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Creative Chaos as a Strategic Tool in US Imperial Foreign Policy toward Contemporary Greater Middle East: Afghanistan and Iraq

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Dedication

We are dedicating this thesis to all the people we love and appreciate, first and foremost, to our beloved mothers for their emotional and financial support. We appreciate their endless prayers and encouragement to continue all along the way. Without their help, we would never have completed this work. May Allah (SWT) prolong your lives and grant you Firdaws!

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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the American policy of “creative chaos,” which was employed in Afghanistan and Iraq after the attacks of 9/11. It examines the implementation of this policy and its consequences on the Afghan and Iraqi communities at the economic, political, and social levels. This study explores one of America’s most controversial foreign policies employed in the Greater Middle East supposedly aiming at eliminating the existing tyrannical regimes and establishing more democratic governments. Therefore, the aim of this study is to examine the extent to which this policy really succeeded to accomplish its main objectives in this region in terms of spreading democracy, peace and freedom. Creative chaos is discussed in its theoretical and political context, and then analyzed in its real implementation on the ground. This comparison between the theoretical and the actual allows the study to uncover America’s true intentions behind adopting this policy. The study reveals that America's undeclared objectives behind the implementation of this policy are in line with her imperial interests, which are contradictory to the official American statement that America's efforts were driven by democratic and humanitarian motives.

ملخص

تحلل هذه المذكرة السياسة الأمريكية "الفوضى الخلاقة" التي طبقتها أمريكا في كل من أفغانستان و العراق بعد تفجيرات 11/9. كما أنها تحاول أن تدرس هذه السياسة المنفذة و نتائجها على المجتمعين الأفغاني و العراقي على المستوى الاقتصادي، و السياسي، و الاجتماعي. تقوم هذه الدراسة باستكشاف واحدة من أكثر سياسات أمريكا الخارجية المطبقة في الشرق الأوسط العظيم، و التي تهدف إلى التخلص من الأنظمة الاستبدادية الموجودة و خلق حكومات ديمقراطية. بالتالي، هدف هذه الدراسة هو فحص مدى نجاعة هذه السياسة في تحقيق أهدافها في هذه المنطقة من ناحية نشر الديمقراطية، السلام، و الحرية. نوقشت الفوضى الخلاقة في إطارها النظري و السياسي بعدها تم تحليل تطبيقها الفعلي على أرض الواقع. هذه المقارنة بين النظري و الفعلي تسمح للدراسة بكشف النوايا الأمريكية الحقيقية وراء تبني هذه السياسة. يظهر البحث بأن الأهداف الأمريكية غير المعلنة وراء تطبيق الفوضى الخلاقة تتماشى جنباً لجنب مع اهتمامات أمريكا الامبريالية، و التي تتناقض مع الإدلاء الأمريكي الرسمي الذي صرّح بأن الجهود الأمريكية كانت تدفعها محفزات ديمقراطية و إنسانية.

List of Acronyms

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
SAGAR A	Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CIC	Centre on International Cooperation
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
ORAH	Reconstruction and Humanitarian Aid Civil
HOC	the Humanitarian Operations Center
UNAMA	United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan
CIA	American Central Intelligence Agency
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ISI	The Pakistani inter-services Intelligence Directorate
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
UN	The United Nations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
GMEI	The Greater Middle East Initiative
BSA	The Bilateral Security Agreement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
UNDC	The United Nations Disarmament Commission
KDP	The Kurdistan Democratic Party
PUK	The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria

UNAMI	The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq
ORAH	Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Aid Civil
HOC	Humanitarian Operations Center
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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General Introduction

The US, as a dominant power, designated several foreign policies in her quest for global dominance. Given the great importance of the Greater Middle East¹ (due to its natural resources and strategic location), the US specifically targeted this region to achieve her imperial goals. The United States with her long history of intervention in the territory was characterized by a complex changing relationship. Before WWII, the American-Middle Eastern relationship was dependent on economic ties that preserved the American access to oil sources and oil exportations. Various agreements were signed, which directly interfered in the economics of the Middle East. Later on, this relationship extended to cover not only the economy but also became more diplomatic. Hence, America maintained a diplomatic access to deal with the dilemmas already existing in the region. The threats back then were mainly linked to America's enemy, the Soviet Union. Therefore, the United States' main concern was to reduce the soviet influence in the region. Her pretext was allegedly to protect democracy in the region from any Soviet impact. Now, the United States' foreign policy became more interventional.

After 9/11, to exercise the American influence over the Greater Middle East, the USA adopted several policies bearing the same objectives of promoting stability and democracy. Her new "enemy" now is terrorism and corrupt states that affected the balance in this region. Hence, the appropriate policy that suited the situation and contributed to other policies like "war on terror" was "creative chaos." The latter, in warfare, is a policy in which chaos is either created or provoked in a certain country to eliminate the previous corrupt government or regime then rebuild a new effective one. The most significant countries where the policy played a major role are Afghanistan and Iraq. Therefore, war in both countries was launched by America as an attempt to reshape their governmental structures and develop them in accordance to freer, democratic ones.

Previous studies show that the American foreign policies had been always changing, especially after the events of 9/11. Subsequently, America's main objective during the Bush administration was to promote freedom and democracy in the Greater Middle Eastern region. According to *US Democracy Promotion in the Middle East*, Dionysius Markakis reported that

¹The Greater Middle East: "is a political term that denotes a set of contiguously connected countries. The region stretches from Morocco in the west all the way to the western edge of China in the east" (see Fig. 1). Available: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Middle_East

the US Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated that their new policy of creative chaos will help conducting or reshaping a more free and democratic New Middle East, and that the spreading of the American democratic model is their new mission in the region. Markakis also adds that democracy became the standing principle behind the US foreign policy since the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981-1989). In the Bush administration, after 9/11, democracy promotion became its main issue in Third World. Hence, military intervention this time was America's means to directly transplant her political and economic principles of the American democratic government model, especially in Iraq.

In the same vein, Bruce Jones et al. in their *Cooperating for Peace and Security* stated that "the world *did* need new international norms defining circumstances and criteria for principled preemption." In other words, America's concern is that the world should be reshaped depending on what America decides as the appropriate norms and principles that other nations should follow. The United States' insistence on these norms gives her the right to preempt and intervene in the international affairs to establish what she calls the "international norms" presented in America's protocol of democracy promotion and good governance that was established in December 22, 2001. Furthermore, the United States is the only capable power that "make [s] sacrifices to 'build, sustain and drive an international system committed to international law, [and to promote] democracy'" (191). The American preemption seems to be America's call for international anarchy.

However, According to Ramzi Al-Minyawi's *Creative Chaos* and Warak Hassan Khan's "Creative Chaos and Fault Line Wars in Afro Asian Region, the Non Kinetic Warfare Dimension," the policy of chaos contributed to the total destabilization of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). America's undeclared rationales seem to be far away behind what is called democracy and stability promotion in this part of the world. Since the region is the biggest reserve of oil and natural resources, these objectives were largely produced before the American preemptive wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq. The chaos resulted from the implementation of this new policy had contributed to the recent unstable situation of both countries. As a result, they are still suffering from the American invasion that targeted their political system and eliminated the old governments of Taliban and Saddam Hussein. Nevertheless, if the strategy of creative construction was successful in Afghanistan and Iraq; the new democratic government would be one of the greatest achievements of the American administration. It was not.

According to the existing literature, the war aftermath, which the American strategy has greatly contributed to, has not received much regard to examine America's real intentions

behind implementing the creative chaos as her strategic tool to cover her undeclared interests. This is surprising since a number of statements from the Bush administration itself seem to contradict each other about the policy's rationales and aims.

Allegedly, creative chaos as a strategy should build a new developed and democratic order or system after the involvement of the American military in both Afghanistan and Iraq. However, both countries are still suffering from social and political tribulations even though the policy was implemented years ago, and ended the previous supposedly corrupt systems and regimes like the Taliban in Afghanistan and the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Therefore, this research is an attempt to interlink the declared objectives of the American implementation of creative chaos with what reality depicts since America's involvement in both countries since 2001. Based on that background, the following research questions are addressed:

- How and why was creative chaos implemented in Afghanistan and Iraq?
- To what extent was creative chaos successful in achieving its main objectives in Afghanistan and Iraq?
- Why are Afghanistan and Iraq suffering from instability until this day, even after the withdrawal of the American troops?

Thus, our main objective is to examine the extent to which the new policy of creative chaos was effective in promoting peace and stability in Iraq and Afghanistan, and whether America's intentions behind this policy were to promote peace and stability in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

The Qualitative method is chosen to best match and conduct our research questions. Since Afghanistan and Iraq are the case studies of the topic in which creative chaos was implemented by the United States, primary and secondary sources are gathered to extract data about this policy. To comprehend the real application of creative chaos, the phases it takes of provoking chaos then establishing a new democratic order, and its effectiveness in warfare in general, the research establishes the inter linkage between the theoretical perspective of chaos theory and its contributions to warfare and politics, especially to the United States' foreign policy making. Next, an investigation will attempt to determine the ongoing social, political and economic situation along with the outcomes of war since the American intervention in both countries. Afterwards, this study is going to contextually analyze the aftermath of the application of creative chaos in Afghanistan and Iraq depending on what has been collected of primary and secondary data. The next step will be contrasting what had been gathered about

the policy's application in warfare and its real implementation in reality after the American interventions in the two countries.

The importance of the dissertation's topic lies in understanding one of America's imperialist tools employed in the Greater Middle East, "creative chaos." It is important to understand or uncover America's real intentions behind adopting this policy in Afghanistan and Iraq, its implementation, and its consequences. The Greater Middle Eastern countries have to be aware and conscious of the social, economic, and political repercussions of foreign interventions that would affect them particularly.

The dissertation includes three chapters. The first chapter will review the historical and theoretical literature of the key elements of this study, namely imperialism and chaos theory. Therefore, it is going to introduce America as an imperial power that seeks to restore her relation with the Arab world in general. It will also provide a theoretical background about chaos theory.

The second chapter is mainly devoted to discuss the US military intervention in both countries, on one hand. On the other hand, it demonstrates the strategic policy of creative chaos. Hence, a brief history of American involvements is going to be provided, both politically and militarily after 9/11 in Afghanistan and Iraq. This chapter will positively review the definition of creative chaos as a strategic tool in warfare and its effectiveness in eradicating old systems to bring other democratic and creative ones according to the American definition of democracy. In addition, it will report the United States' motives behind the adoption of this policy in the Greater Middle East, mainly in our case studies, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Last but not least, the third chapter will analyze the real results of the application of creative chaos in Afghanistan and Iraq on the economic, social and political levels, and how it affected both communities. This chapter will examine the real intentions of the United States behind adopting this policy in this part of the world. As a result, the chapter is going to provide a better comprehension about the real reasons that led to the failure of the American efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq to promote peace and stability. Lastly, the chapter will end by summarizing and drawing conclusions about the research findings.

Chapter One:

The History of America as an Imperial Power in the Greater Middle East and the Emergence of Chaos Theory

Introduction

Chaos Theory has a great deal in building an interdependent relationship between a weak nation and a strong one, especially with the US. However, it can also contribute, as a covert strategic means, to practicing indirect imperial activities toward weak countries suffering from chaos and instability. Thus, in this chapter, the definition of imperialism and its motives are presented to explain imperialism according to theories of imperialism. Next, a historical background of American-Greater Middle Eastern relationship is provided to explore how the historical course contributed to America's imperial practices in this region. Furthermore, a theoretical definition is introduced to explain the origins of chaos theory that would contribute, later on in the second chapter, to the emergence of creative chaos as a strategic tool in America's foreign policy.

1.1 America as an Imperial Country

1.1.1 Forms of Imperialism

Generally, imperialism is the domination of one nation over other nations using political, economic, social and/or military means. However, this definition of imperialism is imprecise and connotes several historical cultural meanings. Imperialism took different forms and shapes depending on the criteria of a certain period of time, but still shares similar objectives and goals. Normally imperialism is conducted by strong nations; nevertheless, not any powerful nation is an imperial nation unless it has a strong motivation to carry out an imperial activity.

According to John Morrissey et al., there are three Forms of imperialism that determine the timeline of its descendants: old imperialism, new imperialism, and modern or American imperialism. The first form refers to the old imperialism before and during the fifteenth century, which was based on “gold, god, and glory.” It sought the possession of a

large number of territories with “no state-driven logics”² of expansion (18-19), which is contrary to the new imperialism that carries on the notion of civilizing others. The latter imperialism that took place in the late nineteenth century was a fashioned form of imperialism called “mission civilisatrice” to justify a nation’s expansion. The introduction of capitalism changed the world’s view about imperialism through developing a new political awareness that limits expensive spending which resulted from the direct control over colonies while still meeting the nation’s imperial needs. Unlike the two previous forms, modern imperialism – that was brought with the rise of America as the dominant power in the world-focuses on practicing economic dominance to establish spheres of influence (Foster 13).

From its beginning in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and even more so in monopoly stage, capital within each nation state at the center of the system is driven by a need to control access to raw materials and the labor in the periphery. (Weisskopf 42)

It is true that neo-imperialism neglects the old imperial means, like colonialism and expansionism; yet, the American imperialism shares the same old imperial drive to dominate the third world’s raw materials, investing in their economy, and making use of their cheap labor. The American imperialism was criticized by shaping the third world’s countries economy to suit America's own interests (Foster 13-14).

1.1.2 Motivations of Imperialism

There have been many theories to imperialism that explain its motivations. Marxist and non-Marxist theories ascribe imperialism and its motivations to American foreign practices. From a Marxist point of view, the term imperialism must be associated with a capitalist mode of production, which is necessary to spread across non-capitalist areas. Imperialism is also purely motivated by capitalist factors, like the case of America during the Cold War by fighting socialism and spreading capitalism instead. On the other hand, non-Marxists refer to imperialism as the relationship between dominant and subordinate countries. The dominant power maintains control either militarily, politically, economically, or culturally to practise authority or superiority over the other nations with “no traditional claim

²No state-driven logics: is Advancing in geographically contiguous territories but largely without specific purpose.

to sovereignty.” These imperialist activities are usually adopted by powerful and superior nations like America nowadays (Weisskopf42).

To carry out any imperial activity, there must be several factors to fulfill such a step. Hence, to apply any superiority over a country, different motivations are required to drive any kind of intervention in any international affair. Because of the considerable amount of spending in energy and resources that result from any imperial activity, one can expect that there must be benefits (Weisskopf 43).

