leo Strauss was the main philosopher influence who had a great impact on the Neocons because of his interpretations to the old Greek philosophies that believe in the race superiority. Strauss, a Jewish German Hamburg professor who immigrated in 1937 as a refugee from the Nazi bullying, and taught at the university of Chicago, argued that those who are fit to rule are those who realize there is no morality. Strauss believed the world to be a place where policy advisers may have to deceive their own public, and even their rulers to protect their countries (Livingstone 266). That's why according to Brooner “ Neocons employ their mendacity like an ordinary group of liars: to justify their interest or cover up that mistake” (124).

“ Neoconservatives see the United States, like Israel, as standing essentially alone in a war against terror” (136). Apparently, it seems that the Neocons have built an intimate interrelationship with Zionism-the leading credo in Israel- moreover, it is worth mentioned

that many policy makers who orchestrate the American political arena are originated from Jewish genesis.

### **2.3.Neocons in the Bush Administration**

Although George W. Bush labeled himself as a "compassionate conservative", most of his officials embraced the neoconservative baggage. In his book *Cheney: The Untold Story of Americas Most Powerful and Controversial Vice-president* , Stephen F. Hayes considered Dick Cheney as a neoconservative hawkish government official. And in the same way, Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy Wolfowitz were described in several compilations as hard-liners and headstrong Neoconservatives, as well as the most Vulcans were.

Neoconservatism also has its intellectuals outside the White House, like Rupert Murdoch, head of the notorious Fox network, who has become one of the principle mouthpieces for the neoconservative agenda, and his fellow Kristol William, the editor of the *weekly standard* . They were the most propagandists for the neoconservative thoughts(Green 46). In addition, the American mass media was full of such thinkers who share the same goal; popularizing neoconservative ideas and enhancing the agenda forward.

### **3. The Project for the New American Century**

The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) is a Washington think-tank which issued a policy paper in September 2000 entitled *rebuilding America's Defense: Strategy, Forces, and Resources for a New Century*. The paper included a future vision for America's position. In a hand, As cleared in the paper, the PNAC is a non-profit educational organization whose goal is to promote American global leadership. Established by William Kristol as the chairman, Robert Kagan, Devon Gaffney Cross, Bruce P. Jackson and John Bolton serves as directors, Gary Schmitt as executive director

of the project. In the other hand, “the PNAC has strong ties to the right-wing American Enterprise Institute (AEI), and funded by three foundations closely tied to Persian Gulf oil and weapons and defense industries” (Livingstone 267). It also included members who shaped policy of the Bush administration such Cheney, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz (Engdahl 250).

It is crystal clear that the PNAC is a typical neoconservative "cult" which aimed at reshaping the world affairs. The blueprint- a neoconservative manifesto- main contents that concerns the reinforcement of America's defense are summarized in the following table, drew upon a report included in the policy paper. The tendencies toward an unparalleled militarization to the U.S. for possible wars is clearly expressed in the table.

Table. 2.Reinforcing U.S. Defense. (PNAC).

<b>Establish four core missions for U.S. military forces:</b>
defend the American homeland; fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theater wars; perform the “constabulary” duties associated with shaping the security environment in critical regions; transform U.S. forces to exploit the “revolution in military affairs;”
To carry out these core missions, we need to provide sufficient force and budgetary allocations. In particular, the United States must:
<b>Maintain nuclear strategic superiority</b>
basing the U.S. nuclear deterrent upon a global, nuclear net assessment that weighs the full range of current and emerging threats, not merely the U.S.-Russia balance.
<b>Restore the personal strength</b>
of today’s force to roughly the levels anticipated in the “Base Force” outlined by the Bush Administration, an increase in active-duty strength from 1.4 million to 1.6 million.
<b>Reposition U.S. forces</b>
to respond to 21st century strategic realities by shifting permanently-based forces to Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia, and by changing naval deployment patterns to

reflect growing U.S. strategic concerns in East Asia.
<b>Modernize U.S. forces selectively</b>
proceeding with the F-22 program while increasing purchases of lift, electronic support and other aircraft; expanding submarine and surface combatant fleets; purchasing Comanche helicopters and medium-weight ground vehicles for the Army, and the V-22 Osprey "tilt-rotor" aircraft for the Marine Corps.
<b>Cancel "Road back" programs</b>
such as the Joint Strike Fighter, CVX aircraft carrier, and Crusader howitzer system that would absorb exorbitant amounts of Pentagon funding while providing limited improvements to current capabilities. Savings from these canceled programs should be used to spur the process of military transformation.
<b>Develop and deploy global missile defense</b>
to defend the American homeland and American allies, and to provide a secure basis for U.S. power projection around the world.
<b>Control the new " international commons" of space and "cyberspace"</b>
and pave the way for the creation of a new military service – U.S. Space Forces – with the mission of space control.
<b>Exploit the revolution in military affairs</b>
to insure the long-term superiority of U.S. conventional forces. Establish a two-stage transformation process which maximizes the value of current weapons systems through the application of advanced technologies, and, produces more profound improvements in military capabilities, encourages competition between single services and joint-service experimentation efforts.
<b>Increase defense spending</b>
gradually to a minimum level of 3.5 to 3.8 percent of gross domestic product, adding \$15 billion to \$20 billion to total defense spending annually.

#### **4.The Israeli Lobby**

John j. Mearsheimer ,a Chicago University political science professor, and Stephen M. Walt, a Harvard University international relations professor, blazed the political scene in America when in March 2006, they wrote an article published in *London review books* entitled; *the Israel Lobby and U.S Foreign Policy*. The article intended to penetrate one of the most taboos in the land of Uncle Sam, which is the influence of the Jewish pressure group on conducting America's foreign policy, mainly in the Middle- East.

Israel, the ephemeral emerging entity as perceived by its mutual foe, the Arabs, has been always seeking to ensure its security since 1948. Tel Aviv depended on her vast web of wealthy strong policy operants in Washington to achieve this necessity. It thrived in her plot in the aftermath of the six-day war in which America became her "lasting sitter". The writers explained that since the October war in 1973 Hitherto. Israel became the great benefactor from U.S. unconditioned aids in all sectors:

Since the October War in 1973, Washington has provided Israel with a level of support dwarfing the amounts provided to any other state. It has been the largest annual recipient of direct U.S. economic and military assistance since 1976 and the largest total recipient since World War II. Total direct U.S. aid to Israel amounts to well over \$140 billion in 2003 dollars. Israel receives about \$3 billion in direct foreign assistance each year, which is roughly one-fifth of America's foreign aid budget. In per capita terms, the United States gives each Israeli a direct subsidy worth about \$500 per year. This largesse is especially striking when one realizes that Israel is now a wealthy industrial state with a per capita income roughly equal to South Korea or Spain (2).

Upon such justification, the writers emphasized that the U.S.-Israel special relationship is the result of the strong influence of the Israel lobby. Claiming that Israel became a strategic burden in the Post-Cold War era. This over-generosity, according to them cannot be based on ethical and strategic criteria. They invalidated many agreements that were considered as the real motives for U.S. support to Israel:

Apart from its alleged strategic value, Israel's backers also argue that it deserves unqualified U.S. support because 1) it is weak and surrounded by enemies, 2) it is a democracy, which is a morally preferable form of government; 3) the Jewish people have suffered from past crimes and therefore deserve special treatment, and 4) Israel's conduct has been morally superior to its adversaries' behavior(8).

They itemized many of the lobby's malicious plots to persuade the American people and the congress to believe in the "virtuous Israel" Vs." the evil Arabs". The paper also discussed the lobby's ability to operate on the high levels in order to manipulate the American foreign policy to remodel the Middle-East map to fit the lasting growth of Israel.

In contrast, Noam Chomsky, the political theorist and the professor in Massachusetts University, claimed that the lobby is not so gigantic as many think. He argued that the White House is not that vulnerable to be conducted by lobbies. He illustrated that is the dog that is responsible for its tail's moving not the converse.

## **Conclusion**

The Bush administration came to authority after the Clinton years with new perceptions to the world. The new leaders in the White House wanted to rebirth Reagan's estimations about the role of the most hyper powerful nation ever. The republican neoconservatives gathered again in the "Hawks' nest" plotting promptly for a new American era more distinct than its preceding ones. They were not satisfied with Quo status that represents the U.S. as a vulnerable nation losing its leadership and reputation gradually because of the indulgent democrat Clinton.

Bush, the ambitious president, ruled one of the most hard- liner governments in U.S. history. He shared the same extreme visions with his advisers. Most of them had

strong ties to the Israeli lobby whose most aim is any American military invasion in the Middle-East like the war on Iraq 2003.

## Chapter Two

### U.S. Oil Policy & Iraq

#### Introduction

Since the American domestic oil production could not satisfied the country's needs, the United States foreign policy had been conducting by securing its oil interests abroad. The U.S. foreign geopolitics had been characterized as the vain of the American economy. Thus, the United States strove through decades to protect its position as the super-powerful nation who dominate all the sectors. The flow of oil to the American carries had been the axial object on the president's desk since his early days in the oval office.

This second chapter is aiming at clarifying the importance of oil in the American economy and its impact on the American foreign policy. It also dwells in the Bush-Cheney involvement in the oil business focusing on their plans to dominate the Iraqi oil reserves especially in the shadow of emerging rivals and the global peak of oil.

#### 1.Oil: Pillar of the U.S. Economy

“Oil is the lifeblood of the American economy” (Routledge 131). In that sense, America is the most highly industrialized nation in the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This gigantic phenomenon traced back to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the northern colonies witnessed an era of manufacturing. The increasing number of plants and manufactories in addition to the proliferation of different means of transportation consequently caused a growing of vehicles' number. The result has been the rise of the modern United State as the biggest consumer of oil; therefore, oil became the most wanted energy for the American economy.



The U.S. tendency for motorizing since the early years of the 1900s ended up as a thrust on the United States' economy. The extremely long lines of roads, highways and railroads in addition to the enormous ships and terrific military bases had been placing the United States as the most highly motorized nation in the world. The vehicles manufacturer, General Motors Corporation became the world's largest vehicle manufacturer in 1931. It kept dominating until 2008. In the following ranks, came Exxon the largest oil refiner in the United States followed by Ford Motor Company in addition to other famous companies such as Mobil, Chrysler Corporation, Texaco and Gulf Oil. This was indeed, an economy based on cars and oil (Routledge 13-19).

The gigantic companies were nicknamed the "Big Oil", the Big Oil dogged its way toward hegemony in the aftermath of Second World War (WWII). The global market was crowded by European rivals; however, the enduring corporation between the companies, chiefs and the U.S. alternative administration led each time to rational policies that had been enabling the Big Oil to be a world hegemon in oil global trade (Edanghal 84-91).

“The car is the largest modern symbol of the what makes American freedom...cars are a powerful symbol of what makes America the greatest, and the freest country in the world” (Qtd. Routledge 119). Those words reflect the extent of American addiction to vehicles, consequently, the U.S. thirst to oil. For instance, the U.S. sales of motor vehicles increased from 17.4 million in 1997 to 17.8 million in 2000. Hence, the United States is following a road toward greedy capitalism without no detour. And as a result, the American consumption to oil is getting bigger and bigger (121).

## **2.The American Consumption To Oil**

Since the beginning of the oil age, the demand on this energy is growing for the sake of providing a more industrialized societies then a modern life of luxury. Capitalism

which means a continuous growth in economy otherwise it would be recession, depression or more terrible, economical crisis, is the leading credo in the occident and more precisely in the United States. Capitalism obliged Big Oil to keep seeking for more sources to guarantee the flow of black gold to their tankers that sail the oceans (Zalloum 8).

The U.S. alternative administration had been ranking the flow of oil to the American plants and refiners at the top of their agendas. The main effective apparatus in the White House that is in charge of energy policies is the Energy Information Administration (EIA). The agency is responsible for guiding U.S. geopolitics by publishing thousands of detailed reports and itineraries. Depending on the EIA's Annual and International Energy Outlooks, Spencer Abraham, secretary of energy noticed that the American consumption to oil in 2020 would be nearly third greater than it in 1999. The outlook forecasted that the oil consumption will rise from 19.4 million per day in 1999 to around 26 million barrels per day in 2020. It is worth mentioning that Spencer was a neoconservative member who had close ties to the mercurial propagandist William Kristol. Those estimates jeopardized the Big Oil's aims to protect their wealth and ironically the American way of life (Routledge 131-134).

fig.1.is a diagram that illustrates the oil consumption by the world subcontinents from 1980 until 2004. The consumption is estimated by millions of barrels per day. According to the diagram, it is obviously that the U.S. consumption is widely larger than the other countries' consumptions. In the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, The total daily consumption was about 85 million barrels. The United States consumed the lion's share of it. Since the oil consumption of the other countries individually was incomparable to the United States, the diagram illustrated them into blocks. The United States consumed about 20 million b/d in 2001 prior to the 2003 war. in the aftermath of the war, the stability of the curve is apparently clear which explains the constant same consuming tough a slight and

insignificant increase. The second block that surmounted the United States was Asia and Oceania with 25 million b/d. The reason behind this "big" consumption is because the block includes top consumers like China, Japan, India, and Indonesia. The other significant consumer was the European Union with around 10,7 million b/d. The other blocks were very small consumers and no rivals to the United States. The diagram reflect a crystal clear superiority to the United States as the top oil consumer in the world.

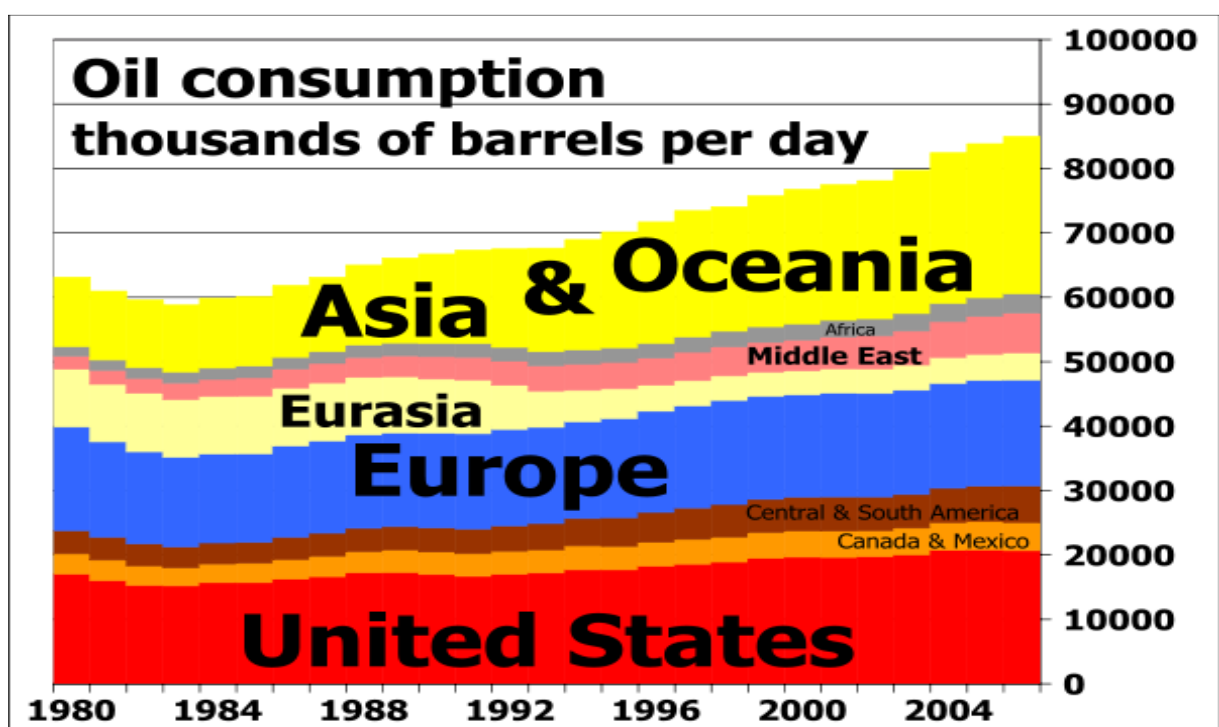


fig.1.oil consumption. ("petroleum").

### 3.The Iraqi Oil

#### 3.1. The Middle East: The U.S. Oil Policy

“The Middle East not only has the world's largest oil reserves but also the cheapest to produce” (Zalloum 9). The American oil foreign policy in the Middle East traces back to the early years in the aftermath of the WWII. The Gulf nations, Iran, Iraq, and Saudi

Arabia had been the most oil suppliers to the rest of the world. The geopolitical relation between the United States and its oil suppliers had been infiltrated by casual crisis. Basically, the Soviet Union's tendency to assure its geopolitical interests in Iran in 1946. The Soviet Union's move was faced by a harsh reaction from its traditional rival, the United States which provide no exert to counterbalance the situation there. Another crisis emerged later was the Iranian nationalization to their oilfields. The reason behind that resulted from Anti-occidental visions. The U.S. diplomacy acted wisely and decisively each time to contain the crisis. The dual relation between the United States and its mutual friend Saudi Arabia kept a quite stabilized due to the great assistance from the reigning house of Saud, actually Saudi Arabia, the largest oil producer, interfered several times to rescue the U.S. economy from striking shocks that were caused by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) members especially during the Arabic nationalism era. The U.S. relation with Iraq had been worse than it with Saudi Arabia but better than it with Iran. What mainly worsened the geopolitical assistance between the two countries were Saddam's frequent wars and conflicts in the region and his obvious hostility to the House of Saud, the loyal ally to the United States. The clash between the global giant over the goods of the Middle East had been lasting hitherto due to the value of region's good oil (Nouailhal & De La Foye 195-106).

The Middle East has the greatest oilfields in the world. Its oilfields are ranked as giants, super-giants and mega-giants. The main oilfields are located in the Gulf region and Iraq. The Ghawar oilfield in Saudi Arabia is the largest in the world ever, and it is classed as mega-giant. Greater Burgan in Kuwait also is mega-giant and Kirkuk in northern Iraq is a super-giant oilfield (Routledge 22-23).

### 3.2. The Iraqi Oil: Reserves and Production

Iraq has been always an axial stage for aggressive U.S. foreign geopolitics due its giant oilfields and the great oil reserves. The oil extraction in this country is the cheapest in the world. The barrel costs no more than \$1 to \$1.5, beside the high quality that distinguish it from other countries' oil. Iraq produces 3 million barrels per day. The Iraqi discovered oil reserves were estimated to be 112.5 billion barrels shaping the 11% from the world total oil reserves, taking the second rank after the Saudi Arabia's. However, more recent geological surveys assumed that the oil reserves in Iraq will be the largest in the world by around 350 billion barrels (Karalov 266).

The following diagram illustrates the average Iraqi oil production through the first decade in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, from 2001 to 2010. Apparently, the curve is terribly wavy with sharp peaks and low bottoms. In Its highest level, the curve gets over 3 million barrel in 2001, and in its lowest level, the curve decreased to some tens of thousands barrels per day on the first months of 2003. The reason behind this collapse was the blaze of the war.

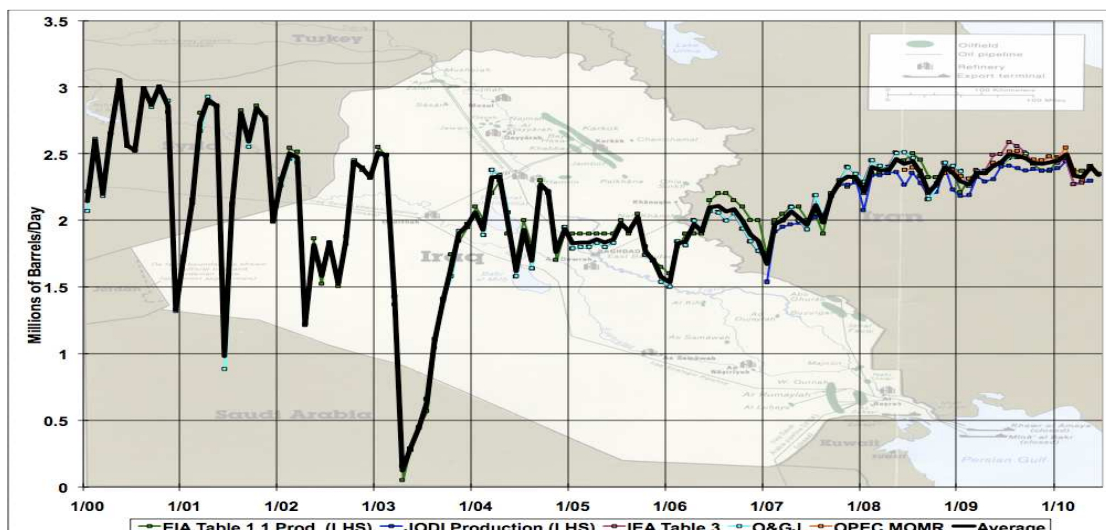


Fig.2. Iraqi Oil production Graph (Staniford).