Non-Marxists declare that a number of national factors motivate imperialism (Weisskopf 43). Nevertheless, what is quite clear is that national security is a major front player among national motivations. Its role, as the main factor, is to defend a powerful nation from any possible attack or threat by others. America as the superior power has the ability to practice imperial activities under the pretext of establishing national security. For the American imperialism, the national security ensured America’s military intervention around the world like what happened during the Cold War. Later on, the 9/11 attacks “gave the nation the opportunity to become more militaristic and more open in its goals” (Foster 18), by adopting her foreign policy of war on terror. Yet, other American interventions in small and/or distant countries like Vietnam, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic cannot be justified since these represent no threat for the American security. As a result, the national security cannot be regarded as America’s significant motivation (Weisskopf 46).

Another motivation is maintaining macroeconomic prosperity. The aim behind this motivation is to establish an imperial foreign policy that works to prevent any possible crises and risks in economy. This policy opens opportunities to foreign investments, exports, and more importantly, access to import raw materials that the capitalist economy of an imperialist country demands. The minor motivations of foreign investments and exports do not have a significant impact on the American economic motivation as the import of foreign raw materials has (Weisskopf 44). Both Foster and Weisskopf emphasize the idea that America’s main source of imported raw materials comes from “underdeveloped countries” (48). In this vein, Foster declares that,

The objective of the imperialist system of today as in the past is to open up peripheral Economics to investment from the core capitalist countries, thus ensuring both a continual supply of raw materials at low prices, and a net outflow of economic surplus from the periphery to the center of the world system. In addition, the third world is viewed as a source of cheap labor, constituting a global

reserve army of labor. Economies of the periphery are structured to meet the external needs of the United States and the other core capitalist countries rather than their own internal needs. (13-14)

For an imperial country, the economic interest does not only rely on protecting its economy from potential threats, but is also motivated by “increase[ing] the aggregate economic gains accruing to the imperialist nations with other nations”(Weisskopf 45). It allows the core nations to exercise control over the economy of the peripheral country. Since practicing dominance over the economy of underdeveloped countries that provides greater gains than with countries of the same status, it is the plausible motivation to justify America’s intention for imperialism (Weisskopf49).

The final suggested national motivation is a “generalized missionary spirit”. This motivation resulted from the belief that a nation or a race embodies a moral and superior system of values and rules of their own for the sake of “promoting a better world”. They seek spreading their system for psychological satisfaction. The national interest of America focuses on psychic gains. Americans feel the urge to dominate others for the sake of establishing democracy and peace around the world since they consider their mission as “a modern white man’s burden” (Weisskopf 45, 49).

After examining the different motivations for imperialism, it may be deduced that the American imperialism shares similar national motivations like any imperialist country. This pushes her to practice control over the Third World nations using different covert and overt policies. This facilitates access to the region. Whenever America feels that her interests are challenged or threatened, a military intervention is required to protect them. In this manner, America can reserve her influence and control over weak countries.

1.2 The American-Greater Middle Eastern Relationship Prior to WWI

America has a long history of intervention in the Greater Middle East; however, its role as the protectorate of the world has been growing only since the end of the Cold War. Prior to the First World War, the American-Greater Middle Eastern relationship was based only on commercial ties; even though the Mediterranean people were not greatly interested with American commercial, political, and religious ideas (Modigs1). For the Ottoman Empire at that time, America was seen as a potential power to reduce the interference of the European nations, mainly Britain’s influence over the region. Thus, America acquired a good reputation

in the region, especially in the Middle Eastern countries, even after the end of the First World War and the fall of the Ottoman Empire (“What Have Been the Role”).

America’s interest in the region was not large as it is now. Oil was not discovered yet, and only religious groups showed interest in the region mainly Zionists groups in an attempt to reclaim allegedly their Jewish home land in Palestine. The second religious group was missionary protestant whose efforts culminated in a failure (Fraser X). As the British Lord Curzon commented on the matter by stating that, “It is against the impregnable rock wall of Islam, as a system embracing every sphere and duty, and act of life, that the waves of missionary effort beat and buffet in vain” (qtd. in Modigs2).

America’s growing interest in the Greater Middle East region started early, since the days of the founding father, when Americans such as Benjamin Franklin had showed his interest and fascination about the Middle East. Even during the American Civil War, which was surprising for many historians, the Americans maintained an economic and diplomatic relationship with the Mediterranean countries. In 1830, the United States signed the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the Ottoman Empire that was renewed in February 25, 1862 to secure the American commercial ships from Barbary pirates. Nonetheless, the American diplomatic presence in the region was “limited to Edward Joy Morris³, his staff, and other clusters of diplomats.” In other words, religious missionaries “served as a defacto diplomatic corps for the state department” in the region. These missionaries shared different characteristics derived from regular ones like the “soul winning.” They were also concerned more with educating and treating people than spreading biblical beliefs. Therefore, several educational institutions were founded around the Greater Middle East (Knappe, pars.6, 15).

After the end of the American Civil War, the American-Greater Middle Eastern ties have changed. Earlier, during the Civil War, oil was discovered in America and after a short time, the process of exhumation and exporting oil advanced so quickly especially with the new advancements and developments in the field of reconstruction. By 1870, the United States became the only exporter of oil to the region mainly to countries like Syria and “Levant”⁴, before the discovering of oil in the region. Nonetheless, exporting military surplus and armaments from the U.S. had a greater significance for the Ottoman Empire. Diplomatically, America started to interfere in supporting and solving political problems of the Mediterranean countries as the ambassador of democracy and breaking many of her

³Edward Joy Morris: Head of US legation in Constantinople.

⁴Levant: It is an approximate historical geographical term referring to a large area in the Eastern Mediterranean. In its widest historical sense, the Levant included all of the eastern Mediterranean with its islands.

neutrality agreements like strengthening Egypt's decision to depart from the Ottoman Empire to take her independence. By that time, the United States of America begins to compete with European countries on the leadership of the world (Knuppe, pars.38, 41).

So far, the relationship that connected the US and the Greater Middle East countries was based on trade. However, American interests increased by the 1920s with the discovery of oil, mainly in the Middle East. The U.S. sent exploratory trips for oil in Saudi Arabia in 1930 by two private companies, Standard Oil of California and Texaco. Oil was first found in Saudi Arabia in 1938, then in other regions like Bahrain, Kuwait, and the whole Gulf territory followed (Richman, par.6). Gradually, America started to replace the British dominance over the region and to establish her economic interest by signing two agreements with the Middle East, The Red Line Agreement in 1928, and the Anglo American Petroleum Agreement in 1944. The first agreement had limited her access only to Iraq petroleum reserves. However, other petroleum opportunities in Saudi Arabia had contributed in voiding the agreement (Richman, par.7). The second agreement, meanwhile, divided the petroleum riches between the U.S. and Britain (Sahoo et al. 2).

The United States recognized the importance of the Greater Middle East during the Second World War. Middle Eastern resources played a major role for the U.S. and her allies during the war to fulfill their industrial and military needs. Even after the end of the war, the European countries were still required to maintain control over the region and petroleum reserves in their process to recover from the war outcomes (Modigs2). For the United States, it was important to keep the Greater Middle East territory under her control for three main reasons. First, it was believed that the American petroleum resources were on the verge of completion; thus, it was necessary to preserve her access into Mediterranean oil areas (Richman, par.9). Second, since that the region has a great geographical and economic significance, the United States had to ensure that no other powers controlled it so she could guarantee her dominance over the world. Finally, to maintain her status as one of the top industrialized countries in the world, her need to get the Middle Eastern petroleum reserves was tremendous (Beaver, J. Beaver, and Wilsey).

After the Second World War, the Middle East was established as a Cold War hot/conflict zone by America during Truman's presidency (1945-1952), especially after opposing the Soviet influence in Iran. The American intervention back then was justified under the umbrella of protecting democracy in Iran from the Soviet impact, or better to say, protecting the Iranian oil from the Soviet possession. The Soviet Union was considered as the major threat to the United States' interest in the region when the Soviets refused to withdraw

from Iran, and broke the treaty that was signed in January 1942. According to “The tripartite Treaty” between the Soviet Union and Britain, their military forces should stay in Iran for a period no more than six months to transfer military materials. Nonetheless, the Soviets violated the treaty and kept their forces in the region with a desire to control Iranian oil since they knew the importance of the area to the United States and Britain and their schemes for it. The Former State Department Official George Kennan stated at the time that, “The basic motive of recent Soviet action in northern Iran is probably not the need for the oil itself, but apprehension of potential foreign penetration in that area.” President Truman made many attempts to convince the Soviet Union to exit from Iran (first by addressing the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin then objecting at the UN Security Council by blustering to militarily interfere in the region if necessary). Eventually, the Soviet Union was surrendered to the American pressure (Richman, pars.12-15).

America’s friendly relationship with Arab countries in the Middle East came into an end when the United States pushed the formation and recognized Israel in 1947 in an attempt to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflicts (Richman, pars.12-15). Before Truman’s presidency, there was already existing intentions by President Lincoln to support Israeli plans that reclaim their homeland in Palestine. He said that, “restoring the Jews to their national home in Palestine... is a noble dream and one shared by many Americans” (Knappe, par.23). For a long time, the Zionist group had many attempts and plans to realize their dream as President Roosevelt stated:

I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim. If re-elected, I shall help to bring about its earliest realization. (Fraser xi)

The starting point for fluffing their dream was in the Balfour Declaration in November 2, 1917. After obtaining a promise from the British government for their services during the First World War, the declaration gave them the permission for founding their independent state in Palestine without regarding the fact that Britain also gave their promise to Palestinians for obtaining their independence in the same area. Therefore, the British government was put in a dilemma by the Second World War; thus, they asked the United States for aid to decide on the issue (Fraser 1-2; Richman, pars.28-29). The circumstances at that time, with Hitler’s suppression and practicing genocide against the Jews during the First

World War, helped to raise their issue to the United Nations in 1947 (Fraser x-xii). The decision of the UN was represented in the division of Palestine into Arab state and Jewish state, where the Jewish had a higher percentage of land by 57 percent. The United States accepted and promoted the decision among members of the UN. President Truman at the time supported the Jewish establishment in Palestine even against the opposition of many members of the American government; especially those specialized in foreign policies. They objected on the basis that it would create problems in the future with Arabs in the Middle East and provide the opportunity for the Soviet Union to intervene in the region. As a result, “Henderson [⁵] warned that partition would not only create anti-Americanism but would also require U.S. troops to enforce it, and he stated his belief that partition violated both U.S. and UN principles of self-determination” (Richman, par. 32). Truman’s support for Israeli establishment in Palestine was influenced by non-Jewish and pro-Jewish supporters. The latter were members of his staff and some of his close friends like Eddie Jacobson⁶ and Samuel I. Rosenman⁷ (Richman, pars. 30, 32).

The establishment of Israel’s Jerusalem in Palestine led to a huge number of Palestinian refugees toward the world that was estimated by 780,000 refugees (Modigs3). Arabs refused to accept Israel’s possession of Palestine. In 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel taking the advantage of Jewish distraction by celebrating their holiest day of praying and fasting the Yom Kippur. At the outset, the Arab forces were beating Israeli forces. However, with the United States’ continuous support, the war overturned in favor of the Jews. This led Arabs to lose the Yom Kippur War and the United States became an apparent ally to Israel and apparent enemy to the Arabs. Hence, the latter reacted by placing an oil embargo on the United States that pushed the her later on to change her policy and try to work more on the peace process that would serve the interest of the Palestinians (Modigs 4-5).

American intervention in the Greater Middle East continued to affect other nations like Egypt in 1956. The relationship between Israel and Egypt during the presidency of Jamal Abed Nasser was very tense especially after the repeated violations from both sides at the level of the borders, until when Israeli forces invaded the Gaza strip on October 29, 1956 in

⁵Loy Wesley Henderson (June 28, 1892 – March 24, 1986) was a United States Foreign Service Officer and diplomat at that time.

⁶Eddie Jacobson: Was a Jewish-American businessman. He was also a U.S. Army associate, business partner, close friend of President Harry S. Truman and the advocacy of his white house adviser. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Jacobson

⁷Samuel I. Rosenman: was an American lawyer, judge, Democratic Party activist and presidential speechwriter. Rosenman was a senior advisor to presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Irving_Rosenman

an attempt to show their military power to the world. The Arab nationalism leader Jamal Abdel Nasser refused to accept Israeli violations, especially with the loss of thirty-eight Egyptian because of these abuses. Thus, he sought to improve his military equipment. The American and British unresponsiveness to Nasser's demand led him to turn to America's enemy, the soviets, especially after Israel's second invasion of the same region-Gaza Strip. This move allowed the Soviet Union to have its "first foothold in the Middle East." (Fraser 67) The United States tried to repair her relationship with Abed Nasser by financing his project "the Aswan Dam," but they retreated after the failure of negotiations with Egypt under conditions that could not be accepted by the Egyptian president in mid-1956. Abdel Nasser's status in the western countries, mainly France and Britain, was under suspicion, especially after his meeting with the Chinese communist president. The Suez Canal, previously, used to be owned by French and British companies but under the administration of the Egyptian government. However, after America's decision to withdraw her assistance, Abed Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal (Richman, pars.55, 58).

The United States warned the other European nations to take any quick decision that is built on wrong choices. She also opposed British and French old colonial practices in an attempt to restore the confidence and support of Third World countries. This backs to her fear from the renewal of the Soviet hegemony on the region. Thus, she held a conference that gathers presidents of Egypt, Britain and France. Nonetheless, Abed Nasser refused to attend or accept any negotiations (Richman, pars. 58, 63). On the other hand, Britain, France, and Israel were holding secret meetings to plan their invasion of Egypt to secure the Suez Canal then withdraw.

A secret meeting at Sevres on 22-24 October attended by representatives of the three governments, including Ben-Gurion⁸ and his Chief of Staff, Moshe Dayan, the French Prime Minister, as well as a rather reluctant British Foreign Secretary.(Fraser 70-71)

After which Israeli forces attacked the Sinai Peninsula region in Egypt on October 29, 1956, followed by French and British forces. The United States feared that the Soviet

⁸David Ben-Gurion: was the primary founder of the State of Israel and her first Prime Minister. On 14 May 1948, he formally proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel, and was the first to sign the Israeli Declaration of Independence, which he had helped to write. Ben-Gurion led Israel during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, and united the various Jewish militias into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Subsequently, he became known as "Israel's founding father". See : https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Ben-Gurion

Union would take the chance to intervene and aid Abed Nasser; hence, they pressed on the occupying forces to cease fire on 6 November. The USSR threatened to intervene if they did not retreat when the British, French and Israeli forces refused U.S. request to withdraw. However, they submitted to the UN on 7 November, and withdrew their forces from Egypt. The Suez Canal crisis led the United States to take serious major steps to keep the Greater Middle East region under its control and end the domination of the European nations, like Britain, by applying the Eisenhower Doctrine that provides America with a great potential to aid the countries of the region (U.S. Department of State, pars. 1-4).