#### **4.The Global Peak of Oil and the Looming Crisis**

Oil has been used as the main energy for many industrial sectors and transportation means. The huge amounts provided in the underground and its efficiency paved the way for this hydrocarbonic chemical substance to be the most useful energy for all kinds of motors and engines. A century ago, the industrialized world has become dependent on oil as a potential cheap source for energy. Hydrocarbons compromise 90% of the world's transportation fuel and 40% of the world primary energy. The United States remains the world's largest energy consumer by 25% of the world's oil production. The increasing demand on this substance and the continuing extraction pushed the specialized scientist to ring the bells of danger, they started to theorize for a peak of oil (Clark 76).

The global peak of oil is an imminent decline in world oil production caused by geological shortage. The adherent geologists of this theory claiming that the world's underground has been gradually running out oil. The geological justification phenomenon according to the pessimists, who adhere the theory, is expressed according to Routledge as follows:

If we assume that the original amount of world oil in place in the earth's crust – the amount before extraction began in 1859 – is around 6,000 billion barrels, then the maximum amount of oil recoverable from this original quantity is around 1,800–2000 billion barrels (between 30 and 33 per cent). The rest may never be recovered for technological and economic reasons. Thus if world oil consumption rises at about 2 per cent per year, the rate generally assumed by such authorities such the EIA, we will very soon have consumed

half the world's oil resources at which point (the top of the bell-shaped curve) a decline in annual production and consumption must set in (138-139)

The pessimists argued that the availability of easy and cheap oil will disappear dramatically, especially under the growing consumption by the giant industrialized countries such as China, India, and Indonesia. Taking in consideration that other sources of energies such heavy oil, coal, or nuclear energy are no suitable alternates (Edanghal 259). Some famous geologists such as Colin Campbell and Jean Laherrere foretold that the peak of world conventional oil supplies will be reached in 2004. Similarly, others argued that it will not cross 2009 (Routledge 139).

## **5.The Axis of Oil in the Bush Administration**

The Bush administration was characterized by its well-educated and long-experienced officials. Most of the administrators have high scientific degrees and former careers in other different jobs. Obviously, two of the powerful decision makers had occupied high ranks in the oil industry companies. The president himself had been a failure oilman, and his vice-president in, his turn, had been a CEO in Halliburton, in addition to Rice who worked for Chevron.

### **5.1. George W. Bush and the Loyalty to the Oil Giants**

Bush the oilman whose business was wrecked in 1986 was facing a similar oil crisis in 1997. That oil concession resulted from the Asian economic downturn. The feverish price war conducted by some main oil suppliers and Saudi Arabia with the crawl demand on oil caused the decline of the oil prices. Texas, the traditional American state of oil industry was in a real trouble. The state was famous with its small wells (10 barrels per day) and high production costs beside the system of private royalty owners, hence, the Texan small companies were suffering from a threatened collapse. The prices were falling

from \$22.78 per barrel in October 1997 to reach its nadir by \$ 9.20 per barrel in the late December 1998. The crisis caused the shutdown of 2127 oil well and the disappearance of 11500 oil industry oil jobs in 1998 (Routledge 57-58).

To protect his reputation as the Texan governor, Bush tried to slacken the crisis and to back up the bankrupt oilmen. Bush sought the support from the richer and more powerful Texan Energy Interest, initially came without a price. In return for, the CEO of these interests, Enron Corporation, Kenneth Lay who was a friend of Bush, anticipated the favor to be pay backed in the near future in case Bush is going to be the next president of the United States. It was no surprise that Lay and Enron contributed \$550.025 to bush electoral campaign. Actually, \$1.9 million from the total campaign's fund ( about \$ 3 million) came from oil and gas sector (159-160).

## **5.2. Dick Cheney**

### **5.2.1. The Foreign Policy Expert**

Bush wanted not to benefit from his father's experience in foreign policy only but also members from his father's former crew such the former Secretary of Defense Richard Bruce Cheney. Dick was a respected and effective republican with neoconservative beliefs. Thus, his experience of foreign policy was to be advantageous to the Bush Jr.

Dick was born in January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1941 in Nebraska, after a Bachelor and master's degree in political sciences (1965-67) from Wyoming University, Dick became a doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin. At the beginning of his career, Dick swung from a job to another; the main ones of them were as Chief of Staff for the Ford administration (1975-77) and then as powerful member in the Republican Party (1988), then, he joined the Bush Sr. executive board as Secretary of Defense (1989). During his term, Dick led two of the greatest military operations in America's modern history: the military invasion of Panama and the "Desert Storm Operation" of the Persian Gulf War( Karalov 63-68).



### 5.2.2. The Strategist Oilman

Dick was considered as a powerful and wise CEO in Halliburton, a Supplier of Technology and Services to the Oil and Gas Industries. He used to represent future visions to the American oil industry. In a speech to the International Petroleum Institute (IPI) in London in late 1999, Cheney forecasted that there will be a decline in global oil production estimated by 3% yearly, he also, noted that the world consumption will need to additional 50 million barrels per day by 2010 (Clark 50). In his own words Cheney explained:

Producing oil is obviously a self-depleting activity. Every year you've got to find and develop reserves equal to your output just to stand still, just to stay even. This is as true for companies as well in the broader economic sense it is for the world . . . For the world as a whole, oil companies are expected to keep finding and developing enough oil to offset our 71 million plus barrels a day of oil depletion, but also to meet new demand . . . While many regions of the world offer great oil opportunities, the Middle East with two thirds of the world's oil and the lowest cost, is still where the prize ultimately lies, even though companies are anxious for greater access there, progress continues to be slow (Qtd. Zalloum 10).

Dick's career as a Halliburton CEO was not clean. Thanks to suspicious strong ties in the Middle East, Dick cashed \$ 140 million illegally for his own behalf. He even had an access to sign a contract with Saddam's government to rehabilitate the oil industries in Iraq. Moreover, Halliburton had been accused of violating the Human Rights in Nigeria by

enhancing the local police to abuse people there. Briefly, Halliburton's greed is unlimited, it never refrain to do anything for the sake of more and more incomes. Eventually, Halliburton also funded Bush's presidential campaign (Karalov 219).

## **6. Iraq Was their Goal**

In the new world order, the United State found herself in an enduring competition with the emerging rivals such as China, India, Russia, and the newly formed, the European Union. The war over the energy's sources reached high levels by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. “The Bush administration which took office in January 2001, steeped in oil and energy issues as no administration in recent U.S. history had been. Oil and geopolitics were back at center stage in Washington” (Edanghal 246). With oil reserves predicted to be the largest, Iraq had become a forthcoming target for Bush and Cheney very early on. Paul O'Neil who had been fired in 2002 for being an outlier, stated that; early in 2001, Bush began to concentrate how to topple Iraq's government. O'Neil claimed that 10 days after Bush, who focused in the domestic policy during his campaign, took office " topic A" was Iraq. Bush and his vice-president were looking at military option for removing Saddam Hussein (249-250).

Foreign minister of Poland, which pledged an alliance to the United States in her war on Iraq, declared honestly that his government's aim was an access for Polish oil companies to a source of commodities (Routledge 175).

At the level of the global oil market , an American-British authority on the Iraqi oil reserves would provide positive advantages vis-à-vis Russia, France, Germany and OPEC. In short, the benefits of the Iraqi oil reserves were incredibly great. Hence, Washington and London had no intentions to miss the treasure or to relinquish their plans (Karalov 226).

The post-war Iraqi scene was perceived as the next:

The objective was simple: an Iraq free from Saddam Hussein and under a pro-American government that would open up Iraqi oil reserves for the benefit of both US companies and US consumers. In the event of any trouble from Saudi Arabia, these oil reserves could be used to undercut any Saudi moves to slash production and hike oil prices. No longer would the oil weapon hang over America like the Sword of Damocles and the USA would be free at last to pursue her wider military and political objectives throughout the Middle East and the world at large (Routledge 177).

### **Conclusion**

In the light of what has been discussed in this chapter, it became clear that the American capitalism urged the nation to pursue a one-direct way. The fate of the United States to keep the only pivot in the 21<sup>st</sup> century world clashed with the ambitions of the emerging giants. Oil has been since decades the axis of clash between those titans, and the oil productive countries had been the stages for those aggressive conflicts. the U.S. economy was at the edge of danger because the so called the Global Peak of oil, however, the Hawks were never ready to compromise the pillar of their economy. Apparently, it seems that even personal accounts were involved in the political acts, therefore, it is noticeable, the Bush's loyalty to the Big Oil's interests and the strong ties that matched his vice president to the oil spectrum and its long-term agenda for a dominance over the oil of Iraq. The fate of Iraq which had the largest oil reserves coincided with the fate of America which have the largest oil industries!

## Chapter Three

### The 9/11 Events and the Bush Doctrine

#### Introduction

The 9/11 events were a watershed in America's history. The American administration response to the events was aggressive and fierce. The Bush advisers took advantage from the events and produced one of America's most extremist security strategies on which Bush grounded his reasons for an insistent war against Iraq.

The proposed chapter examines the major events on the American political arena that started just eight months after the beginning of the Bush term. It investigates on the American propaganda about the 9/11 events, depending on rational references that acts objectively. We are trying to highlight the American involvement in the atrocities by implementing unanswerable evidences. The chapter also dwells on the Bush Doctrine and its necessity as a platform to the American foreign policies in the Middle-East and in Iraq. It also, criticizes Washington's justifications for the war over Iraq.

#### 1.The 9/11: Between Propaganda and Objectivity

The 9/11 refers to the attacks on the Twin Towers of the world trade in Manhattan, New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. The attacks occurred in the morning of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. They had been executed by hijacked jets from American airports . The assaults were catastrophic, they claimed up the lives of 2996 victims, the collapse of the two skyscrapers, and a huge damage on the Pentagon building ("September 11attacks").

That Tuesday was a traumatic. The Americans were terribly shocked and frightened because of the lethal events. The atrocities had been considered to be the worst

after since the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941. The Economist, an American business and political magazine, considered the 9/11 as a watershed in the American history just like the Pearl Harbor events did six decades ago ("America attacked").

According to Woodward's *Bush at war*, The president who was in a holiday that day, followed the security precautions to safe himself being the nation's leader. He carried out several marathon debates with his crew and advisers to come out with the appropriate procedures for such situations. The White House was on great alertness to deal with any possible incidentals.

Bush addressed to the joint session of Congress nine days later. With his usual noticeable coolness and confident voice, Bush accepted that the attacks destroyed the buildings and shattered the steel! But cannot defeat the American resolve. He mentioned the necessity to give the hand of help to the wounded and to protect the citizens from further attack. The president condemned the assaults describing them as an act of terror that targeted the American freedom and liberty. The man in the Oval Office escalated the accent:“ the search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice, we will make no distinction between the terrorists and those who harbor them” (Bush). Those rhetoric words paved the way for George W. Bush to raise a s a wartime leader, who exerts no effort to chase the terrorists everywhere.

Although the United States had been surprised by the attacks, Richard Clarke warned more than one time that Bin Laden is preparing for an imminent strike against the country. His doubts, which were based on tens of the CIA's reports that he received, were increasing gradually starting from January 2001. Though Clarke emphasized the necessity to direct a strike against Bin Laden and his organization before America may encounter to

any aggressive act, Rice did not give the matter that great importance. In the same way Bush and his principal officers were overlooking on the issue being a big deal ( Nouailhat and de La Foye 23-27). In her defense in front of the 9/11 Committee, Condoleezza Rice argued that the threat reporting should be: " we believe something is going to happen here at this time under this circumstances. . . the report did not say that America is going to be attacked . . . but Bin Laden would like to attack the United States. . . you do not need that to know that Bin Laden wants to attack the United States" (Foudhah).

In a blink of an eye, the United States was under attack in her main land. Political analysts, censors, and journalists predicted that the events will change the world. The Economist entitled its editorial *The day the world changes :will anything ever be the same?* Just like the majority of the American mass media means, the magazine claimed a retaliation and ascribed the assaults to el-Qaeda. The article also, appreciated the readiness of the U.S. allies in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) for a multilateral military action against the global terror and his first leader Osama Bin Laden.

The inciting propaganda against el-Qaeda and her chief as the prime suspect, portended a war in Afghanistan in order to destroy el-Qaeda and its harbor Taliban. The prime end of the war according to the White House was to demolish terror from the roots.

In the United States, an issue emerged; who failed to protect the nation from such lethal humiliating attack, the White House or the CIA? Tenet, head of the most powerful intelligence agency in the world, published a book which is a kind of an autobiography, for the sake of releasing his agency from being in charge of this unparalleled failure in the history of the most secured nation ever! Entitled *At the Center of the Storm: My Years at CIA*, Tenet's book affirmed that his agency was performing at high levels due to his reforms and that Bin Laden's moves were under monitoring. He confirmed that he himself

consigned tens of reports to the White House that explain el-Qaeda's intentions to plot for an imminent attack in the American soil.

In one hand, the majority of Americans believed that the 9/11 was a pure terrorist act which was executed by the evil el-Qaeda. They accepted as a true that el-Qaeda's aim is to destroy the Occidental civilization led by the United States. They had been informed by the propagandists that liberty and freedom are the targets of the radical Islam. In the aftermath of the 9/11, the image of the Muslim in general and the Arab Muslim specifically encountered to an extreme distortion. Muslims in the United States and abroad, faced an woeful smears and became the victims of many harassments. The whole Middle Eastern people were characterized as evils with long beards and backward ideologies that are ready to kill the innocent and civilized people of the Western and America!

In the other hand, other objective writers, journalists and investigators decided not to follow the official wave of the directed propaganda. Skeptical documentaries, compilations and TV programs were appearing one after the other. The question was : how truthful was the official story articulated by the White House? Aljazeera's reporter, Yousri Foudha, carried out with his crew a wide investigation that included many interviews, confessions, and testimonies from the both sides of the clash. Entitled *The Bells of Danger: The Truth behind the 9/11*, the documentary highlights, in its four episodes, many enigmas about the 9/11. It mentioned that the U.S. intelligences were able to kill Osama Bin Laden in previous chances many times; however, they did not! It also clarifies how the 19 hijackers infiltrated to the United States trained there on driving jets freely and easily. The narrator affirmed sarcastically that el-Qaeda members were living in the same cities sometimes side by side to CIA's and Mosad's (Israeli Central Institute for Intelligence and Security) agents. Moreover, the documentary adds that the CIA alerted that there will be

some attacks on London, Boston, and New York. Some senior officials were considerably sure that the attacks are soon. One of them is Richard Clarke, who alarmed: “when the attacks occur as it is predicted, we will wonder; what we were able to do”. The danger according to a CIA officer reached the degree of 7 out of 10. Going deep in accenting the "intended" tolerance with the issue, Foudhah, mentioned the maneuvers that were scheduled by the Pentagon. The maneuvers were simulating an operation of obstructing putative hijacked jets by warplanes in the American airspace. "The coincidence" was that the maneuvers took place in September 9. A journalist argued that somebody scheduled those maneuvers for the sake of an intended disarrangement on the radars and impeding the response apparatuses. A former CIA officer commented: “some idiot, and the idiot is Richard Cheney”(Foudhah). The officer blamed the vice-president of scheduling the maneuvers synchronically with a period of an imminent threat, and sending a big number of warplanes toward Canada, Alaska, and Island and consequently, sending wrong signals to the radarscopes in order the officers cannot differ between the real and the putative signals.

Another enigma in the 9/11 is the disappearance of any rests of the jet that hit the Pentagon, they justified the high heat degree vaporized the steel of the plane into gas! Foudhah concluded his convincing documentary: “although there is no doubt where the blade of the knife had lunged, but still a doubt about where its handle was? Even though, the unarmed Americans were the victims of a tragedy they did not deserve, and their leader failed to protect them, the responsables still without trial because an objective and serious is not desirable to be done. The result was a war that has no relationship to what had happened”(Foudhah). The aforementioned former CIA officer insisted : “That's murder, on the part of the leadership of North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) and the White House, that's murder”(Foudhah).



## **2.The National Security Strategy**

In September 17, 2002, Bush addressed a joint session of the Congress. His speech was an outlining to the National Security Strategy of the United States (NSS); what became known as the Bush Doctrine. Using a dire language, Bush declared that the United States will not wait until another strike to response. New principles and military procedures were looming on the U.S. diplomacy toward terrorism (Daalder & Lindsay 120).

The Bush Doctrine consists mainly four points:

First, it called for preemptive military action against hostile states and terrorist groups seeking to develop weapons of mass destruction. Second, it announced that the United States would not allow its global military strength to be challenged by any hostile foreign power. Third, it expressed a commitment to multilateral international cooperation but made clear that the United States “will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary” to defend national interests and security. Fourth, it proclaimed the goal of spreading democracy and human rights around the globe, especially in the Muslim world (Lieber 43-44).

### **2-1.Preemptive War**

A stat's right to self- defense is legitimate according to the international law, in case of an external aggression or a threat by declaring war. any nation has the right to act military to defend its territories and interests (Smith 121). The previous definition fits the preventive war which the United States adopted for decades.

In contrast, preemption consists of the right to launch a military strike against any state, regime, or terrorist organization that is *suspected* to shape a threat to the United State by possessing any kind of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) or having evil plans. The advocates of the preemption as a U.S. option emphasized that it is just a mean among many other military and political means that the United States may use against Iraq, Ira or North Korea ( Karalov 176).

Rice affirmed the preemption claiming: “ That has never been a moral or legal requirements that a country wait to be attacked before it can address existential threats” (Qtd. Smith 116-117).

The most fears of the United States according to the Bush Doctrine comes from the threat of the nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. He assumed that evils can terrorize Americans by no more than a panzer 's cost. He described terrorists as shadowy cells of nonstates alarming that the most serious danger America may face, comes when a combination between radicalism and technology could exists (Karalov 168-169).

Bush used the 9/11 to ground the preemptive war as an option to defend the United States violating UN resolutions. His doctrine released America from any commitments toward the international law. Moreover, it adjusted the global scene to expect and to accept any American political move or muscular action.

## **2-2.Military Primacy**

The NSS praised America's unparalleled position of power. It described the United States as the hyper powerful nation in all sectors, especially the military one. The NSS stipulated that the end of this primacy is to create a world of balanced powers that satisfy all sides:“ Today the United States enjoy a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence, we do not use our strength to press for unilateral

advantage. We seek instead, to create a balance of powers that favors human freedom” (Karalov 168).

Opponents saw in this proclamation a tendency to rebirth what is known as the Pax Americana; an absolute power stretched over the world due to the strength " empire". In contrast, others that the military primacy is a necessity for stability and peace especially in parts of Southern Europe, East Asia and the Persian Gulf; blessing America being the "godfather" of the world (Lieber 46-47).

### **2-3.A New Multilateralism**

Bush's NSS committed to multilateralism, arguing that “ the United States is led by conviction that no nation could alone build a safer and better world. Alliances and multilateral institutions can multiply the strength of freedom-loving nations” (Qtd. Lieber 47). As a possible precaution, the NSS stated the U.S. right to act unilaterally in case of the UN or the alliances negligence. for this reason, cooperation was favored but only in case of a complete harmony among the cooperative nations and institutions, otherwise , the United States will not hesitate to go alone for her insistent interests (48).

### **2-4. Democracy Promotion**

George W. Bush is widely known as a democracy passionate. He rarely throws a speech without referring to democracy promoting as an American mission. Some censors saw that his way of addressing is similar to that of the old Christian missionaries when they were talking about peace and living in tolerance. In his speeches, it is noticeable the frequent use of words such as: liberty, freedom, peace, equality. . .etc. All those words reveals the idealistic part of the republican man who is trying to spread out his nation's model of democracy abroad.

The NSS stated America's duty to expand democracy worldwide . for Bush, tyranny and totalitarianism are sources of poverty, disease, and weakness. The NSS

intensifies that promoting democracy to other countries, especially those in the Middle-East won't be only in their behalf; however, the process will serve the United States as well. It will increase the U.S. national security since the conflicts never occur among democracies (Lieber 49).