One of America's most important relationships in the Greater Middle East was built with Iran. The latter, before 1979 revolution, was considered as America's guardian over the region along with Israel. America's main strategy during the Cold War was centered on defining a clear line between communist and capitalist countries, and rejected any neutral position of any country in the Greater Middle East by pushing them to take a side. According to John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower's secretary of state, "there was no such thing as an independent course; a country was either with the United States or against it". Therefore, when the Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh nationalized the Iranian oil and cut all connections with Britain in 1952, President Truman solidarize with Britain and launched a campaign to boycott Iranian oil (Richman, pars. 16-18).

The intervention was necessary to restore America's domination over the region, especially after the failure of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to control his prime minister. According to James A. Bill:

The American intervention of August 1953 was a momentous event in the history of Iranian-American relations. [It] left a running wound that bled for twenty-five years and contaminated relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran following the revolution of 1978-79. London had first suggested a covert operation to Washington about a year earlier. The British were mainly concerned about their loss of the Anglo Iranian Oil Company, but in appealing to the United States, they emphasized the communist threat, not wishing to be accused of trying to use the Americans to pull British chestnuts out of the fire. (qtd. in Richman, pars. 19)

The American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) financed an opposition force against Mossadegh to launch the operation “Ajax”⁹ in an attempt to eliminate Mossadegh and replace him with another prime minister of the Iranian Shah’s choice. Although the US government confirmed that she did not have any intentions to intervene in the internal affairs of Iran, “The operation then filled the streets of Tehran with mobs of people--many of them thugs-- who were loyal to the Shah or who had been recipients of CIA largess.” This operation resulted in 300 Iranian deaths and a large decrease in America’s popularity, if not hated by the Iranian people. Mossadegh was captured and convicted in 22 August 1953 (Richman, pars. 18-21).

The United States justified its intervention in Iran by accusing Mossadegh of being under the control of the Tudeh communist party; yet, “a January 1953 State Department Intelligence report said that the prime minister was not a Communist or communist sympathizer and that the Tudeh party sought his overthrow”(pars.22).

After the end and success of the operation, the British dominance over the region was replaced by the American one, where the United States controlled 40 percent of the Iranian oil production. However, the American success lasted for 20 years only (pars.23, 25).

The 1979 Iranian revolution had far reaching consequences that affected other neighboring regions like Afghanistan. The US intervention in Afghanistan goes way back to 1934, when she established a diplomatic relationship with Afghanistan and opened an American embassy in the region. However, she did not have any interest to practice her influence or imperialist plans over this territory due to the lack of petroleum reserves (Harvey, pars.14, 17).

The United States supported Amanollah’s¹⁰ ambition to develop his country and provided him with financial subsidies along several phases during his presidency. Because of the strategic position, the financial aid was estimated by:

⁹Operation Ajax: (1953) (officially TP-AJAX) was an covert operation by the United States CIA in collaborating with the Pahlavi dynasty, to overthrow the elected government of Iran and Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh and consolidate the power of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. See: <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/notes/operationajax.html>

¹⁰King Amanollah Khan: the king of Afghanistan by 1930, a very ambitious and opportunistic king. Amanollah was a young and progressive king, who spent most of his early years traveling the world specifically Europe. He was very amazed by the development of the European community, their social, economic and political improvement and sophistication. Thus king khan was determined to change Afghanistan, which was one of the most backward country in the world, to become like the Europe model, more developed and modern. That’s why he asked the great powers of the world for financial support.

20 million dollars to Afghanistan for construction of the Kandahar-Heart highway in 1945;they later extended this loan to 51.75 million dollars in 1954.in 1946,the US Morrison-Knudsen company agreed to loan the Afghanistan government 20 million dollars for the construction of loans and irrigation systems.(Harvey, pars.16)

Still, the Soviet Union's financial support was classified the number one, even superior to that of the United States. In 1973, the USSR lent worth approximately 1 million dollars to Afghanistan, which is about 60 percent of the total aids that reached Afghanistan back then (Harvey, par.18). However, America shifted her attention to the region when her interests were threatened. Losing her domination over -Iran the guardian over her interests in the Middle East- let the whole Greater Middle Eastern territory's door opened to the Soviet Union control. Thus, in April 1978, when the Formal Afghan king Mohammed Daud was overthrown and replaced by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), the US had to intervene in the territory to reduce the authority of the Soviet Union. The United States found the chance to oppose the PDPA and subsequently the USSR by supporting the opponents of the new government. "Fortunately for Brezinski¹¹ and his Washington counterparts, the government of the PDPA was proving to be extremely unpopular among many Afghans" (Harvey, pars.19, 25). Therefore, The CIA has strengthened the Afghan resistance of the Mujahedeen with a covert financial support. At the beginning, CIA's aid was represented in a "non-lethal aid like communications equipment and humanitarian aid." However, with the issuance of the Soviet Union to stay in the region, the CIA supported the resistance with arms like new FIM-92 stinger. The latter:

Was highly effective on the battlefield, these launchers, which cost only a few thousand dollars, were able to take down multi-million dollar Soviet helicopters with devastating effect. Not only was this a tactical win on the battlefield, it was immensely expensive for the soviets to maintain. (Edger1-2)

There was another allegation that the United States' intervention in Afghanistan was eight months prior to the USSR intervention in the region. According to the Digital National Security archives that contained an interview with a Formal Pakistani Military Official in

¹¹Zbigniew Brezinski: the United State National Security Advisor during Jimmy Carter's presidency.

1988, the embassy of the United States in Pakistan “had asked Pakistani military officials ‘to recommend a rebel organization that would make the best use of U.S. aid’ ”. A “recently declassified intelligence” reports and Brezinski’s interview in 1988 confirmed this allegation. According to them, the CIA’s support to the resistance began six months earlier in an attempt to push the USSR to enter in war in 1978.

When in the same interview [with the French reporter], their porter, shocked at having discovered that the United States intentionally provoked the Soviet Union to enter into the war, asked Brezinski whether he harbored any regrets for doing this, Brezinski’s reply was: ‘regret what? The secret operation was an excellent idea...The day the Soviet officially crossed the border, I wrote to President Carter: We now have the opportunity of giving to the USSR its Vietnam War.’”(Harvey, pars.28, 29)

Thus, the Soviet Union’s invasion was based on securing their interests against the American threat in the region. The invasion was regarded as the beginning of the Soviet Union’s end story as one of the leading powers in the world (Edger3).

The Military intervention of The Soviet Union in Afghanistan in 1979 was to protect its pro-communism PDPA’s government from the uprising resistance in most of the Afghan twenty-eight provinces. Likewise, the American government started to ally with the neighboring regions like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to provide retreat and training to the Mujahedeen under the name of Islam. The CIA charged the Inter-services Intelligence Directorate (ISI) in Pakistan to do all what is necessary to bolster the Afghan resistance and cover the US involvement in the war. For instance, the tribal situated in a Northwestern frontier in Pakistan delivered, as a refuge, a training station and a supplier of weaponry for the mujahedeen. The United States financial aid to the opposition was estimated by 3 billion dollars, which was one of the most expensive secret operations in the 1980s that was maintained by the CIA (Harvey, pars. 34, 39).

The Soviet Union was unable to survive in front of the material and human losses, and the psychological effects of war on its soldiers that were evident by the end of 1986. Thus, on February 11, 1988, the president of the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev, declared to the world the withdrawal of his forces from Afghanistan and signed the Geneva Accords, which marked the end of the Cold War era. In addition, in the Geneva Accords, the Soviet Union with the United States agreed to stop their intervention in Afghanistan (Harvey, pars. 40, 41).

American intervention in Afghanistan resulted in long and short run outcomes. The latter, referred to the great sufferance of the indigenous people of Afghanistan. It was estimated that one million people at least had died, and three times that number became refugees, who fled to neighboring regions like Pakistan to seek stability. Some became addicted to drugs, others needy, and the large portion between these two groups is represented in the number of the injured. On the long run, groups of the resistance, founded and trained by ISI under the command of the United States, would accumulate into one of the largest extremist groups (Harvey, pars. 42, 45).

For the relationship of the United States with “Mesopotamia,”¹² it was marked by volatility. Like the other major regions in the Middle East, it started commercially, when it was mainly based on dates and licorice trade. Then, it developed, by the First World War, to more economic relationship (King, 34). During the Second World War; however, the relationship between the United States of America and Iraq witnessed a period of stagnation. The latter returned to the over involvement of the American oil companies in Saudi Arabia and neglecting the Iraqi oil, especially that the French presence in Iraq was competing that of the United States. Moreover, some disagreements contributed to a tense relationship between the two nations about the “Portsmouth Agreement.”¹³ The last and the most important reason is the Israeli-Palestinian crisis, to which the US had greatly contributed. The Iraqi people showed dissatisfaction towards the American approval of Israeli immigration to Palestine (Boutz and Williams 13, 17).

Politically, the first signs of America’s interest in the region started immediately after the end of the Second World War. President Truman wanted to strengthen the relationship between the two countries. Thus, in May 28, 1945, he invited the Prince Regent Abdullah to the White House. This meeting paved the way to sign the Lend-Lease Agreement on July 31, 1945, in Washington and entered into application in the same day. According to this agreement, the United States “continue[d] to supply the Government of Iraq with . . . defense articles, defense services, and defense information,” that led to the open of the American embassy in Baghdad in November 1946 (King 36; Boutz and Williams 11).

In the next decade, the United States’ position in Iraq was marked by providing military aids to the Iraqi Government. They questioned the British monopoly credibility in

¹² Mesopotamia: is a Greek word, meaning 'between two rivers'. It was an ancient region in the eastern Mediterranean that corresponds to the land between Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in modern-day Iraq. See: <http://www.ancient.eu/Mesopotamia/>

¹³ Portsmouth Agreement: is an update accord of 1930’s between the United Kingdom and Iraq that stated that the British government would continue her involvement in Iraq’s foreign policy and military affairs. This agreement let to the 1984 Al-Wathba protest by the Iraqi people as a rejection to British interference in Iraq.

Iraq under the assumption that it had paralyzed Iraq development in all fields. At the very beginning, The United States was hesitated to provide help especially that Iraq was under the domination of Britain. However, in 1951, the Iraqi leader succeeded in convincing the American government with the excuse that the America's military aid is necessary to counter the Soviet threat. The United State, also, played a major role in reaching a settlement with Britain and other firms. She insisted to give Iraq its share from its oil profits between 1951 and 1952, for the first time and since the discovery of oil in Iraqi soil, to ease the situation. The US' aids of 1951 was not limited to Arms only, but also sending financial aids along with her experts in various fields to Iraq (Boutz and Williams 17, 19).

America started to envision Iraq as the guardian over her interests in the Gulf region with John Foster Dulles in 1953, as Dwight D. Eisenhower's Secretary of State. Thus, in 1954 the United States signed an accord in April with Iraq based on mutual benefits, where both parties have agreed that, "[The US] Provide "equipment, materials, or services" and advisory Personnel to Iraq in exchange for Iraq contributing to "the defensive strength of the free world" and, if the United States so needed, raw and semi-processed materials"(Boutz and Williams 21).

By 1958, the American-Iraqi relationship entered a new phase that was characterized by "distance". The latter, due to the new Iraqi Prime Minister, Abed al-Karim Qasim, led to the renewal of a new relationship with the Soviet Union, and Iraq's decision to retreat from the Baghdad Pact¹⁴ on March 24, 1959. "The Soviets pledged \$137 million for economic development in Iraq at the same time. As U.S. influence in Iran increased, the Soviets stepped up their involvement in Iraq". There are few assumptions that the United States was even cognizant, if not accomplice in Qasim's assassination plot in 1959. The relationship between the two countries became more deteriorated when the Iraqi prime minister renewed his claim over Kuwait on June 25, 1961. The importance of Kuwait for the US and Iraq is represented in her large reserves along with her significant location that allows a cheaper extraction and transportation of the Kuwaiti oil. Thus, the United States supported Britain's protection of Kuwait from the Iraqi threat, especially that the two nations have common interests in the region. It is true that this issue was solved when the Arab League recognized Kuwait as an independent nation, but it did not fix the Iraqi-American relationship that continued to decline until Qasim's death in February 1963 (Boutz and Williams 25, 28).

¹⁴Baghdad Pact: called also the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), which was an alliance between Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq AND THE Great Britain, under the guidance of The United State.

Coup d'état of 1963 by the Ba'ath party¹⁵ over Qasim's system led Iraq to suffer from a destabilized region; however, it contributed in improving her relationship with the United States. Since then, America maintained a friendly relationship with Iraq. Therefore, Robert C. Strong stated that, "[the US] posture should be that of a friend whose presence is known and appreciated but is not overwhelming". The Iraqi government, under the Ba'athist leadership of Abed al-Salam Arif, maintained good relations with the US regardless to some "suspicions" over America's involvement in the rebels of the Kurds in Northern Iraq, Palestine crisis. Furthermore, America was suspicioned in establishing Arif's brother, Abed al-Rahman, as the new president of Iraq in April 1966; nevertheless, the American-Iraqi ties stayed the same (Boutz and Williams 28, 30).

The 1967 Arab-Israeli War broke down one more times the connection between the two countries for more than five years. Iraq, because of its strong sensitivity and sense of solidarity towards Palestine, cut off all its connections with the United States for siding and providing Israel with different assistances. This resulted in reducing the American authority and intervention in Iraq that was replaced by the Soviet interference. The Soviet Union provided financial aids, which was estimated by 140 million dollars, and signed a treaty in April 1972, which was permanent for fifteen years of "friendship and cooperation." By "aiding the Iraqis since 1967 in developing their own oil production and provided [ing] a market for Iraqi petroleum after nationalization," The Soviet intervention in the region resulted in strengthening Iraq's decision to nationalize the Iraqi Petroleum Company in June 1, 1972, and the American shares in the company of the US Esso and Mobil companies. Subsequently, the United States supported the Kurds as a response, and supplied them with financial aids that reached two million dollars along with a military assistance of about three million dollars. This assistance to fight the Iraqi government did not last long, and was crowned with failure (Boutz and Williams 30-31).

After over a decade of a complete unsettled relationship between Iraq and the United States, the change in the course of events in the Middle East would lead to a change in the American-Iraqi relationship. One year after Saddam Hussein became the new Iraqi president in July 1979, he occupied the new state of the Islamic Republic of Iran in September 1980 because of various complex reasons. When the Iraqi-Iranian conflict took place, the United States at the beginning remained neutral; however, when victory was in favor of Iran, The

¹⁵Ba'ath party: the Iraqi branch of a Syrian political movement that began in the early 1940s and espoused secularism, Socialism, and Arab nationalism.