In short, the U.S. enduring reaction to the assaults of the 9/11 produced the NSS. The Doctrine can be seen as a solid and decisive ground to justify the coming U.S. foreign affairs in front of any possible international rejection. The Bush administration took in consideration, that many of its future plans will face the veto of the traditional rivals such France and Russia. Thus, the NSS had been created as bridge for the Bush administration to achieve her goals.

### **3. The Afghanistan War**

#### **3-1. Toppling el-Qaeda**

As a reaction to Taliban's refusal to give up Osama Bin Laden and his key leaders in el-Qaeda; the United States conducted an American led-invasion against Afghanistan. The governing movement in Afghanistan, Taliban, under the leadership of El Mullah Omar and el-Qaeda were the main targets of the military campaign that started in October 10, 2001.

The war on Afghanistan did not achieve its main goals. Although the heavy airstrikes destroyed the strongholds and the training fields of el-Qaeda and caused a huge damage, but the most wanted leaders run out through the Pakistani borders due to an assistance from the Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan. The fierce war claimed up the lives of 20 thousands civilian Afghani and 128 villages and cities had been completely destroyed (Atwan 216).

### 3-2. The International Legitimacy

The Afghan war came in a critical time when many thought that the western civilization is under threat. The international opinion predicted an increasing proliferation of terrorist cells and militant guerillas because of the influence of Bin Laden's Fatwa that permit fighting and killing even American citizens. The war over el-Qaeda was a war on terror; and the international consensus to aid the United States was unanswerable evidence on its legality:

the Afghan war enjoyed broad international support. A large coalition of countries offered troops, aircraft, naval vessels, and other forms of direct military assistance. After initially rejecting many offers of help, the Bush administration eventually accepted troop contributions from nearly twenty countries. Britain supplied special forces. . . . France contributed Mirage fighters . . . and Germany, Denmark, Australia, and others sent special forces. Key Gulf states offered bases from which to fly bombing and surveillance missions. . . . The widespread international willingness to participate in military operations reflected the legitimacy of America's cause in Afghanistan. (Daalder & Lindsay 116) .

What had disgraced on the Bush administration was the over-long time that the war has been taking up. Although, Bush tried to indicate a deadline for the withdraw of the American forces, but to no avail. Since the first missiles that stroke Kabul hitherto, the U.S. forces still having frequent clashes on the Afghani territories even after assassinating Osama Bin Laden in May 2, 2011, in Pakistan, after a U.S. special force team prompt operation.

#### **4.Iraq War Ground: Critique**

George W. Bush and the Hawks in the White House were thinking on toppling Saddam's regime early on the inauguration month. In his 2002 State of the Union address, Bush named three states: Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as the "Axis of Evil". Describing them as a possible sources of terrorism and criticizing their hostility to the American diplomacy. Starting with Iraq, George W. Bush directed the Pentagon and the CIA to start planning for Saddam's ouster. One of Bush speech's writers was ordered to draft a justification address for an expected war over Iraq. Major goals behind the war according to Washington were idealistic consisting of the regime change for a more democratized nation and obsessing WMD (Daalder & Lindsay 132).

##### **4-1.The WMD Scarecrow**

Baghdad experienced the UN weapons inspections since the 1991 Gulf War ceasefire agreement. United Nation Special Commission (UNSCOM) on the Iraqi facilities faced some intolerance from the Iraqi side. However, the required conditions were enough for the UNSCOM team to keep on its missions. In 1997, Saddam ordered American members of the UNSCOM out of the country, and in 1998, Baghdad announced that is ending all the cooperation with the UNSCOM. Washington reacted by Operation Desert Fox, consequently Saddam declared that the era of the weapons inspection had ended (Kristol & Kagan 64-67). The UN verifications on Iraq were synchronized with harsh blockade and economic sanctions that lasted for more than a decade and jeopardized the normal life of the Iraqi civilians.

In January 2000 the UN established the United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspection (UNMOVIC) a new version of (UNSCOM). Under Washington pressure the UN send back the UNMOVIC to Iraq for searching the WMD that Saddam was suspected to own. Afraid of war, Saddam welcomed the UN team to verify the regime's

facilities seeking WMD. Eventually, the results of the committee were negative. In November 2002, The American head of the team affirmed in his report that Saddam Hussein had no nuclear arsenals or warheads (67-70).

In November 2002, the masterminds in the Pentagon who determined to invade Iraq, were preparing for their military campaign. Richard Perle, a key Pentagon adviser, stunned members of the British parliament when he affirmed that regardless of the UNMOVIC final report, an evidence from one eyewitness on Saddam's program will trigger the U.S. forces to start attacking. More zealous than his neoconservative Vulcans, Bush was intent to go to war even if the inspectors find nothing (Miller, Stauber & Rampton 41).

Even the CIA was under insistent pressure to falsify any convincing justification for the Invasion. The White House and the Pentagon were exercising a big urgency on the agency to produce intelligence reports more supportive to the war over Iraq (41).

Unfortunately, the whole story of the dooming WMD owned by Saddam was a mere of a fake reason to conquer the innocent Iraqi civilians. The lords of war in Washington were trying to falsify all the conclusive facts grounding for a fierce war that will serve their own interests.

#### **4-2.Regime Change**

The horns of the neoconservative propaganda, William Kristol and Rupert Kagan devoted a complete chapter in their book the *War over Iraq* to condemn Saddam's tyranny. The writers divided his tyranny into two kinds; tyranny at home and tyranny abroad. In fact, Saddam Hussein had been a real dictator since his coup on authority in 1979. He led the country by steel and fire! He was depending on a strong intelligence apparatus to assassinate, torture, and defame his suspected rivals. In Iraq, Saddam's foes were those who opposed his absolute authority, not because they declared that publically but because he

had the minimum doubt that they were doing so. Political figures, journalists, poets and even neutral civilians went the victims of Saddam's megalomania. His methods of punishing his "possible being" enemies were incredible:

Iraq's guns, however, have mostly been reserved for use on its citizens. Saddam Hussein exists in every corner, every place, every eyebrow and every heart in Iraq, the dictator's network of informers pervade the country, turning in those—including their own relatives—who make jokes at Saddam's expense or otherwise engage in what passes for dissent in Iraqi society. Publicly insulting Saddam is punishable by death. . . . A Baath Party member was arrested for being present at a gathering where jokes were made about Hussein. For the crime of “not informing the authorities” about the jokes, the party member and all the males in his family were executed and the family's home was bulldozed. In another case, a man's tongue was sliced off for slandering the Iraqi dictator and then the man was driven around after the punishment while information about his alleged offence was broadcast through a loudspeaker ( Kristol & Kagan 22-23).

The writers never blame the United States for not intervening to rescue the civilians from the brutal crimes since 1979. Claiming that it was due to *realpolitik* respects. They quoted from a former House Republican majority leader his justification: “let Saddam Hussein bluster, let him rant and rave all he wants and let that be a matter between him and his own country. As long as he behaves himself within his borders, we should not be addressing any attack or resources against him” (57).



Saddam's tyranny abroad consisted mainly in his wars against neighboring countries; Iran, Kuwait, and the Israeli entity. The Iraq-Iran war was a bloody crime against humanity. The arrogance of the dictator was clearly apparent in his menace to the enemies " I am going to march to Tehran and pull the beard off of the Khomeini's face". The war witnessed flagrant violations to the international law. It resulted woeful massacres against Iranian soldiers. Saddam did not hesitate to use forbidden chemical weapons against the rival troops as well as against Iraqi-Kurdish civilians, whom Saddam thought to be sympathetic to Iran. One of Saddam's dishonors was the massacre of Halabja in March 1988, killing 5000 victims ("Iran-Iraq war").

It is right that Saddam Hussein was a tyrannical dictator and a real war criminal who perpetrated despicable crimes against innocent people. But, what Kristol and Kagan overlooked to implement in the course of listing Saddam's crimes was the American contribution to those actions. The United States supported Iraq tacitly in the war over Iran ("Iran-Iraq war"). The United States and Great Britain over decades did not accuse Saddam of perpetrating those crimes, in contrast, in 1988, Washington doubled its financial aid that it was usually giving to the regime, London also, promised to aid the regime by a total of \$3.5 million (Atwan 219).

After all this connivance, the Bush administration appeared after 24 bloody years to claim the regime change policy. Bush acting as a salvation messenger, was drawing the necessity to topple Saddam's regime. The aim stated by the White House man was to democratize the populace and to spread the western values. George Bush was revealing that he is going to send the aircraft carriers to freed the Iraqi women just like he did with the Afghani ones before!

**Conclusion**

The 9/11 events was a mere of a conspiracy. The Bush administration cooperated with the Islamic Fundamentalists led by Bin Laden (old friend of The Bush) to perpetrate. Strategists in the White House were in need to a terrific assaults like the Pearl Harbor to ground their policies. The NSS was an American releasing from the international conventions and a tough coat against the international criticism. Armed by the NSS, Bush did not care about the validity of his justifications for the Iraq war, therefore, the idealistic causes stated by the administration were out of credibility and logic.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Invasion and the Gigantic Revenues**

#### **Introduction**

Prior to the war, no looming adjustments would guarantee the war's annulment or postponing. The resolve of the Bush administration to wage a war against Iraq was overwhelming. The international efforts to hinder the invasion were to no avail, and the approving resolutions were just a smokescreen. The invasion has been launched and the plan for destroy at large scale was perfectly happening.

This last chapter is aiming at expressing the final phases of the Neocons and the oil interests. It is intensifying the validity of the real causes behind the American led-invasion to Iraq, consequently, annulling the Bush idealistic motives. Also, it highlights the major steps of the Pentagon to enhance the war locally and globally. Eventually, it investigates the dirty surrealistic awarded contracts that signed between the pro-American Iraqi government and the money thirsty corporations.

#### **1. Major Leading Forces behind the Invasion**

Coming to an end to the war countdown, the Bush administration were stilling using the WMD and the regime change as the real motives for the looming war over Iraq. However, the black history of the former friendship between Saddam and the White House; in addition to the WMD's crystal clear inexistence were more than to be concealed by the neoconservative and the oilmen propagandists. Indeed, orchestrating the clash of civilization theory by the Neocons and the oilmen ambitions to have a controlling strategy over the Iraqi oil were the major leading forces behind the American led- invasion to Iraq.