United States interfered to support Iraq in 1982. This did not prevent from straining the relationship between Iraq and the US, especially when America accused Iraq of using chemical weapons against Iranian 1984. Nonetheless, America needed Iraq to win the war against Iran; thus,

In the summer of 1984, the State Department assigned veteran diplomat David G. Newton to Baghdad to be chief of mission. As he recalled, his requirement was ‘to do everything that we could to help... to make sure the Iraqis didn’t lose the war.’ (Boutz and Williams 37)

However, the United States restored her diplomatic relationship with Iraq, on 29 November 1984, to officially exercise her assistance to Iraq during the war. This did not contribute to their shaky relationship. The US’ policy toward Iraq during the war was characterized by “dialogue and cooperation rather than sanctions and condemnation as part of a policy of ‘constructive engagement’ with Iraq”. The Iraqi-Iranian war ended in August 1988 when the UN involved to cease-fire (Boutz and Williams 35-39).

Despite the physical distance between the United States and the wider Middle East, American influence has felt in every country within the region. During the 20th century, strategic interests, including long-standing competition with the Soviet Union, raised a variety of American interventions. The US economic interests, especially in ensuring access to oil in the Middle East, have long pushed presidents and legislators to intervene in the region, and prompted the United States to make itself a major player in the territory by using its diplomatic, economic and military power in supporting her national interests.

1.3 Chaos Theory in Politics

“In a sense, the increasing disorder, disorganization, randomness, and unpredictability, everything we perceive as negative, creates more peaceful environment than predictability does.” (Banerjee and Tekin 7)

Chaos theory in the twentieth century developed as a field since the 1970s. Yet, chaos is still developing to be studied as a science. This term is difficult to identify in reality, but it can be helpful and useful in solving problems mathematically depending on technology

means like computers or laboratory researches. It is complex to declare a state of chaos or non-chaos from analyzing a set of data or tests. Therefore, “chaos,” as a word that holds the meaning of disorder, usually “occurs in deterministic, nonlinear, dynamical systems” (94).

In 1961, Lorenz,¹⁶ when he was making formulations of weather prediction, noticed that the small differences or changes in initial conditions lead to different results. In this vein, chaos lays on the same progress. Any small effect leads to a great difference known as the “butterfly effect”. This term indicates that even a flutter of a butterfly’s wing may result in a great storm. The same thing in socio-political matters, any small change in events at a certain place and time may result in huge political problems even wars (33-34). Arab spring, for instance, may explain how a butterfly effect resulted in a huge political reform of a whole region to eliminate its complete political system, starting from Tunisia. The latter witnessed the first variable when a Tunisian citizen burned himself in public and affected the people’s opinion about their government (102).

There are different historical and technological events that affect peace and security studies like the Cold War and the 9/11 attacks. Hence, the leaders and decision makers became the prominent key players to direct the peace process. In making such great decisions, a country leader should acquire peace intelligence (Banerjee and Tekin6).

1.3.1 The Analysis of Chaos in Foreign Policy Making

Considering the foreign policy behavior, the analysis of chaos in any system depends on several variables that can lead to war. In this case, variables are the chaos. In this vein, Bousquet states that war is the chaoplexic. While Chernus believes that to maintain peace and order, governments usually choose the military option when a state of uncertainty takes place. In this case, both situation and consequences are unpredictable. Galtung, meanwhile, claims that peace may be predictable when there is an intensive interaction between influencers in the peace process (17).

To intervene in international affairs and even provide aid to get rid of the human sufferance in a complex system¹⁷, the policy makers counter a difficulty to formulate the right

¹⁶Edward Norton Lorenz (May 23, 1917 – April 16, 2008), an American mathematician, a meteorologist, a pioneer of chaos theory, and the one who found the new metaphor of the "butterfly effect". Available: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Norton_Lorenz

¹⁷A complex system is a system or organization (society in this case) in which various independent agents (people) interact among each other using different means. This allows a more self-organization. It is also characterized by being unpredictable since it includes various complex interactions among its

policy to solve foreign problems. Humanitarian causes to rescue the situation and intervene can be declared. The consequences of this intervention; however, cannot be guaranteed or dauntless. After taking any step toward an uncertain situation, there is no retreat to prevent its sequences whether they are positive or negative (105).

Since the problem in finding the right link between the policy's causes and effects in a complex system is the major complexity that policy makers face, the chaos science provides different mathematical models that analyze and identify the reasons and results of a system's non-linear behavior. Moreover, they seek finding a logical relationship between cause and effect considering policymaking. Fortunately, Agent Based Modeling, which is a software system, proves its utility in facing non-linear problems that the policy makers are uncertain of how to deal with. To understand how it works, this model "creates micro-worlds in which agents (actors) interact with their simulated environment and each other while following simple set rules which guide their behavior." In other words, agents resemble a similar environment to a real event from its beginning, the complexity, to the end depending on certain rules. Therefore, experts in this model try to generate every possible micro-aspects of individuals' interactions, actions, and feedbacks leading to the 'macro-behaviors'-the real event. In addition, Agent based Modeling found a way to prevent doubted variables that may hinder reaching the real reasons and results behind a nation's complexity (Banerjee and Tekin106).

The other two statistical models, Factor Analysis and Structural Equation modeling, face difficulties in dealing with the analysis of interactions and relations among concealed variables that may have a considerable influence in cause and effect of complex systems. Factor Analysis, for instance, analyzes and examines the influence of explanatory variables on the dependent variables from which behavior is predicted. Still, this model is more practical in a linear system. Structural Equation Modeling, meanwhile, is more specified in analyzing some complex linkages of covert variables. In addition, both models can work together since that the Structural Analysis is an improved model of Factor Analysis (110-111).

However, unlike the two models, Agent Based Modeling is seemingly the most suitable tool in dealing with non-domestic dilemmas. To understand its efficiency, this model works as software in which different system and equations are adopted to operate different

controlled experiments. “The wolf sheep predation”¹⁸ for example, can facilitate in a more precise image the simulation of a complex system. There are two kinds of agents, wolf and sheep, acting in a simulated pasture. The significant attribute is the ability to control the initial number of both agents and the rate of the re-growing grass and the re-production of both agents and their income from food. To provide a non-linear quality, a random number is entered in NetLogo¹⁹. This number, each time it changes, it affects the whole environment even the placement of the agents and their state. The regulated rate of sheep eating grass, the re-growth of the grass, wolves eating sheep, and the interaction and re-production of both wolves and sheep are the changing variables from which plots are drawn. From the similarities that the plots share, the experts draw the parameters that affect the population of each factor. In this manner, Agent Based Model has the ability to manipulate with variables to obtain various causes and effects that explain a non-determined environment (111-112).

For policy makers, it is important to pursue a policy that does not contribute to their own interest. A policy that should be applied directly as a respond towards a certain event or phenomenon, accompanied with an alternative plan (plan B), and not that of an individual decision or a certain political term or period. According to these conditions, Barbara Tuchman in her *The March of Folly* stated three different attributes that suggest the credibility of the foreign policy. The first one is that, “it must be perceived as counter-productive in its own time, not merely by hindsight.” The second attribute refers to “a feasible alternative course of action [that] must have been available.” The last one is that “the policy in question should be that of group, not an individual ruler, and should persist beyond any political life time.” Furthermore, high costs of interference need to be considered along with the process of maintaining the final desired image of the state (112-113).

A small change in socio-political variables can lead to a disastrous change in behavior, especially if another nation’s policy makers contributed in this ‘butterfly effect’ to maintain other interests of their own. Behavior, then, is considered as the complexity that needs to be thinly analyzed by policy makers to keep peace and stability. Responding to such difficulties, the policy should be applied regardless to tangible losses. Hence, history is full of complex systems’ incidents and events that call for humanitarian interventions and military involvements. Nonetheless, the chaos theory may contribute to maintaining imperial interests.

¹⁸ According to Banerjee, it is a computer-based model built by Robert Wilensky, a computer scientist, in NetLogo. 111.

¹⁹ NetLogo: is a logo programming language that uses computer-based modeling in its processes to simulate an environment using different agents. Available: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NetLogo>

Conclusion

Since America is considered as the dominant power after the Second World War, her imperial practices are examined according to non-Marxists by four international motivations. The most significant ones refer to national security and microeconomics. For security, America sought to interfere in any country if its stability was interrupted or was influenced by the Soviet Union. For microeconomics, America's main interest in the Greater Middle East was to import raw materials and natural resources after they were discovered in the region in the 1930s by American companies. Before the Second World War, America's relationship with the Greater Middle East was commercial and diplomatic. During the Cold War; however, the region became a conflict zone for greater powers. And since chaos theory and its application in warfare serve a noble reason, which is bringing peace and stability, policy makers managed to implement their foreign policies that allowed not an indirect intervention only, but a military involvement in the territory of Afghanistan and Iraq to attain the two previously mentioned imperial motivations.

Chapter Two:

America's Military Interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq and her Adopted Foreign Policy 'Creative Chaos'

Introduction

In her seeking for spreading stability and American democracy²⁰, the United States sought the chaos theory as the prominent solution for a more stable and peaceful Greater Middle East. Chaos theory played a great role in changing the American foreign policy towards the region since the fall of the Soviet Union. Both American military involvements in Afghanistan and Iraq were allegedly interlinked to the corrupted regimes that governed the two states. Hence, the aim of chaos theory in this case is to destroy these kinds of regimes and bring about ones that are more democratic. Afghans and Iraqis witnessed a long war on terror launched by America along with her allies after the 9/11 attacks, during which, the United States made huge efforts in order to eliminate the dictatorship of the Taliban system in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, through adopting creative chaos as her strategic tool in warfare to reconstruct both countries. After providing a brief history of the American military engagement in both Afghanistan and Iraq, this chapter will discuss the main key concepts represented in the American foreign policy, creative chaos policy, and the American version of creative chaos.

2.1 The American Military Involvement in both Iraq and Afghanistan

Since the Greater Middle East became an important region for America's global hegemony, the United States shifted her involvement in the area from a diplomatic based relationship into a military engagement. Iraq and Afghanistan are the prominent countries that greatly witnessed an American military intervention in the Greater Middle East. To acquire a better understanding of America's invasion of both Iraq and Afghanistan, one should have an over view about the events that took place from 1991 to 2014 in Iraq and Afghanistan.

²⁰ The American democracy is America's view of a beautiful life (or the American dream) that seeks a world free from tyranny and social, religious constraints by planning a cultural awakening and consciousness in the individuals. Available : <http://www.encyclopedia.com/education/educational-magazines/american-dream-abroad>

2.1.1 The American Intervention in Iraq

2.1.1.1 The First Gulf War of 1991

Saddam Hussein's decision to invade Kuwait was taken under several pressures. His decision along with the change in Iraqi foreign policy was a result of what Saddam believes as a 'conspiracy' to bring his regime down. According to Gause, Hussein claimed that America in coordination with other Gulf states and Kuwait were trying to reduce the oil price that would affect the efficiency of the Iraqi military industries, which is their attempt to not only cause oil crisis, but to reduce the Iraqi military forces. Moreover, Iraq raised her claim to Kuwait that was part of Iraq before the British colonialism (9, 16).

After Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 2, 1990, the United States, for the first time after the Vietnam War, had her priority to lead openly a coalition against Iraqi army in order to get rid of it, and liberate Kuwait. It was the first direct engagement of the American forces in the Persian Gulf region or what is known as the First Gulf War. This move showed the great influence of the American foreign policy over the world, particularly in the Greater Middle East ("War in the Persian Gulf" V).

The United States largely planned for a unified campaign plan in order to calculate the necessary force requirements in the Gulf desert that includes, according to the United States Army:

...water purification companies, tactical petroleum terminal units, engineer real estate detachments, and medium-truck companies. Deployment lists drive service access to reserve capabilities. This in turn becomes contingent on political decisions by the president to mobilize necessary reserves. ("War in the Persian Gulf" 4)

Since 8 August and near of Kuwaiti borders, Saudi Arabia was the host country to build up and deploy the UN's army units. The latter included earth, air, and sea specialized forces. The first Operation Desert Shield was "the major test for army logistics" that took place in the field. In addition to the time spent to transport American and European forces into Saudi Arabia, it took much time to set strategic planning and military training for soldiers. However, the United States' first priority, allegedly, was to protect Saudi Arabia's oil fields and reserves from Iraqi threat by defending its borders with Kuwait (3, 5).

It is true that the Iraqi defense at Kuwait-Saudi borders was strongly planned, but the United States' application of Operation Desert Storm was much more strategic because of its excel number of technological requirements. At the very beginning, the operation depended on air attacks on both Kuwait and Iraq. In 24 February, a ground attack that took four days was preceded "to establish forward support bases deep in Iraqi territory" ("War in the Persian Gulf" 35). This weakened the Iraqi position and gradually destroyed the Iraqi army. After the cease-fire, Kuwait was liberated and the American forces with its allies won the Gulf War against Saddam Hussein in 1991(63, 64).

After the American victory, these operations, however, were followed by not keeping an eye on their enemy Saddam Hussein only, but by "start [ing]... series of global operations against a new enemy:al-Qaeda and fellow extremists." Furthermore, one of the operations that would be held once again in the Persian Gulf region in March 2003 was against Saddam Hussein's regime who was accused of supporting extremists (70).

2.1.1.2 War of Iraq 2003

The United States' invasion of Iraq in 2003 was America's second experience in occupying a Greater Middle Eastern country. The American decision to invade Iraq faced a diplomatic dispute in the Security Council of the United Nations. Axis of peace, including Russia, Germany, France, and china, sought for more time to investigate the reasons behind this invasion. The other axis, the United States and Britain, were seeking war (Bassil 31). Bush's declaration that Saddam's regime possesses nuclear weapons made his invasion of Iraq manageable, but what is more important, is Hussein's supply of weapons for extremists like Osama Bin Laden ("War in the Persian Gulf" 61). In his speech²¹, the United States Vice President Dick Cheney said:

We now know that Saddam has resumed his efforts to acquire nuclear weapons What we must not do in the face of a mortal threat is to give into wishful thinking or willful blindness Deliverable weapons of mass destruction in the hands of a terror network or murderous dictator or the two working together constitutes as grave a threat as can be imagined. The risks of inaction are far greater than the risks of action.

²¹Cheney delivered this speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) national convention in Nashville, Tennessee on August 27, 2002. Available: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/aug/27/usa.iraq>

After President Bush managed to link Saddam's nuclear program with the 9-11 events, it seemed logical that the government should prevent any terrorist threat. To declare a preemptive war on Iraq, Bush signed a new doctrine in 17 September 2002. This doctrine allows America's preemptive intervention in any country if there have been any terrorist attempt that threatened its national interests and security. Later on, in March 2003, America along with her allies launched the war. Since Iraqi troops showed no resistance, it was easy for United States' troops to defeat the Iraqi army and occupy Baghdad, capital of Iraq. After this success, the United States celebrated the first victory in her war on terror since 9 September 2001 ("War in the Persian Gulf" 61-62).

This preemptive attempt, however, started to be doubted few months later. In 2004, the main reasons for invasion were questioned, and all "pre-war assertion [s] made by Bush, Cheney..., and Rice had been contradicted" (Fernandez 63). The first assertion provided by the Bush administration to the UN claims that Iraq is developing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). This claim was unreasonable since there had been no proof of Iraq's nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons' researches or activities that accuse Saddam Hussein since 1991. The second pretext declared that Saddam Hussein cooperated with al-Qaeda to attack the United States by providing arms and weapons. This assertion had been also contradicted according to a memorandum entitled "Survey of Intelligence Information on Any Iraq Involvement in the September 11 Attacks," by Richard Clarke that indicates that Iraq has no relation or link to the attacks of September 11, nor to the weapons used by al-Qaeda extremists. After these assertions were discounted, the United States had to come up with new objectives to justify her stand. Along with the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein towards his citizens, Bush stated that his intervention was more humanitarian; yet, he provided "no evidence that Hussein was committing, or was about to commit, the kind of atrocities that would justify humanitarian intervention. There was none" (63-69).

On March 19, 2003, after the United States launched the war starting from Baghdad, they called on Saddam Hussein to leave Iraq with his sons. However, Iraq sent in Kuwait for many HY-2 anti-ship missile, flying tidal waves, and about twenty airborne missiles as a response. The United States strategy was to bombard the capital Baghdad with other major Iraqi regions, and to destroy the Iraqi line defense. Allies' troops also aerially targeted the buildings and structures that the Iraqi army and Ba'ath Party left weeks ago before going on a ground offensive (Bassil 34).

According to Bassil, the ground forces were divided into three,

The 1st Marine Expeditionary Force American of the Marine Corps and the 1st British Armored Division of the British Army, with 100,000 troops and thousands of tanks under the command of the United States Central Command stationed in Kuwait. (35)

These troops mainly entered through South Iraq to front three Iraqi troops of the seventeen Iraqi divisions. Other divisions were cited in Kurdistan where they could not move far from their bases, and others, along with several militias, in other sensitive areas where they had the chance to enter in a clash (35).

Many battles between Iraqi resistance and the allies took place in various cities like Umm Qasr, Nasiriya, and Basra for several days. Meanwhile, the American forces including infantry, armored tanks, combat Abrams, Bradley's VCI, and heavy artillery, with the aerial support of the allies, were quickly seeking their way toward Baghdad. Through seizing the capital, they believed that they could surrender and control the Iraqi resistance in other places. In Kurdistan's region, the allies planned for an infantry division coming from a province in Turkey in order to threaten the Iraqi army of any sudden attack on Baghdad. Responding to this threat, eleven Iraqi army divisions with two Republican Guards were sited West of Baghdad in front of Turkey borders and three roads taking to Kurdistan as an attempt to defend the city. The Kurdish forces, who were considered as Iraqis by Iraq, took the opportunity to seize the cities of Mosul and Kirkuk. The latter were taken without engaging in a fight since that the Iraqi regular army was vanishing (35).

Months later, the Iraqi troops were placed in Fallujah to defend it from any possible threat. Some allies' Special Forces were sent to control this area, and other forces to the Iraqi-Syrian borders. Subsequently, after the arrival of the United States' forces to south and east Baghdad, it was easy to push Iraqi Republican Guards who were poorly controlled. When entering the capital city, the American forces executively targeted governmental Iraqi structures and officially controlled Baghdad. Consequently, the rest of the armed resistance easily fell, which was the thing that contributed in the fall of the whole regime in the next coming days. Important Iraqi officials were either murdered, or arrested. Both Saddam Hussein's sons, Odai and Qusai, were killed in July 22, 2003. For Saddam Hussein, he was captured in the province of Tikrit on December 14, 2003 by the American forces, and was

arrested in Camp Cropper. Later on, the Iraqi Special Tribunal accused him, with some of his henchmen, of war crimes and human rights' violation. The morning of December 30, 2006, Saddam was hanged (Bassil 36).

After the exhausting war, Iraq entered in a transitional phase characterized by total chaos and instability. Terrorist and civil attacks like suicide bombing, murder, and kidnapping of hostages were the hallmarks after 2003 that took place in Iraq against the American forces and the Iraqi political leadership. These attacks, during 2006 and 2007, took another form represented as the sectarian violence. The United States reported that the country was in a state of chaos, and peace had to be established. This objective preserved America's intervention to resume her interference in Iraq for several coming years (38, 67).

In addition to the mostly daily attacks in 2004, there had been two battles and conflicts taking place in Fallujah between the American armors and battalions of the new Iraqi army. These battles resulted in a high range of casualties, mostly civilians. On May 25, 2006, after witnessing all these events (the costs of the war and the American aid) both George W. Bush and Tony Blair, the British prime minister, acknowledged their mistake of involving in a war that cost them a lot. However, after the greatest terrorist attack of August 2007, President Bush stated that the American engagement in the country would remain even after the end of his presidency. Furthermore, reinforcements were sent by the United States to lower and control the level of violence in Iraq in 2007 (42-43).

By July 2008, President Bush declared the American military withdrawal of Iraqi cities. As a result, a bilateral pact was signed between the Iraqi and the American governments. It indicates that the deadlines of the American military retreatment of Iraq will be by the end of 2011, even the British troops will repatriate in June 2009. The retreat continued until January 25, 2010, when a number of NATO instructors were pointed to train both the Iraqi army and the navy on the one hand, and protect the offshore oil areas on the other (Bassil43).

The consequences of the war in Iraq were dreadful for both Iraq and the United States. More than 4,000 American soldiers were dead, 29,000 injured, and about 300,000 suffering of mental problems and depression. Iraqi casualties were estimated by 1.2 million dead mostly civilians. Over 2 million Iraqi fled their mother country. Add to this, tangible damages and loses in houses, public utilities, and the environment in general. For the economic costs, and along with the destroyed Iraqi economy, the American occupation of Iraq cost between 3 and 5 trillion dollars, in addition to the uncovered debts paid for both wars in Iraq and Afghanistan under the Bush administration. This long war cost them a lot (45-46).

2.1.2 The American Intervention in Afghanistan (War of 2001)

Ahmad Shah Massoud, the anti-Taliban resistance leader supported by the United States, was assassinated in September 9, 2001. Westerners admired him. He knew that something was about to happen on the American ground, and that is why his assassination was linked to 9/11 attacks. The latter were series of attacks that took place in different areas of the United States. The attacks were allegedly ascribed to al-Qaeda organization, in which four airliners targeted different national buildings. Two planes crashed into the world trade center in New York City, while the third airliner targeted the pentagon in Virginia. The forth airliner crash was failed and the plane crashed into a rural field in Pennsylvania. As a result, no one survived of hijackers or passengers from the planes' crashes. For the casualties, about 3,000 person and the 19 attackers died that morning ("War in Afghanistan"8).

After Osama Bin Laden was suspected of being responsible for the September 11 attacks, the United States launched her war against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan since it is the haven base of al-Qaeda. Taliban turned down the United Nations Security Council's order to extradite Osama bin laden, the leader of al-Qaeda organization (Katzman7; Akhtar 47). Along with the UN's resolution to respond to September attacks, the Bush administration immediately planned for a military intervention in Afghanistan to eliminate the Taliban. On 7 October 2001, Afghanistan had to go through another destructive war with America. The latter's pretext was that Afghanistan, Taliban in particular, is a harbor for al-Qaeda terrorists. As a result, a new doctrine established a global war on terror that gives America "the right to attack any deemed 'enemy' which could be countries regimes as well as groups or individuals since no distinction was to be made between terrorists and countries harboring them" (Akhtar 47).

Donald Rumsfeld, The American Secretary of State for Defense, stated the main points of Taliban and al-Qaeda elimination progress in Afghanistan on the level of air attacks and ground operations. He said:

Well, I would say that it depends on what your measure is. In my view, the fact that the air campaign has done a very good job of reducing down the threat from the ground--it's not eliminated it. We know that they still are stingers and we know there are probably still some SAMs and we know there are probably still a viewing aircraft and some helicopters. But in terms of being able to operate over the country, there's no question but that a good deal has been accomplished to

enable us to then proceed with the second phase. And the second phase is to create the conditions for a sustained effort against Al Qaeda and the Taliban.

He continues:

Now what does that mean? It means that we now are able to supply humanitarian assistance. We're now able to supply ammunition and various other supplies. We're able to get considerably better targeting information from the ground today than we had been previously. We're able to provide support to the forces that are opposing the Taliban and Al Qaeda in a manner that is considerably more effective than had been the case previously when the targeting information was either lacking or imprecise. So I would say that those who suggest what you suggested probably ought to step back and think, ``Well, three weeks, not bad to have accomplished those things and to put in place that capability for the period ahead. (qtd. in "Operation *Enduring Freedom*" 15)

The United States, supported by the British Special Forces and the Afghan anti-Taliban united forces, planned for major combat operations starting with Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Air attacks on Taliban and al-Qaeda networks were held as America's first step to eradicate not only terrorists but also the Afghan system of governance as a whole. These American attacks were directed with the help of the northern alliance and the Pashtun anti-Taliban ("War in Afghanistan"1).

The air campaign, from 7 to 28 October 2001, included about "1,000 missions in which more than 3,000 bombs and missiles were used" on over 200 different chosen Afghan areas where Taliban and al-Qaeda troops—numbered between 35,000 and 40,000—were suspected. It targeted the airfields and air defense to weaken the Taliban defense line on one hand, and support the Northern Alliance forces on the other. Hence, the first air strikes targeted airfield, Taliban defense sites, and the training sites of both Taliban and al-Qaeda's ground troops where they are largely concentrated ("Operation *Enduring freedom*" 17, 33).

The main key areas of target included Kabul, the capital city that contained the Afghan defense ministry and the airport. Jalalabad was allegedly surrounded by several terrorist training camps. Herat also was targeted since it contained an airport. Kandahar, in the south, was meant to be the base of the Taliban leaders. It consisted from radar installations, military headquarters, and an airport control tower. The air operations targeted and hit all

these bases. The airports of Mazar-e-Sharif and Zaranj -its borders with Iran- were also destroyed. These were the main cities that allegedly harbored terrorists and Taliban members (“War in the Persian Gulf”18).

The munitions used in the air attacks were varied and effective in the battlefield. They included land-based bombers, carrier-based aircraft, missiles fired from ships and submarines, deployed AC-130 gunships, laser-guided bombs dropped by an F-18 *Hornet*, and long-ranged bombers. Moreover, both “banker busted” munitions and cluster bombs were officially confirmed along with other US munitions. As a result, these heavy attacks caused several civilian casualties (17).

It is true that the use of cluster bombs was greatly questioned since that several targets were populated areas like Kabul, but it did not prevent it from happening. However, the United States mainly targeted the places where Taliban were largely suspected. The heaviest use of cluster bombs targeted north Kabul. The use of such munitions was defended by the United States on 26 October, and indicated that this weapon is only used when it is needed. During the campaign, they were not largely used; nevertheless, they have been used. (23)

On 29 October, Geoff Hoon, the Secretary of State for Defense, stated that,

Cluster bombs are in no way comparable with land mines. They are not defined as land mines in any international agreement and their use is wholly lawful. Unless and until there is a better means of dealing with the threat posed by armored vehicles, the UK and the US will continue to use them. (“Operation *Enduring Freedom*”24)

The main places that were targeted through air and the pattern of the bombing campaign lasted for three weeks (19- 21):

Week One: it took place from 7 to 14 October 2001. In this week, the number of targeted areas on a daily basis was between 6 and 31. The aircrafts and land-based bombers were the prominent used equipment in the air attacks (see table 2.1 below).

Table 2.1 The American Air Attacks on Afghanistan (Week One)

Date	Number of Target Areas	Equipment used (approx)
07.10.2001	31	25 carrier-based aircraft, 15 land-based bombers, 50 <i>Toma ha wk</i> cruise missiles fired from US and UK submarines and ships.
08.10.2001	13	10-15 carrier-based aircraft, 5-8 land-based bombers, 15 <i>Toma ha wk</i> cruise missiles fired from one US submarines and two ships.
09.10.2001	6	10 carrier-based aircraft, 6-8 land-based bombers
10.10.2001	7	12-15 carrier-based aircraft, 10 land-based bombers, 3 <i>Toma ha wk</i> cruise missiles fired from a US submarine.
11.10.2001	6	15 carrier-based aircraft, 10 land-based bombers
13.10.2001	17	15 carrier-based aircraft, 8-10 land-based bombers, 15 <i>Toma ha wk</i> cruise missiles fired from US and UK ships and submarines.
14.10.2001	7	15 carrier-based aircraft, 8-10 land-based bombers

Source: "Operation *Enduring Freedom* and the Conflict in Afghanistan: An Aupdate" 19.

Week Two: it took place from 15 to 21 October 2001. The carrier-based aircraft, land-based bombers, five *Toma ha wk* cruise missiles fired from US submarines and ships were used in addition to an AC-130 gunship that was deployed. The operation targeted between 06 and 18 Afghan areas on daily basis (see table 2.2 bellow).

Table 2.2 The American Air Attacks on Afghanistan (Week Two)

Date	Number of Target Areas	Equipment used (approx)
15.10.2001	12	100 carrier-based aircraft, 6-8 land-based bombers, 5 <i>Toma hawk</i> cruise missiles fired from US submarines and ships. The AC-130 gunship was deployed.
16.10.2001	12	85 carrier-based aircraft, 5 land-based bombers. The AC-130 gunship was deployed.
17.10.2001	12	Carrier-based aircraft plus some F-15Es operating from 'facilities in the region', 8-10 land-based bombers and AC-130 gunship.
18.10.2001	18	75 carrier-based aircraft, less than five shore-based tactical aircraft, 10 land-based bombers.
19.10.2001	15	90 carrier-based aircraft, 10-12 land-based aircraft including bombers and AC-130s Special Operations Forces, including US Army Rangers undertook search and destroy missions. Two US Service personnel died in a helicopter accident in Pakistan.
20.10.2001	6	85 carrier-based aircraft, 5 land-based bombers. Two bombs dropped by a US F-14 hit a residential area in north-west Kabul.
21.10.2001	8	75 carrier-based aircraft, 10 land-based bombers. A laser-guided bomb dropped by an F-18 <i>Hornet</i> hit an open area near an old people's home in Herat.