### **1.1.Neocons and Huntington's Clash of Civilization**

Samuel P. Huntington, American political scientist, consultant to various U.S. government agencies, and important political commentator in national debates on U.S. foreign policy in the late 20th and early 21st century, wrote a controversial book in 1996; entitled *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order*. The book contributed to the so called the "Future Sciences" that deals with predicted political issues including the international conflicts and raising powerful nations. Huntington was theorizing that the a new type of clash among mankind in the coming future! He considered that is farfetched for wars that occurred before the Berlin's Wall Fall to be repeated, of course not in term of arms and tactics but in term of adversaries and reasons.

The clash in the new world according to him, will not be due to ideological or economic reasons but because of cultural respects. Huntington forecasted that the conflict would occur between the Occidental world led by the United States and the Orient world led by the Islamic and Confucius countries. Claiming that the occident (Western) is to "civilize" and "democratize" the uncivilized backward nations of the Orient by exporting the western modern ideals. The writer posed the issue of the clash borders between the rivals arguing that faith, tribe, blood will be the new criteria of separating line between major civilizations. The book confirmed that religion and tribalism are going to be axial powers in the modern world and they can be basic motives for war. The Neocons in the Bush administration embraced this theory and worked to implement it for their future agenda:

The Republican neo-conservatives, led by Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perl, accepted this thesis, but modified it. They argued that the only way to preclude a larger cataclysm was

to transform the Middle East, a cultural transformation based on Western values, ethics, and beliefs. They believed that the United States, with or without allied support, possessed the power to transform Iraq, and through Iraq the entire Middle East. They believed that Iraq was the focal point for cultural and political transformation, and that a democratic, secular, capitalist Iraq would influence Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and other Muslim, Middle East states, transforming the entire region (Lewis 403).

Following this path, the neoconservative ambitions were heading Iraq as axial Arab and Islamic nation. They believed that Iraq would be a sample for their dream on a Middle- East modeled on the Western norms will fit the growth of the Israeli entity and strengthen the Zionist ambitions in the region. The Israeli entity has been always supported by the United States as a strategic outpost and loyal ally. Israel's main mission is to keep the Middle-East in enduring destabilization paving the way for American frequent interventions:

One of the reasons the Bush Administration failed to win the support of its two most powerful European allies, France and Germany, is because these nations believed U.S. policy was decisively influenced by American Jewish “Neocons” whose unquestioned support for Israel distorted American foreign and military policies, and American perceptions and behaviors in the Middle East (405).

The Arab Muslim states that had suffered for a near century under the rule of Western powers, perceive the United States as the newest imperialist power. Reviving the

old fashion "The White Man's Burden" in a new cloth, the United States has been leading an imperial campaign nearly similar to the 19<sup>th</sup> European imperialism in term of objectives. By orchestrating Huntington's theory principles the Neocons were aiming at transformation process instead of confronting destiny in the Middle-East.

## **1.2.The Oil Interests**

The confidence of political analysts and geopolitical strategists reached a high level concerning the American oil ambitions in Iraq. oil may not have been the only factor in 2003 invasion, but it was clearly in the equation. One leading gas and oil analyst said:

The US administration keeps talking about weapons of mass destruction, about a rogue regime bent on arming terrorists with biological or bacterial weapons, but ask any oil executive in Texas about the real reason for Bush and Cheney's determination to overthrow Saddam Hussein and they will laugh. Oil, oil, oil is the reason, weapons of mass destruction are just a smokescreen (Rowell 116).

In the same sense, Noam Chomsky, an American linguist and political activist who is known as an Anti-America 's foreign policy and a harsh critique to Israel though his Jewish origins. When he was asked how central is oil to U.S. strategy and if was it the driving force behind the U.S. invasion and occupation to Iraq? Chomsky answered:

It's undoubtedly central. I don't think any sane person doubts that. The Gulf region has been the main energy producing region of the world since the Second World War and is expected to be so for at least another generation. The Persian Gulf is a huge source of strategic power and material wealth. And Iraq is absolutely central to it. Iraq has

the second largest oil reserves in the world, and Iraqi oil is very easily accessible and cheap. If you control Iraq, you are in a very strong position to determine the price and production levels (not too high, not too low) to undermine OPEC, and to throw your weight around throughout the world. This has nothing in particular to do with *access* to the oil for import into the United States. It's about *control* of the oil (Barsamian 5-6).

Emphasizing the same argument, Osama Bin Laden confirmed that oil has had a great impact in the U.S. foreign geopolitics in the Middle-East; when he was interviewed by the editor Al- Kuds Al-Arabi, Abd-El Bari Atwan, in 1996 Tora Bora in the Afghani-Pakistani borders, Bin Laden affirmed that the aim behind the existence of the American military bases in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries is oil. He clarified that the process requires a military pressure, however, he regretted ironically: “ any way we are going to sell them oil, since we are not going to drink it” ( Atwan 96).

## **2. Enhancing the Occupation**

In 2002, Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Rice made the argument for a war against Iraq. The two major arguments were Iraq's WMD and the regime change that was suspected to harbor el-Qaeda terrorists. Using all the possible ways, the Bush administration was trying to convince the whole world about the legitimacy of the looming preemptive war. The CIA's objective intelligence reports, the Democrat's tendencies for peaceful resolutions, and the collapse of the WMD façade, in addition to disinterest of the UN Security Council members shaped the major obstacles against the Bush administration. The aforementioned issues made it hard for Bush to enjoy a worldwide solidarity in his war over Iraq.

## **2.1.Circumventing the CIA**

The CIA did not show any intentions to assist with conducting the Neocons agenda to invade Iraq. Its reporting were disappointing to the pentagon. The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) took also the same road, preferring to keep working along the CIA honestly and without stratagem. In one of its reports, the CIA affirmed that Iraq's WMD program dormant and in 1998, it determined that Saddam had no ties to el-Qaeda. In 2002, Rumsfeld established two unofficial and independent offices of intelligence. The first was named Counter- Terrorism Evaluation Group (CTEG), under Douglas Feith, a fierce neoconservative, the unit's job was to analyze the relationship between the different terrorist cells. The main mission of CTEG was inundating the White House by misleading reports that affirm the relationship between the Iraqi regime and el-Qaeda. The second bureau was Office of Special Plans (OSP), an intelligence unit related to the Pentagon. Rumsfeld appointed an old Straussian student named William Luti to head the intelligence . OSP's mission was near to be countering the CIA. Nicknamed "Cabal", the CTEG and the OSP's successful missions were disparaging, undermining, and contradicting the CIA's reporting which was far away from satisfying Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and Feith (Clarke 103-104).

## **2.2.The Congress Approval**

In November 2002, the Congress passed a resolution authorizing the president for an act of war. In fact, the Congress' privilege to authorize the military actions had been lost to the executives since the WWII era. Thus, the approval of the Congress was, indeed, a process of formality .

The vote in the House of Representatives was 296 to 138 and the House of Senates was 77 to 23. 126 Democrats and 6 Republican Representatives opposed the resolution, while 21 Democrats and 1 Republican opposed at the level of the Senates. The results



revealed the traditional disagreement in vision between the Republican and the Democrats. Afraid of being seen as "weak on terrorism", the democrat politicians in the Congress did not show the usual wise thoughtfulness but rather their debate was remarkable for its hyperbole, superficiality, and absence of critical thinking. Eventually, the Congressmen rubber stamped the resolution, following blindly the president's decision, and manifesting their answerable patriotism (Lewis 409-410).

### **2.3.The UN Security Council Resolution**

The UN Security Council attitude toward the war on Iraq started with a kind of hesitating, but it ended as supportive to the Bush administration. Even if the UN Security Council wanted to oppose the resolution 1441, actually, it would not able to do so. The history of this international institution witnesses that it has been always weaker than to oppose or to condemn the U.S. post-WWII conflicts hitherto. In a broad sense, the UN was supposed to be a neutral peace keeper, aiming at the application of the international laws; nevertheless, its partiality to Washington foreign policy over decades had been exposing its submission to the U.S. influence. The Security Council members voted for the resolution 1441. A consensus of 15 votes gave the Bush administration the green light for the disarmament of the Iraqi regime. In fact, the approval did not come without American pressures over the three nuclear strong members in the Security Council (El-Sahari 97).

With a British alliance, the Bush administration seduced the rest three strong members by different deals. For France and Russia the deal was that in a post-Saddam Iraq government, the U.S. will exercise pressures on the transitional government to renew the two countries' economic contracts; otherwise, the U.S. giant oil corporations will monopolize the oil industries and the Russian and French actual corporations in Iraq will be fired out. Also, the Bush administration made another deal with Russia. Washington promised the Russians in case of voting the resolution, to overlook its harsh critique to the

Russian war in Chechnya considering it as a part of the American global struggle against terror. Moreover, Washington hinted that it will permit Russian forces to attack the neighboring Georgia looking for Chechnya's terrorists. As it dealt with the Russian Bear, the Bush administration considered the Turkmenistan Islamic Movement that was seeking to freed an Islamic minority from the Chinese totalitarianism as a terrorist organization. The decision satisfied the china which voted in her turn for the resolution. Bush's aim to cover his mean war by an international legitimacy came true (100-103).

#### **2.4.Connivance with the Iraqi Exiles**

Prior to the war, several meetings between Bush's senior officials and Iraqi exiles were taking place. The exiles that shaped the Iraqi National Congress (INC), were considered by Dick Cheney as free Iraqis. The vice-president described them as men whom he can deal with. In fact, the INC members were seeking authority in a post-Saddam Iraq; therefore, the Bush administration assured to them that they will be the future leaders in a democratic Iraq! However, the American partiality to the INC members was not without price. The exiles promised " you can have our oil if we can get back there". Hence, oil was topic A discussed in the meetings. The meetings occurred firstly on 20-21 December and secondly on January 31<sup>st</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> February 2003. The parts of the secret meetings- as they were described- were major executives in energy corporations from both Iraq and the United States (Routledge 178-181).

The exiles' side consisted of Ahmed Shalabi, the INC leader and the Pentagon's favorite to lead a post- Saddam Iraq government. Fadhil Shalabi, a former undersecretary to the Oil Ministry. He was also the Pentagon's favorite to head the Oil Ministry in a transitional government. In addition to Ibrahim Bahr El Uloum and Mohammed – Ali Zainy, two other Petroleum engineers and operants in the oil sector. The U.S. participants consisted of Cheney and his staff, State Department, and representatives to the main U.S.

oil gigantic corporations such as Halliburton, ExxonMobil, Chevron Texaco and ConocoPhillips (187-181).