Source: "Operation *Enduring Freedom* and the Conflict in Afghanistan: An Update" 20

Week Three: it took place from 22 to 28 October 2001. Carrier-based aircrafts, land-based tactical aircraft were used, including long-ranged bombers. Concerning the number of the targeted areas, they were between 05 and 11 (see table 2.3 below).

Table 2.3 The American Air Attacks on Afghanistan (Week Three)

Date	Number of Target Areas	Equipment used (approx)
22.10.2001	11	60 carrier-based aircraft, 10 land-based tactical aircraft – including AC-130s, 10 long-ranged bombers.
23.10.2001	5	75 carrier-based aircraft, 10 long-ranged bombers, 5 land-based tactical aircraft – including AC-130s.
24.10.2001	9	65 carrier-based aircraft, around 5 long-ranged bombers, 6-10 land-based tactical aircraft – including AC-130s.
25.10.2001	10	75 carrier-based aircraft, around 4 long-ranged bombers, 4-6 land-based tactical aircraft – including AC-130s.
26.10.2001	NA	NA
27.10.2001	NA	NA
28.10.2001	6	55 carrier-based aircraft, around 4 long-ranged bombers, 4-6 land-based tactical aircraft.

Source: "Operation *Enduring Freedom* and the Conflict in Afghanistan: An Update" 21.

The air strikes paved the way for an easy land operation on 19 October. At that night, a number of the US special operation forces were deployed in southern Afghanistan. They successfully destroyed an airfield under the Taliban control southwest of Kandahar. On 23 October, the alliance offensive managed to disperse a number of Taliban troops that weakened their position. By the end of October, half of the troops “remain deployed on the northern fronts around Mazar-e-Sharif and north of Kabul.” The alliance forces, however, failed to cut weaponry supplies that routed from Uzbekistan to Mazar-e-Sharif, and nourished the Taliban forces. The battle of Mazar-e-Sharif was a success for the US’ troops. The latter

was a combination of ingenuity of the Special Forces, which is the most, advanced army delivered by the US navy, marine crews, and air forces. In the same region, meanwhile, the United States' air operation had some impact on Taliban's haven ("*Operation Enduring Freedom*" 33, 35).

On 9 November, the battle of Mazar-e-Sharif took place when alliance forces, leaded by Abdul Rachid Dostum and Ustad Atta Mohammed Noor, managed to seize "the main [Taliban] military base and airport." These forces were, later on, consolidated by the American Special Operations Forces to fight a fierce ninety-minute battle. The latter ended up with the withdrawal of Taliban combat from the city. Three days later, the Taliban forces left Kabul. The American forces along with alliance powers continue to seize the city of Kunduz, after the battle of Qala-i-Jangi on November 25, and Kandahar, the last Taliban base, on December 07 –after the leader of Taliban Mullah Omar left the city. The United States' military seized Kandahar's airport and established a US base. In Tora Bora Mountains, another battle held to get rid of al-Qaeda fighters, including Osama Bin Laden. The air strike ended in December 17 after destroying all al-Qaeda positions in this mountainous area, but no trace for Bin Laden. The US and the British troops believed that he could flee to nearby Pakistani areas ("*War in Afghanistan*" 11, 13-14).

On December 2001, the Taliban regime had been totally removed of power, and the Taliban leadership had to leave Afghanistan and flee into neighboring countries like Pakistan. Hamid Karzai, Pashtun leader and a US' supporter, was established the head of the new government. In March 2003, however, the United States' Special Forces suspected Taliban or al-Qaeda moves around Kandahar, Afghanistan's capital, after which the Operation Valiant Strike was held to get rid of these extremists. Later on, the 'major combats' officially ended on May 1, 2003 (7).

Between 2003 and 2005, Taliban renewed its insurgency after it was thrown from governance. They started to gather their remnants and planned to launch their operations under the leadership of Mullah Mohammad Omar. By September 2002, they decided to launch their holy war or 'jihad,' against the government and the United States' military. They started their war from different Pashtun areas in southeastern Afghanistan and Pakistan. Furthermore, they established new training camps along with al-Qaeda members in Pakistani borders. Their main basis, were built in mountainous tribal regions in Pakistan, after which Pakistani military efforts that prevent Taliban and al-Qaeda from becoming active was questioned. Over the winter of 2003, the Taliban forces reconstructed their forces and gradually organized them. About 1,000 Taliban guerrillas were regrouped since the fall of the

Taliban government. Their organization of forces went through a new operation that divides forces into groups of fifty, then launching their attacks against the Afghan soldiers and military convoys. The next step of the attack was characterized by the groups' split into 5 to 10 fighters to avoid capturing. Because of Taliban-restored strength, about 220 Afghans including police officers were killed in August 2003. Hence, the coalition, including the Afghan forces and the American troops, responded by advancing an offensive counterattack after which 124 Taliban fighters were killed ("War in Afghanistan"17-18).

War against Taliban, however, did not stop, even after its elimination from governance. Again, in 2005, Taliban tried aggressively to practice its influence over several Afghan regions. According to Collins, there was an increase in security nationwide and suicide bombing -they were unknown before 2004- between 2004 and 2009. Taliban became an important player in the Afghan conflict over controlling eastern and southern areas in the country. Corruption, since 2009, was in increase among both the Afghan government and the Taliban system. In August of the same year, the Taliban disrupted Afghan elections, and about 135 violence events were registered against the Afghan voters, especially in southern Afghanistan. Eventually, it did not prevent Hamid Karzai from winning the elections by 54 per cent of votes ("War in Afghanistan" 24). Taliban's destruction tactics were largely spreading over all Afghan provinces, even those controlled by the new government (Collins 73-74).

In 2009 and 2010, Obama, as the new president of the American administration, carried on Bush's plan for the surge that recommends increasing forces in Afghanistan to assure the situation in the region. According to Collins "over 21,000 additional troops were sent to Afghanistan to reinforce the 38,000 American and nearly 30,000 allied forces already there" (81).

By 2010, there were attempts to sign the peace pact between the Taliban and Afghan government. There were secret talks held between the Taliban commanders and a United Nations' special envoy to negotiate peace terms. The peace meeting was held, for the first time, in Dubai between these two parties. However, later talks with the Taliban leaders revealed that there would be no peace talks with the existence of foreign troops in Afghanistan that kill Afghans every day. Still, there were promising attempts to initiate peace by the end of 2010 ("War in Afghanistan" 25).

Early in 2010, Special Forces operations, along with Counter-Terrorism Pursuit Teams created by the CAI, were effectively active against Taliban and al-Qaeda forces in Afghanistan. Additionally, their operations expanded over Pakistani regions. The latter was in tension with the American army after killing and hurting Pakistani Frontier Corps during An

American attack against Taliban troops near Pakistani borders. In May, series of surgical operations were activated to capture or kill Taliban leaders. By March 2011, the NATO's Special Forces succeeded to capture over 900 of the Taliban commanders ("War in Afghanistan" 27-28).

By May 2011, President Obama announced the death of al-Qaida leader, Osama Bin Laden. The operation was held by the United States' Navy Seals in corporation with the CIA to capture or kill Osama bin Laden, where they went in fight with al-Qaeda members in their shelter in Pakistan. In Kandahar, May 07, 2011, the Taliban forces launched an attack on the government buildings including two high schools that attempted to control the city. The battle remained for two days. It was the worst attack on Kandahar since 2001 (28).

The decision of retreating the American forces from Afghanistan, and taken by President Obama, was officially fixed. The retreat will persist starting from July 2011. By 2014, the withdrawal would be accomplished (28).

2.2 The American Foreign Policy in the Greater Middle East

America's foreign policy towards the Greater Middle East has been always pursuing the goal of spreading peace and democracy around the region. Due to America's historical Background and principles, she always claims her support for democracy, stability and total boost to spread the human rights in the world and other nation's rights for self-determination. As announced by the US department of state their primary mission is to:

Advance freedom for the benefit of the American people and the international community by helping to build and sustain a more democratic, secure, and prosperous world composed of well governed states that respond to the needs of their people, reduce widespread poverty, and act responsibly within the international system. (Cushman)

The United States claimed that for a long time many countries in the region were struggling because of autocratic status; thus, a "Democratic reform has begun and is spreading in the Middle East. The United States is working with ... many partners to promote freedom in every part of the globe." (Fallis 2) In contrast to the policy that she adopted during the Cold War, where she supported and maintained a solid relationship with autocratic and dictatorial

governments in the Greater Middle East like Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, as long as it serves her interests. As Tomas Carothers put it:

Where democracy appears to fit in well with US security and economic interests, the United States promotes democracy. Where democracy clashes with other significant interests, it is downplayed or even ignored. (Girdner 38, 40)

The United States' foreign policy in the Greater Middle East during the Cold War was characterized by "containment, counterinsurgency, and subversion of uncooperative regimes [that] was carried out under the cover of various ideological devices". In her ideological and hegemonic war against The Soviet Union the United States maintained her all time cover which is keeping or spreading 'freedom and democracy.' (Girdner 40) In this period the United States' foreign policy avoided any military intervention to solve regional problems that contribute to instability (Ward iii). Instead, she adopted Wilsonian millenarianism²² ideology that was considered as the appropriate approach for their foreign policy at that time (Girdner 40). In this regard, the American foreign policy during various presidencies followed the same approach and method with slight differences. All their policies bears the same quest for preserving America's interest and leadership over the world, fighting the Soviet Union and communism that threaten her interests in the region of supporting Israel, protecting the Greater Middle Eastern oil, and promoting world trade in the region (Charountaki 126).

America's emergence as a superpower by the end of the Cold War, officially announced her hegemonic plans to maintain her leadership over the world through all possible means (Wagner 1). Contrary to the Cold War era, the United States did not hesitate to intervene in the Greater Middle Eastern territory using her military means to maintain stability and security. Thus, her foreign policy after the end of the Cold War did not change much; it only added to it the use of force (Ward IV).

American foreign policy in the Post-Cold War, under the Bush administration, approached the Greater Middle East with a strategy of Greater Middle East Initiative (GMEI). This policy as "a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East "was represented in fighting

²²Wilsonianism or Wilsonian: is words used to describe a certain type of ideological perspective on foreign policy. The term comes from the ideology of United States President Woodrow Wilson and his famous Fourteen Points that he believed would help create a world of peace if implemented. Common principles that are often associated with "Wilsonianism" include: Advocacy of the spread of democracy, Advocacy of the spread of capitalism, Opposition to isolationism and non-interventionism, Pro-imperialism, in favor of intervention.

autocratic regimes in favor of spreading peace and democracy, which was the main platform of Bush's foreign policy "war on terrorism". However, according to Girdner, America's goal of her policy GMEI was not to spread peace and democracy as they stated but for the sake of "increasing freedom for Western capital and ensuring continued US political control of the region" (38). Hence, the American foreign policy goes hand in hand with her National interests (Charountaki 140).

After The end of the Cold War and the end of America's First military intervention in the Greater Middle East, Bush declared his new strategy to the region, which is the "New world order" . This foreign policy reinforced the position of the United States in the Greater Middle East under the claim of creating a world of democracy and stability, where the rights of the weak are reserved under an American protection (Herrmann 42; Urban 30). It allowed the US to intervene in the Middle East without restrictions. "Previous limitations on foreign policy, such as an opposing block in the United Nations, military deterrence, and world public opinion, seemed less relevant"(Flannes 51).

According to Chomsky, the American strategy of the "New World Order" was designated to create a new world order, which is designed to suit the goals and interests of the United States and the world's great powers. The role that the Middle East plays in this plan is to be "exploited" to meet the needs of the industrialized countries (15, 17). American's intentions to transform the region was clear when the Former Secretary of States, Condoleezza Rice, was asked During the Lebanon war and Israel in 2006 If it has the intention to return peace to Lebanon , she replies:

I have no interest in diplomacy for the sake of returning Lebanon and Israel to the status quo ante. I think it would be a mistake. What we're seeing here, in a sense, is the growing — the birth pangs of a new Middle East and whatever we do we have to be certain that we're pushing forward to the new Middle East not going back to the old one. (Wagner 1)

One of the most important strategies that the United States adopted to create a New World Order in the Greater Middle East is the creative chaos. The latter has a major role in America's plan to reshape the region to fit the American global standards that promote democracy and eliminate dictatorial governments.

2.3 Creative Chaos in Warfare

Scientifically, the chaos theory is seen as a new field that studies phenomena of disorder and non-linearity in various domains like biology, biological behavior, weather, and even economy, trade, and funding markets movement. Later on, it developed into the movement of humanistic societies and politics. In sociology, international sciences, and politics, which give a great importance to history and historical method, the theory greatly deals with the concept of complex system or chaotic society. Supporters of this idea believe that there have been different developing variables such as economic globalization, spreading political democracy, the importance of civilian society, the increase in the number of national organizations and its borders, problems resulted from countries' split from different ethnicities. These variables are the main ideas that contributed to creating the idea of chaotic society (El-Minyawi 47-48).

Creative chaos or creative destruction in politics is a process in which masses of a nation revolt against a tyrannical, dictator and humiliating system. Hence, a revolution is the beginning of chaos to bring down the unjust system as an attempt to bring up justice and democracy (Al-Afifi 429). According to Chican, the starting point to revolt is the split that:

...refers to the opposition that exists between the population and the society on the one hand, and the state institution and regime that manages and leads it, on the other hand. Or, removing the 'vacuum' will come naturally, not by excluding the society and population, but the regime, its ideological institutions and the symbols it represents. (4)

It is when the people of a nation stand in a state of vacuum –insecurity or instability- between what existed and what should exist. The only way to deal with such a dilemma is to discriminate what already exists and replace it with what should exist to restore security and stability. For citizens, reformation here is no longer seen as a solution; rather, a stronger base must be built according to their social needs (Chican 6).

Yet, not any chaos can be triggered from the inside. Change is, sometimes, motivated by external factors. In this case, according to Steven's Mann work *Chaos Theory and Strategic Thought*, in every state system there must exist some kind of order and Internal patterns, despite the fact that they are sometimes naturally disordered. Thus, if one knows how the system works, it will be feasible to predict how a disruptive factor can be managed in

their normal operation. Hence, it will become difficult to predict when an external factor is the one who provoke the change. Nonetheless, if the ‘initiator’ has knowledge of the nature of the system and its susceptibility and able to direct this change towards the new system then the status of chaos will be substituted to order and stability. Regardless to the initiator’s control and awareness of the system, some unpredictable developments may appear to change the course of events and make the initiator unable to control the course of events that he releases (Korybko 26-27; Mann 54,67).