The work plans were referred as Future of Iraq Project. The major issues were set by the two sides :

\_The U.S. deal with the existing Iraqi oil industry in the immediate aftermath of the invasion, in case the Iraqi forces would damage the oil plants as an act of avenge.

\_ Process of reconstruction, privatization of the oil industry to make an easy access for the U.S-British oil corporations in a free Iraq.

\_The basic components of the relation between the post-invasion Iraqi oil industry and the OPEC(187-181).

The Iraqi exiles contributed greatly to the American-led invasion to Iraq. They were representing the anti-Saddam political activists abroad. Their wealth, influence, and near to the Bush administration and to the American oil interests enabled them to occupy major offices in the coming transitional government. They facilitated the mission for the oil interests as giving back the favor.

### **2.5.The Arab Leaders Attitudes**

The Arab leaders attitudes were no harming to the American resolve to invade Iraq. Fierce critique was directed against the Arab-Muslim world in the aftermath of the 9/11. The United States accused both Saudi Arabia and Egypt for harboring terrorists and their training camps. The American accusation was based on the fact that most of el-Qaeda activists originated from the two mentioned countries. As a result to the exercised pressures over the Arab regimes, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait announced their unquestioned logistical support for the invasion. Indeed, the Arab leaders connivance did not reflect the attitude of their populace. Many demonstration overran the Arab streets the condemn the crusade over a brother people. The leaders who confronted the

demonstrations muscularly, were seeking favoritism from the United States to keep protecting their regimes (78-93).

It will not be surprising that the House of Saud offered support for the American campaign on Iraq, even to the extent of promising Energy Secretary, Abraham Spencer, that they will rise the Saudi oil production from 8 million b/d to 10,5 b/d. the upping was to cover any possible loss of oil from Iraq because of the attacks (Routledge 176).

### **2.6.Mobilization, Fear, and the Bush Rhetoric**

The preparation for the invasion was underway. Bush and his vulcans were addressing the world through the different media means. Although the argument of regime change came to jeopardy and the WMD façade was falling apart, the White House seniors were trying to mobilize the American and the global sympathy.

With his rhetoric accent, Bush was attempting to characterize the post-9/11 world as an environment of fear and trauma. He was conveying alarming messages about the overwhelming evil enemy. He claimed the necessity to confront it before another 9/11 may happen. Bush the commander-in- chief recognized that he will earn his citizens loyalty since the nation was passing through a wartime. Although he praised America's resolve and challenge but he did not deny the eminent threat. Bush founded a new security secretary named; Homeland Security in 2003, and increased the budgets of the different security agencies. Fear kept the Americans united, just as Bush and neoconservatives needed to go far in their agenda.

### **3.Operation Iraqi Freedom**

After setting all the appropriate conditions for the war at the level of Pentagon, the White House, media, and the civil society, the U.S. –allies troops were on top readiness. The world was waiting for the first bombings on Baghdad, after the failure of all the

adjustments between the adversaries. The go-ahead to attack was the decisive order the world waited Bush to utter.

### **3.1.Shock and Owe**

It was a war strategy initiated by Donald Rumsfeld. The main principles of the operation have been adopted by Donald due to their advantages. Effectiveness, decisiveness, and accuracy shaped the cornerstones of what became later known as the Rumsfeld Doctrine. The Doctrine aimed at intensive and prompt air bombing that paralyzes the strategic bases of the foe's forces. The other phase of the plan according to the Pentagon man would be a light and surprising march of infantries to capture strategic outposts. The new operational doctrine aimed at avoiding the conventional war. Instead, it planned to use variant of tactics that relied heavily on Special Forces airpower, surrogate forces, and small and flexible ground forces. It was based on speed, maneuver, shock effect and extensive covert preparation of the battle field.

The Pentagon Hawks counted on the notion that they are going to fight against a state not a nation. To separate the government and the Iraqi people, the Pentagon supported a ferocious propaganda that incites the Iraqis not to help the regime's official forces. Moreover, the propaganda targeted also separately senior officers in saddam's army. The officers were alarmed not to intervene or to use WMDs and the requital will be their safety. the other step planned by the Pentagon was to seize the oilfields as much to prevent them from any damage may the Iraqi Republican Guard –loyal military forces to Saddam- cause. Afraid of exhausting battle fields, the U.S. generals wanted an operation based on developed technologies, smart intelligences, and effective cooperation among all the units of army. The main target for the allies was not complete destroy to the Iraqi army, but destroying the inner circle or the central nervous system of the regime's forces (Lewis 412-414).

### **3.2.The Relative Success and the Unexpected Casualties**

As it had been planned by the Pentagon, the Operation Iraq Freedom was successful and quick at the very beginning. It was no longer than three weeks after March 19<sup>th</sup>, that Baghdad was seized by the willing coalition troops. On April 9<sup>th</sup>, the invading army was in heart of Baghdad celebrating victoriously side by side to the anti-Saddam Iraqis. The El- Ferdous Yard crowd destroyed the dictator's statue enjoying the victory of allies. On May 1<sup>st</sup>, Bush announced the end of the major military operations and claiming that is time to start achieving the political goals of the occupation.

It will not be surprising that the "Shock and Owe" did not face any considerable resistance from the Iraqi side during the first month. Thus, the coalition's casualties were relatively insignificant. In the other side, the Republican Guard was totally defeated and collapsed. The bombing caused severe casualties in spirits and infrastructure because of the many time when the invading warplanes bombed intensively civilian targets, consequently, killing many innocent victims. Three weeks were enough to destroy Baghdad and major cities at a large scale. Drinkable water, electricity, medicines, and food were the hardest requirements to have under the intensive fire that turned the country to a burning hell.

Many analysts thought that the end of the war would be soon. However, the real resistance started, paradoxically, on May 1<sup>st</sup>. different militias from Kurds, Ba'athists, and el-Qaeda jihadists revolted in the appropriate time . they started to direct quick strikes against the adversarial forces; adopting the "gang's war style". The resistance was a herald for a big failure committed by the Pentagon men. It seems that the revolutionary militias waited for the end of the airpower operations, to start attacking. The Jihadists as they used to call themselves took advantage from knowing the land's reliefs. They were waiting for

the Western troops everywhere, jungles, deserts, caves, mountains, and even hidden among civilians in the cities (Atwan 226-227).

The resistance was strengthening day after another, Bush's rhetoric was turning to condolences to the dead soldiers' families. The old secretary of defense, who wanted to be immortalized by history was facing harsh critique because of his wrong assessments. The "Shock and Owe" was a good strategy to destroy and to capture for a short time; but, it was not successful strategy to control over a country for a long period of time:

The conventional war in Iraq was unnecessary . . . The insurgency war was primarily a function of Rumsfeld's flawed vision of war, inability to listen to his generals, and arrogance. It was a function of flawed theater strategy, operational doctrines, inadequate resources, misdirected efforts, and erroneous assumptions. The growth of the insurgency was fueled by insufficient numbers of U.S. troops; the wrong force structure and technologies; a lack of cultural comprehension; the assumption that Americans would be welcomed as liberators . . . the failure to stop the violence and looting when it started; the failure to identify the real external and internal threats; the failure to secure the stock of weapons and ammunition and to disarm the Iraqi Army (Lewis 437).

One of the major journalists who covered the Iraqi resistance was Ahmed Mansur. Aljazeera correspondent was reporting from the channel's office in El- Felloudja city. The city was solid stronghold for the Mujahedeen. According to Mansur, it witnessed painful strikes that targeted the coalition troops. The explosions became a daily life scenario in

that city, as the journalist described in his book that he published under the title *Battle of El- Felloudja . . . and America's Defeat in Iraq* . Mansur considered that the city raised as the Iraqi resistance symbol that witnessed the defeat of the super powerful farces in the world ever! He compared the coalition hard situation in Iraq to the what had happened in Vietnam, when the American forces withdrawal was accompanied by insulting humiliation and disgrace.

#### **4.Making Business during War**

the greed of the American cartels has been known since capitalism became the leading economic credo in the United States. The greed reached high levels of brutality, and the only objective of those corporations was winning more and more revenues. Indeed, many giant corporations destiny has been linked to the Pentagon. The many wars that the Pentagon launched through America's history, were in fact sources of gigantic outcomes in the companies 's treasuries. During it military campaigns, the Pentagon must sign contracts with powerful companies that provide mostly logistical aid to the fighting troops.

Companies that are specialized in medicine industry, military food, building camps and strongholds, transporting fuel had been always the shadow of the Pentagon. The more war takes a long time and becomes stern, the more the accompanying companies earn doubled huge revenues. In that sense, the Iraq war was a typical sample of the Pentagon's "commercial" wars. Prior to the war several American cartels were making secretly dirty deals with the Pentagon –funded at the expense of the tax payers- and with the first bombs on Baghdad, the companies were ready to head Iraq immediately.

#### **5.The Awarded Contracts: An Act of Robbery**

U.S. Labor Against the War (USLAW) is a coalition of hundreds of local, regional and national unions, central labor bodies and other labor organizations, representing



millions of organized workers in the United States. The USLAW issued in 2003, a document entitled *Profile of U.S. Corporations Awarded Contracts in U.S./British Occupied Iraq*. The document was one of the rare sources that manifested the surrealistic deals between the Pentagon and the greedy corporations.

The USLAW's report included other commercial activities to the corporations in other countries like Afghanistan and in different times, but the following pieces extracted from the an electronic copy to the document are concerned only with the contracts signed with the transitional government. Halliburton and its subsidiary Kellogg Brown &Roots (KBR) implicitly headed by Cheney got the lion's share of the contracts.

### **5.1.Halliburton and KBR: Definition**

Founded in 1919, Halliburton is the world's 2<sup>nd</sup> largest provider of oil and gas pipeline services to the oil and gas industries. Its subsidiary, Kellogg Brown & Root, has a long history providing defense logistics support and construction services. The Company operates through the entire lifecycle of oil and gas reservoirs and provides and integrates products and services, starting with exploration and development, moving through production, operations, maintenance, conversion and refining, to infrastructure and abandonment. Halliburton employs 85,000 people in more than 100 countries. KBR, the engineering and construction group, designs and builds liquefied natural gas and oil plants, refining and processing plants, production facilities and pipelines, both onshore and offshore. KBR also provides operations and maintenance for a wide variety of facilities.

### **5.2.Halliburton and KBR: Surrealistic Deals**

. A two-year contract to fight oil fires in Iraq awarded without competitive bidding and with a maximum value of \$7 billion dollars – the contract was found to include pumping and distributing Iraqi oil. Congress claimed to investigate possible favoritism. Halliburton also was one of a handful of companies secretly invited to bid on a US Agency for

International Development (USAID) construction contract worth up to \$680 million to rebuild Iraq.

. Since March 2002 the US Army has issued 24 task orders to KBR totaling \$425 million under the contract for work related to Operation Iraqi Freedom.

. A contract with the World Health Organization (WHO) for disabling and destroying “unconventional” weapons in Iraq. In addition to A five-year \$300 million contract to provide logistical support to the Navy.

. On March 25, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, using a no-bid contract, awarded KBR \$71.3 million in work orders to repair and operate oil wells in Iraq. That contract has a two-year duration with a spending ceiling of \$7 billion.

It is worth mention that other 25 corporations awarded contracts were included in the USLAW's document! The other companies also were in charge of different missions that were embodied under the so called " Iraq reconstruction". The revenues were terrifically gigantic as the previous synthesized points affirmed in the language of numbers (USLAW).

## **6.Blood Money**

Christian Miller, an American reporter and writer witnessed the process of the Iraq reconstruction that followed immediately the official end of the major military operations. Miller documented his field experience with the corporations' working units in his book *Blood Money: Wasted Billions, Lost Lives, And Corporate Greed in Iraq* published in 2010.

With an elegant narrative style, Miller chronicled the main process of the reconstruction describing all the events that accompanied the project. The book criticize the numerous acts of fraudulence committed by the corporations. It described the many victims of the lethal ambushes formed by the Iraqi revolutionaries.

According to Miller, Americans from all the spectrums were struggling in Iraq for money; trying to earn as they could since the Iraq money was without any owner. Miller accused the Iraqi exiles who really shaped the puppet government and the American powerful businessmen for the gluttony robbery to the populace money. Dick's Halliburton and KBR were the main culprits in the scandal. Therefore, Miller affirmed that the aim of the reconstructing corporations was earning hundreds of billions and asserting their influence over the oil industries. The Iraq rebuild, in fact, was a mere excuse to leap the international laws. Three years were enough for Bush and his Neoconservative Vulcans and Hawks to pave the way for the capitalist greedy oil corporations to plundering the Iraq wealth and to set up pro-American government that would facilitate the long-term process of controlling the producing oilfields and oil reserves.

### **Conclusion**

Whether the real causes were the regime change and WMD or not; with the UN resolution and the Congressional approval or without them, nothing were to stop Bush's war over Iraq. The U.S. president never forgets that he was an oilman once and that he was indebted to the oil interests for their conditional support during the presidential campaign! The Iraq war was more than a generous give back to the oil corporations. Dick's Halliburton was the biggest winner from the war, and the Iraqis were the most miserable people on earth! The revenues of the contracts were accounted by hundreds of billions, in addition to an enduring control over the oil facilities. Oil was again at the hands of the American giants.

## General Conclusion

The first Bush Jr. term witnessed the comeback of veteran neoconservatives and over-wealthy oilmen to the White House. Whether coincidentally or intently, they together dominated the top posts in the new administration shaping a pragmatic governing apparatus. The two groups were ready to lead the nation according to their conviction. In the other side, the liberal Democrats were experiencing a situation of abandoning and neglecting. Their weight in the Congress and the White House was jeopardized and their political opposition was a matter of traditional formality. The Bush administration was really led by the hard liners and the influential oilmen.

The Neocons were known for their extremism when it concerns the U.S. security. Their roots traced back to the 1930s when they turned tough rightist. The Neocons first act was involving in the McCarthyist "Witch Hunt" of the 1960s. At that time, they appeared as fierce Anti-Communist who did not admit the "cohabiting" with communist political activists though the American democracy. Then, they emerged again to fight another battle against communism during the 1970s when they refused any partiality or treaties with the Soviet Union. As a result, they undermined the Policy of Détente which limited the arming races and provided a kind of confidence between the two blocks. Their aggressive posture, deep belief of muscularity, and focusing on the foreign policy affaires make them the favorite men to lead the United States whenever a war is needed.

Some intellectuals believes in the so called The Illuminati, which they think it the actual responsible organization that had been conducting the United States since its early thirteen colonies. Thus, they affirmed that Bush's ( a Yale University Secret Society member) tendencies to wage wars in the "evil" Middle-East had been plotting prior to the 2000 controversial elections. The lack of Liberals in the Bush administration major offices

(with an exception to Powel and O'Neil) vis-à-vis the considered overrun by the Neocons proved the hypothesis of a the stratagem to invade Iraq.

Implementing Huntington's theory of a clash of civilizations, the Neocons applied their mendacity to mobilize a fake and inciting propaganda to justify their unjust war against Iraq. Indeed, the war was not an act of valor to protect the Americans from the terrorist Saddam's WMD as they claimed. In Fact, their end was to conceal preemptively any possible emerging Islamic rival in the Middle-East. Actually, their most fears was not coming from radical Islamism whom the U.S. created and supported through history; but, from a real nationalist and moderate governments that would not allow the U.S. intervention and influence in the region as the matter had been with the House of Saud and the Gulf Sheikhs. Wolfowitz and the rest of the hawks in the nest, wanted to reshape the Middle-East on the occidental criteria, starting by Iraq due to his economic and military weakness caused by the blockade and the sanctions; In addition, to his tendencies to cooperate with the U.S. traditional adversaries.

The other benefactor from an occupation to Iraq were the oil interests. The United States had been conducting by its energy security since the early aftermath of WWII. The Big Oil was in a continuing struggle for dominating the oil global markets. The U.S. oil cartels knew that the domestic oil production will not satisfied the U.S. requirements. Hence, the Caspian region, Latin America, the former Soviet Union Republics and the Middle-East were the basic stages for the U.S. foreign geopolitics. It is known also, that the oil cartels never hesitated to act violently and illegally to achieve the desired revenues.

The Bush administration was loyal to the oil corporations. Intended to give back the favor, the Bush-Cheney planned to invade Iraq and to pave the way for the cartel to complete the job. The flow of oil was not the purpose, but controlling the huge Iraqi

oilfields and reserves was the proposed strategy to dominate the oil markets. The oil giants were responsible for the production quantities to keep a kind of balance toward OPEC and Saudi Arabia. Actually, the United States limited the Russian and the French access to Iraqi oilfields by urging the transitional government to annul the contracts that were signed with Saddam's regime. The cartels also worked on preventing any increasing export to China and India in order to obstruct their advancing industrialism, consequently, occupying the following ranks after the United States.

The American cartels' greed reached high levels. The Iraq infrastructure has been destroyed totally by the war machineries. The so called Iraq reconstruction was, actually, a mean act of robbery. The gigantic deals signed between the cartels and the U.S. government were leaped and raped, and money was paying by cash in many times. Robbery and plundering were at large scale. In brief, Iraq was a treasure opened for all kinds of corporations and organizations. Neither the U.S. verification committees nor the UN ones were able to stop the crime. Ironically, the Bush administration was over generous in her commercial war. The Iraqi children paid the price for being born above the undergrounds that are full of the Black Gold.

Therefore, The Iraq invasion was mixture of economic and ideological agenda. The Neocons and the oilmen targeted the country for different purposes. Thus, The act proved America's relentless blind drive behind its interests. It exposes the U.S. fake ideals of freedom, democracy, and justice. Also, it characterizes the reality of the 9/11 as an American done, that attempted to implement the notions of fear, vulnerability, and insecurity to unite the American populace behind a courage wartime leader, who holds their destiny at his hands. Holding the Bible in hand and the gun in other, Bush and his hawks were able in a period of four years to create another "communist" enemy; terror. In the path of fighting terror, the United States has been grounding and justifying her crimes

on the right of humanity. The Dollars' earning appeared to be the major driving cause behind many American conflicts.

Nowadays, the United States under Barak Obama is witnessing a presidential campaign. The elections are synchronizing with a fierce escalation between the United States and Iran. For The absurdity of history, the escalation came as result to Iran's shutting to Strait of Hormuz, a vital seaway of exporting oil from the Gulf to the rest of the world. Tehran is justifying her act as response to the U.S. led- sanctions on her. The absurdity consists in that the sanctions has been thrust upon Iran because of the U.S. claims about an Iranian nuclear program, consequently, the "Mushroom Clouds" that will demolish the world! According to the history's lessons, Iran as a "Rogue State", an axial Muslim Middle-East and major oil supplier could be a second Iraq if the Neocons-oilmen ally will come back to the White House.

In the final analysis, any rational mind can recognize that the U.S. diplomacy is a policy of pure interest that it has no regards to democracy, human rights, and international laws; that the United States is led by greedy cartels that do not care even about the American people. And that the wartime is the best climate for those cartels to manipulate their dirty business under different idealistic covers. And surly, that the Middle- East is the main target of the U.S. war machineries.

## Glossary

**Agenda:** a list of matters to be discussed at a meeting, or a long-term plan that aims at achieving goals.

**el-Qaeda:** is a global militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in Peshawar (Pakistan) at some point between August 1988 and late 1989. It operates as a network comprising both a multinational, stateless army and a radical Sunni Muslim movement calling for global Jihad and a strict interpretation of Islamic law.

**Foreign policy:** also called the foreign relations policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals within international relations milieu.

**Hard-Line:** extreme and severe and not likely to change .

**Hawk:** a politician who strongly supports the use of force in political relationships rather than discussion or other more peaceful solutions.

**Multilateralism:** is a term in international relations that refers to multiple countries working in concert on a given issue. For instance, the United Nations and the World Trade Organization are multilateral in nature.

**Mushroom Cloud:** a very large cloud of dust that rises into the air in the shape of a large mushroom, especially after a nuclear explosion.



**Saddam Hussein:** Saddam Hussein Abd al-Majid al-Tikriti (28 April 1937 – 30 December 2006) was the fifth President of Iraq, serving in this capacity from 16 July 1979 until 9 April 2003.

**Idealism :** in international relations, it is the strong belief in the affective power of ideas rather than the use of military power.

**Military Doctrine :** is the concise expression of how military forces contribute to campaigns, major operations, battles, and engagements. It helps standardize common ways of accomplishing military ways.

**Propaganda:** is a form of communication that is aimed at the attitude of a community toward some cause or position. Propaganda is usually repeated and dispersed over a wide variety of media in order to create the desired result in audience attitudes.

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