In geopolitical application, aggressor state usually manipulates basic factors like ethnicities, religious adherents, history, socio-economic disparities, and physical and administrative geography of a victimized state. These factors contribute into changing the targeted system or its entity federalism or both. The interfering external initiators along with the manipulated chaotic variables result in coup d’état, color revolutions, unconventional war, soft power offensive, and economic warfare etc. Nevertheless, unpredictable variables may appear in ground like a foreign intervention, and the rise of unexpected non-state actors to power over the sudden collapse of the state (Korybko 27).

This strategy, adopted by the US’ Intelligence, has a great role in destroying the base of the Soviet Union. The latter engaged in a state of chaos that targeted its institutions. Subsequently, different concepts and terms emerged into practice because of this split in the Soviet system like the New World Order (1991-1994) and Globalization. The latter, in economy, contributed to neo-liberalism, free trade market, and the easy free movement of capital. In Warfare, meanwhile, a considerable amount of military bases was set all over the world. Continuously, the theory of creative chaos or destruction was expendably adopted by the United States until its declaration by the United States’ Formal of States, Condoleezza Rice. The American embracement of chaos ideologies was manifested in various foreign policies of ‘War on terror,’ ‘pre-emptive wars,’ and ‘the domino theory’²³(Al-Afifi 429).

Under the presidency of George W. Bush, the American politicians and policy makers adopt the so-called geopolitical approach as a strategy that attempts to figure solutions for problems facing the U.S. in the Middle Eastern region and the Arab world. The latter, since 9/11 attacks, witnessed many changes and conflicts. The Arab spring was a significant turn in the process of creative chaos (429-430).

²³The domino theory, from the 1950s to the 1980s, indicates that if one country in a region came under the influence of communism, then the surrounding countries would follow in a domino effect. This was America’s pretext to reduce the influence. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domino_theory

2.4 The American Creative Chaos

The American creative chaos policy, creative construction, constructive anarchy, or constructive chaos, revolves around emphasizing the themes of basic rights, freedom, justice, equality and the right to determine one's destiny as the global values that should not be restricted to any single nation. The term was announced, for the first time, by Condoleezza Rice, when it was centered on the assumption of creating a chaotic situation in the Middle East that could eventually lead to the creation of new reshaped states to establish what they called free democratic states (W. Khan 8). In fact, six years earlier, Rice hinted to the concept of creative chaos. In an interview with Washington Post, she stated that, "The anarchy that involves reforms and democratic transformations in the Middle East is a constructive one to the extent that it can create a much better and more acceptable situation than the one existing today in this part of the world" (Chican 3).

Even though this term was introduced for the first time to the world of politics by Rice, this concept was reciprocal before to Hegel in his "the Cycle of Civilization" and Nietzsche's "New World on the Ruins of the Old". As it is related to the British nineteenth century imperialism strategy of 'Divide and conquer', where divide correspond to 'chaos' and conquer correspond to colonial construction. However, the main source that inspired American creative chaos was the economist Josef Schumpeter, who coined the term (Al-Afifi 445). He assumed/discussed that:

Capitalism is by nature a form or method of economic change and not only never is but never can be stationary... This process of Creative Destruction is the essential fact about capitalism. It is what capitalism consists in and what every capitalist concern has got to live in. (Schumpeter 82)

He adds that, "[the] process of industrial mutation that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one" (83). This corresponds to the Capitalist American concept of creative chaos adopted in the Middle East, where chaos from within is desirable to eliminate the old and building a new creative system ("Creative Destruction").

One of the most important American pioneers of this policy and the prominent member of American Enterprise Institute is the Neoconservative Michael Ledeen. He believes

that their duty is to bring ‘true freedom’ to the world in general, and Middle East in particular, using creative destruction as their main strategy (Urban 38-39), where he stated:

We should have no misgivings about our ability to destroy tyrannies. It is what we do best. It comes naturally to us, for we are the one truly revolutionary country in the world, as we have been for more than 200 years. Creative destruction is our middle name. We do it automatically, and that is precisely why the tyrants hate us, and are driven to attack us. (Ledeen 1)

Ledeen insists on America’s power to protect and safeguard the rights of the citizens whom are suffering from injustice and live under autocratic regimes like that of Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Taliban in Afghanistan. He asserts that the people of both countries seek to unseat both regimes from power if they had the chance. He expressed the importance of those people to the US government, saying that “freedom is our lethal weapon, and the oppressed of the fanatic regimes are our greatest assets” hoping that the tyrannized people will consider the attempts of the Western authorities to protect them, whose their sole concern is to liberate the tyrannized people under a Western leadership which will provide respect to them. Moreover, Ledeen confirms his government’s total boost for those citizens to carry out democratic resistance movements, and the willingness of the US government, not only to eliminate terrorist groups, but also to destroy the governments that harbor them (2). In this vein, President Bush, in his speech on the National Security Strategy in 2006, stated that:

Because democracies are the most responsible members of the international system, promoting democracy is the most effective long-term measure for strengthening international stability; reducing regional conflicts; countering terrorism and terror supporting extremism; and extending peace and prosperity. To protect our Nation and honor our values, the United States seeks to extend freedom across the globe by leading an international effort to end tyranny and to promote effective democracy. (Stoddard 92)

Likewise, Condoleezza Rice who, at the American University in Cairo in June 20, 2005, declared that for a long time the United States’ government sought to maintain stability on the expense of democracy in the Middle East region; nonetheless, none of them was accomplished. Thus, the United States has taken a new course in the Greater Middle East and

has focused on strengthening democracy and supporting the democratic aspirations of all people. Rice believes that reform through democracy in the Middle East is the only solution that can liberate the region from hatred, division, and violence. Through democracy only, people from different ethnicities, races, and religions can learn to accept others' differences and live in peace and harmony without having to kill each other (Rice). In addition, before the 9/11, she claimed that the region was already suffering from instability before the American intervention. She added that the situation that the region was experiencing before 9/11 did not worth defending, where Rice explained that the region exported terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons was getting worse. In addition to the authoritarian governments that were shedding their failure on the people and the innocent countries, several examples were provided about Middle Eastern countries to support her claims. Lebanon was one of the countries that were presented as an example. She said that they were suffering from the Syrian occupation, as for the Palestinian Authority, it was suffering from corruption and its only concern was to maintain her position at the expense of her people. Moreover, Saddam Hussein was accused of forming an autocratic government that slaughtered its people, destabilize its neighbors, and demolishing the hope for peace between the two nations of Israelis and Palestinians (Abdel Rahman 7).

Hence, we conclude that the United States supported creative chaos that was implemented in the Greater Middle East. Condoleezza Rice had stated that, "What we're seeing here, in a sense, is the growing -the birth pangs of a New Middle East and whatever we do we have to be certain that we're pushing forward to the New Middle East not going back to the old one" (Wagner 1) that is built on creating a new developed region based on democracy and freedom of all citizens.

Conclusion

In terms of geopolitics, the United States adopted Creative chaos as her new foreign policy to deal with the situation in the Greater Middle East. It is true that chaos is the prominent phase in this policy; however, it can effectively improve the circumstances of a target state. The initial variables of chaos are usually prompted by ethnic conflicts, social differences and even economic crises. These challenges usually lead to a revolution against the governing system. Hence, more stable and just government would later on replace the old corrupt one. On these bases, the United States sought that a radical change would establish a

more democratic and stable New Greater Middle East. Accordingly, America claimed that Afghanistan and Iraq are suffering from tyrannical regimes that provided harbor for terrorists and extremists of Al-Qaeda. America had to react toward not only the attacks of 9/11 that threatened her national security, but also for other nations (suffering from insecurity) since she considers herself the protector of the world. Her involvement in war for this reason showed the American potential in applying the chaos theory by providing chaos in the region and trying to reshape a new balance and order. However, chaos is not always predictable, and it is not always crowned with success or promising results. Sometimes, it can only worsen the situation since it is hard to be controlled if new unexpected variables take place in an already complex system.

Chapter Three:

The Analysis of Creative Chaos Policy in Afghanistan and Iraq

Introduction

After 9/11 attacks, democracy allegedly became America's basic tenet. Since America's declaration of her foreign policy of war on terror, she used creative chaos as her strategic tool to eliminate the old and dictatorial regimes in the Greater Middle East and tried to establish a new developed order based on democracy, peace and respecting the freedom of others. Nevertheless, its efficiency in Iraq and Afghanistan should be compared to reality after the American intervention from different aspects (economic, political and social) to examine the effectiveness and validity of her policy. The wars of Iraq and Afghanistan were inevitable for the United States but not based on the democracy rationales stated by the American administrations. Instead, the undeclared objectives behind the war should be traced in other fields. This chapter will examine the effectiveness of creative chaos in Afghanistan and Iraq by examining the real situation in these countries and comparing it with America's proclaimed democratic plans and objectives. Therefore, this chapter presents the aftermath of the wars that were supposed to contribute to the stability of Iraq and Afghanistan. The key elements that are tackled in this chapter are the roots of chaos in Afghanistan, creative chaos analysis in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the undeclared rationales behind the American invasion.

3.1 Roots of Chaos in Afghanistan

Afghanistan went through various complexities that interrupted its stability, and chaos was the prominent issue during her last three decades. What is common is that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was influenced by the Soviet Union's communism. This regime faced people's rejection. As a result, and based on America's interests to eliminate the Soviet impact from the region, the United States sought the opportunity to unconventionally interfere in Afghanistan and support the resistance against the PDPA government. She armored and funded the Mujahedeen group, and even trained them to get rid of the PDPA's current government. The state became more devastated and America immediately retreated from the region after the withdrawal of the USSR in 1989, which marked the end of the Cold War era. American intervention and provocation of 1979

Afghan civil war created a state of vacuum, where chaos lasted for more than a decade until the Taliban took over power in 1994 (Kolhatkar 15-16; Harvey, par. 4).

The Success of Mujahedeen in overthrowing the former regime, in 1992, after 3 years from the withdrawal of the Soviets, led them to seize power over the nation and practice their extremist activities toward the Afghan people. They practiced violence and crimes against citizens, even raised their weapons against them. They enforced strict laws prohibiting drinking alcohol and impose wearing veil for woman, and a severe punishment for whom they refuse to follow their instructions through floggings, amputations, and public executions. The US-backed support of the Mujahedeen led Afghan civilians to question the reason that led the United States to give this extremists group the absolute power. A citizen commented on the matter by stating that:

Ordinary Afghans asked....how the United States could allow the [Mujahedeen] rebels to fire American-supplied weapons into neighborhoods and bazaars, killing and wounding the ordinary people on whose behalf they claim to be fighting. (Kolhatkar 16)

Taliban creation was the outcome of America's intervention in the territory. Before the rise of Taliban, Mujahedeen were divided into hostile groups after which Afghanistan witnessed civil war among their warlords about power. In order to stabilize the country's situation in 1994, Taliban peacefully occupied 90 per cent of Afghanistan. They worked on bringing peace and introducing values of Islamic Sharia law. However, this peace was acquired on the expense of non-developing administrative structure of the country. Due to the lack in their experience in governing, Taliban did not contribute in building and establishing a well-structured government. Their main concern was to build an Islamic nation based on strict adaptation of the Sharia law (Akhtar 44-45).

Taliban was the fruit of the teachings of Islamic fundamentals and the training in Pakistani religious schools by the CIA-backed mujahedeen during the PDPA rule in their fighting of the holy war (Harvey 45). From this fact, we assume that the American intervention that contributed to achieving America's own interests resulted directly in the rise and the emergence of fundamentalism such as the mujahedeen groups, and the other extremist group, Taliban, which is going to be later on America's enemy. Subsequently, Afghanistan became the harbor of extremist groups and individuals like Osama bin Laden and his organization, al-Qaeda.

America's intervention in Afghanistan and her support for the resistance culminated not only on the easy accept of Taliban regime as the new government, but also in creating long-term crisis. The economy became dependent on drug trade. The country was submerged with weapons. The Afghan civil society has perished (Edwards 8), and experienced a lack of respect for human rights, especially women's rights (Kolhatkar 16-17).

From a theoretical perspective of chaos theory, these major factors, Taliban, and the United States, are the agent players leading to chaos in the region for over 20 years. First, America's unconventional support for resistance against the PDPA was a significant changing variable that had the role of the butterfly effect in throwing the old system and the coming phase of chaos of post 9/11. If there had been no American involvement in Afghanistan in 1979 -the prominent variable in provoking chaos- there would have been no complex situation in the country as John Ryan stated:

If Washington had left the Marxist Taraki government alone back in 1979, "there would have been no army of mujahideen, no Soviet intervention, no war that destroyed Afghanistan, no Osama bin Laden, and no September 11 tragedy." (Parenti)

After establishing a political collapse, another changing variable contributed in the persistence of chaos which is America's retreat from Afghanistan. To put in account that new conditions were set in the country after this move, which are the resistance mujahedeen who were still active and not resolved by America after they served the objective they were set for, to throw the USSR influence. Consequently, the state entered in a chaotic phase when the mujahedeen warlords fought among each other over authority for over four years. The second agent, Taliban, as the new ruler, introduced peace but did not improve the nation's situation socially, politically and economically. Theoretically, their rise as a non-state actor during the transitional phase of the country presents a final changing variable in this transitional period that would later on contribute in another coming phase of chaos, American military intervention after the 9/11 events and its emergence as an initial variable of that phase.

3.2 The American Creative Chaos Analysis in Afghanistan after 9/11

The United states' first objective from waging war against Afghanistan in 2001 after the 9/11 Attacks, was justified by fighting, dismantle, disrupt and defeat the terrorist

organization of al-Qaida and her leader Osama bin Laden, who was accused of the terroristic attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. The Taliban government, as the harbor of al-Qaida, refused to hand him over. The second objective of the invasion was to eliminate the Taliban regime under the strategy of state building,²⁴ and to replace it by a new diplomatic government (Edwards 2) through applying the final stage of Operation Enduring Freedom²⁵ (Kobek and Rodriguez 85). As Lakhdar Brahimi, the United Nations Special Representative, declared through his “light footprint” approach in Afghanistan that their ultimate goal is still a formidable goal, namely to build a credible and capable Afghan state (Mukhopadhyay 2-3).

The United States’ objective to establish a stable, unified, peaceful and democratic state also was stressed by President George Bush in his speech in October 2002, which he called an “era of hope”:

It’s hard for us to understand in America, but these (the Taliban) are people who attempted to control every mind and every soul in the country. They . . . had a vast network of terrorist camps available to train extremists from around the world. Thanks to America, and thanks to our friends, thanks to people who love freedom for everybody, the oppressive rule has been lifted . . . Afghanistan has entered a new era of hope. (Pilger 4)

Furthermore, in his state union address in January 29, 2002, Bush stated that “America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We will be partners in rebuilding that country.”²⁶ In addition, his Prime Minister Condoleezza Rice asserted that the “U.S. will fight poverty, disease, and oppression because it is the right thing to do and the smart thing to do” (Akhtar 47).

However, in his “Creative Destruction,” Ledeen states that it is necessary in order to destroy an old system and create a new one. There must exist an already planned new system. In Afghanistan, there have been numerous forces that could gain the support of the United

²⁴State building according to “external” school or “international relations” is as an activity by foreign actors trying to build or rebuild the institutions of a weak, post-conflict or failed state. They considers state-building as the activity of one country in relation to another, and some forms of intervention.

²⁵. The final stage of Operation Enduring Freedom, which was tackled in details in the second chapter under the title of: U.S.A. Military Intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq, focus on reconfiguration and securitization of the country.

²⁶“Bush State of the Union Address,” Washington (CNN) (January 29, 2002), Online, Internet, 4 April 2017. Available: <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/01/29/bush.speech.txt/index.html>

States, in her plan for a new government, among which the Northern Alliance. To do so, the Taliban regime should be totally eradicated through exporting the democratic revolution brought by America (2).

Nonetheless, the American promises to the Afghan people for bringing a new era of democracy, stability and respect of human rights, was combined with failure. The end of Taliban regime did not bring the stability that the Afghan people dreamed of. On the contrary, the country still destroyed and Warlords are still exercising their power and oppressing innocent citizens ("All our Hopes are Crushed" 4).

What has changed in Afghanistan? All our hopes are crushed. We are completely disappointed. Look – all the same warlords are in power as before. Fundamentalism has come into power, and every day they strengthen their power. (Pilger 4)

The situation in Afghanistan after the American intervention did not improve. On the contrary, it had dire consequences on the Afghan people. Eight years after the US-led invasion against the Taliban, Afghanistan is considered as the most perilous place in the world for a child to be born according to a report by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in November 2009. Moreover, Afghanistan has the highest infant mortality rate in the world - 257 deaths per 1000 live births. People in Afghanistan do not even have access to clean water, which was estimated by 70 percent of the population suffer from lacks of access to clean water. Thus, Malalai Joya²⁷ expressed her opposition to the expansion of the US military presence in Afghanistan and her concerns about the future of her country by saying that:

Eight years ago, the U.S. and NATO — under the banner of women's rights, human rights, and democracy — occupied my country and pushed us from the frying pan into the fire. Eight years is enough to know better about the corrupt, mafia system of President Hamid Karzai. My people are crushed between two powerful enemies. From the sky, occupation forces bomb and kill civilians ... and on the ground, the Taliban and warlords continue their crimes. It is better that they leave my country; my people are that fed up. Occupation will never bring liberation, and it is impossible to bring democracy by war. ("War in Afghanistan" 29)

²⁷Malalai Joya: a former member of the Afghan Parliament and the author of "Raising My Voice,"

Depending on the declared rationales of the Bush administration in seeking democracy and the establishment of human rights in Afghanistan, reality should reflect America's clean intentions in the region after her interference. What is prominent is that reality contradicted the American declarations of the invasion and depicts the real structure of an Afghan state.

3.2.1 Chaos' Analysis on the Political Level

In the political arena, the American intervention in 2001 supposed to bring a strong, democratic Afghan central government after the disposal of the Taliban regime; nonetheless, the American proposed new government in Afghanistan has been constantly criticized (Katzman 8). The Afghan transitional government, under Hamid Karzai, has a questionable legitimacy among the people especially that it was subjected significantly to armed entities, and was dependent on international forces in all aspects. It has been described as the most corrupt government, even more corrupt than Taliban. Members of the parliament and others who have close ties with Chairman of the twenty-nine member Interim Administration Karzai, considered as the biggest Drug Barons. The new government did not only have an ineffective role in stopping corruption and being corrupt by themselves, but also had no role in creating a secure environment for the Afghan people. The American intervention enhanced the strength of Warlords, whom they were militarily more powerful than Karzai himself, because of America's strengthening for them in their fight against Taliban and Al-Qaeda. They returned to their previous criminal practices before the Taliban rule, in raping, abusing to children and selling heroin. Concerning the role of government in protecting the Human rights of the Afghan people, that the United States severely criticized the previous government for, was still regarded 'poor' according to the Afghan human rights records (Akhtar 48).

Regarding the aids promised by the United States to Afghanistan to carry out state building, there are two main interpretations. The first interpretation is that Afghanistan has received very little aid to endure their process of building the country and its economy. Since that the large part of aids did not spent on Afghanistan as a country and its need, but rather on a special segment of the society. In fact the United States' "Humanitarian aids "did not serve its correct purposes as a financial assistance to provide the necessary infrastructure to Afghanistan, but instead it was used to create and secure agents in the region amidst the elites. Amongst Forty to fifty billion dollars from the International Donor Conference, only Thirteen

billion dollars are directed toward Afghanistan government (Akhtar 49), which was used to pay salaries and meet other operating expenses thus the government had no extra money for reconstruction of the country (Pilger 6). Around Seventy-five percent of aid does not serve its real purpose; in serving the state of Afghanistan and its citizens (Pilger 49). According to American non-governmental agency, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) and the Centre on International Cooperation (CIC) of New York University, their recent study indicates that the rate of only 1 per cent of the needs of Afghanistan in the field of reconstruction has been achieved yet. The fact, most of the money that reportedly had been said spent on “reconstruction” was actually used on achieving US geo-political objectives (I. Khan 218).

The second contradictory interpretation is that the state of Afghanistan has obtained too much humanitarian aids, which is considered as an obstacle to the development of the state and its independence. There has been some assumptions that the amount of large aids received by Afghanistan, which poured into the hands of non-government individuals, led to the rise of corruptions, Incompetence and the rampant of bribery in the administrations. In addition to that, Afghanistan will remain dependent on foreign aids for many years without the ability to establish a self-sustain government. The United States spend little amount of money on the reconstruction of the public sectors in Afghanistan like providing adequate standard of living ,healthcare , and education. While America’s spending in Afghanistan estimated about 109 billion dollars even more superior to Marshall Plan funding of 103.4 billion dollars according to John F. Sopko²⁸, except that is has been spent on their policy war on terror not Afghanistan reconstructions like it has been said (Akhtar 49).

After a war that lasted for more than 13 years, the Afghan government is still suffering from corruption and lack of interest in their people’s needs. In 2014 the United States combat operations in Afghanistan have officially ended, and full security responsibility has been transferred to the Afghan government, even though Thousands of US and other NATO troops in Afghanistan remain as a military advisers and counterterrorism operations without formal plans for withdrawal. The election of 2014 revolved around many controversies, a debate over fraud in this election has taken a heavy turn, and the parliament and the Supreme Court, Stera Mahakma, did not succeed in resolving the disputes and allegations of fraud. Both presidential candidates, Dr. Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai and Dr. Abdullah, were supported by warlords. In light of these developments, especially after both

²⁸John F. Sopko: a special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SAGAR)

parties have accepted to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA)²⁹, this indicates that these candidates are still clinging not to change the old policies that have been adopted in the Afghan administration. The United States of America was unable to establish a viable government structure to eliminate corruption (Noorzoy 3).

3.2.2 Chaos' Analysis on the Economic Level

One element of U.S.' process of state building in Afghanistan is the promotion of economic development and integration into regional trade patterns; since that Democratic theory and historical experience indicate that the differential level of Economic development has a significant impact on democratic outcomes. There were some allegations from The World Bank Web site that Afghanistan economy has witness a 9.2 percent growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)³⁰ between 2003 and 2012. This growth has been said accelerated to reach in 2013 to 11.8 percent, and 14 percent according to International Monetary Fund (IMF). Nonetheless, Afghanistan Statistical Yearbook shows that the source of this economic growth is the result of war economy. Because of the frequent demand of foreign military and civilian personnel for services; the service sector witnessed 50 percent growth of the GDP. Plus, it is unreasonable that the country's economy evolves in this short amount of time especially that the country in 2000 and 2001 was suffering from drought, were civilians reach to eat grass, and because of both economic and political sanctions from U.S and UN on the country which threaten the lives of six million Afghans as a result of famine. These factors appear to be ignored by international organizations, which claimed that the economic growth comes as a result of the new improvement in agriculture sector, and America's post invasion policy contributed to restore Afghanistan economy (Noorzoy 1-2).

Afghanistan historically, was primarily a country that relies on agriculture, but now the most heavily cultivated agriculture is poppy cultivation. The latter production is estimated three times the value of GDP in the world market .In fact, agriculture sector contribution to the development of the Afghan economy was considered insignificant. Drug production, the number of unemployment, and poverty reveals the fact of the disfigured Afghan economy.

²⁹Bilateral Security Agreement: Is an agreement between the Afghan government and the United States, which states that the United States and NATO will continue to keep troops until 2016 and possible until 2024, provided for by the BSA document to provide protection for the new regime.

³⁰ GDP: is a monetary measure of the market value of all goods and services produced in a period (quarterly or annual). Nominal GDP estimates are usually used to determine the economic performance of an entire country or region and to make international comparisons.

As the table (see table 3.1 bellow) shows, the most productive sector is the services sector, where the proportion of production is increasing every year from 2007 to 2012, compared to the other sectors. While in the same time period the service sector increase by 30 percent, the agriculture sector reduced by 24 percent and industry by 18.3 percent. These percentages indicate that the major structural changes that have occurred in the Afghan economy were in the service sector, confirming that Afghanistan economic growth is the result of war.

*Table 3.1*The Economy of Afghanistan during wartime

Year	Agriculture	Service Sector	Transport & storage	Industry
2007/08	33.6	38.7		25.2
2008/09		44.0		25.5
2009/10	27.7	43.4		21.4
2010/11	31.4	48.02	15.15	20.57
2011/12	27.76	47.83	15.2	21.58
2012/12	26.98	50.29	18.21	20.52

Source: Afghanistan's Wartime Economy (2001-20014). The Devastating Impacts of IMF-World Bank Reforms.

Regarding the individual income of the Afghan workers, there were some allegations that there has been an increase in the per Capita Income, according to reports by International financial institutions, which was circulated among local and foreign politicians. Since there are so many distortions in the Afghan economy, inconsistent to accept per capita income growth as evidence of the increased welfare among the general population. Especially that it was estimated that 40 to 65 percent Afghan people were unemployed across the country with a big wage difference between workers who find difficulty to find jobs for two dollars per day and bodyguards or consultants with a 1.000 dollars. In addition, there are two million working children and three million refugees; thus, what is the importance of per capita income with these conditions? (Noorzoy 3)

3.2.3 Chaos' Analysis on the Social Level

Afghans hope to carry out their daily lives without fear of organized violence, and the ability to be free from basic needs and peaceful coexistence in local communities that provide them with opportunities for progress is still a distant dream for the Afghan people. Afghans were promised a new era of democracy and respect for human rights, when the US-led a coalition to overthrow the Taliban in November 2001. The cycle of violence generated by decades of war and armed conflict will be restrained, the warlords will be disarmed and removed from power, and the routinely arbitrary torture will be prohibited. The Afghans will be able to speak freely and the abhorrent restrictions on women, which were practiced by the Taliban government, will fade. Nonetheless, none of these promises were fulfilled (“all our hopes are crashed” 4). Seventy percent of the population is still living a difficult life, depicted/ describes under the poverty line, while young people, who comprise 86 percent of the population, a large proportion of them are still unemployed. Disconnect and a void has been created between the citizens of Afghanistan and their government, due to the apathy of the Afghan government in addressing the basic needs of their citizens (Akhtar 49).

The most common thing that plagues the Afghan society is armed groups. The re-emergence of the warlords after the overthrow of the Taliban is partly linked to the US decision to support regional leaders, who can help US military targets, with money and weapons during the post-9/11 campaign instead of supporting a central authority (“Unfinished Business in Afghanistan” 3). In this vein, Kolhatkar stated that, “It is [...] richly ironic that the first achievement of the war on terrorism has been to install in Kabul the Northern Alliance, for whom terrorism has been the entire line of business and way of life for more than 20 years” (19).

In a meeting between the CIA and Northern Alliance- referring to the mujahedeen earlier- leader Muhammad Arif, Bob Woodward of the Washington Post reports that:

Gary [CIA agent] placed a bundle of cash on the table: \$500,000 in 10 one-foot stacks of \$100 bills. He believed it would be more impressive than the usual \$200,000, the best way to say, We’re here, we’re serious, here’s money, we know you need it . . . Gary would soon ask CIA headquarters for and receive \$10 million in cash. (Pilger 5)

The use of this method was justified by the United States and supporters of “war on terrorism” in order to rid Afghanistan and the world of a terrifying system, nonetheless, in the process of eliminating Taliban they contribute for the re-grouped and the rise of another terrorist group to power. Now warlords restored their old power-After the withdrawal of the USSR in 1989-and they control Ministerial posts in the government. According to Human Rights Watch Afghanistan inversely from emerging as a stable democratic government, it remains a group of undemocratic "fiefdoms" where warlords have the freedom to intimidate blackmail and suppress the local population, while completely denying their fundamental freedoms. Warlords practice various kinds of crimes against the people from armed robbery and extortion, to abductions of human rights and violations of women and girls rights (Pilger 6, 5).

Furthermore, one of the most common phenomena that Afghan society is suffering from after the US invasion, is poppy cultivation and drug trafficking. Under Taliban regime and in the early 2001, the Afghan government prohibited this type of activities which resulted in a less than 8000 hectares of prime land of cultivation. To evolve in 2014 for more than 131,000 lands of cultivation and in 2013 to 209,000 according to UNDC, this led to the addiction of a more than 1.5 million Afghans (Noorzoy 2), and Afghanistan has become one of the largest sources in producing illicit opiates in the world by 90 per cent. Thus, Local drug dealers and their protectors are part of powerful interest groups that can challenge stability, disrupt law and order and spread chaos in the country (Shah 27).

Corruption is considered also as one of the social ills that afflict considerably the Afghan society today. The latter emerged to a large extent since the invasion of 2001, where corruption is rampant and pervades all organs of the Afghan government, ranging from a simple agent to senior official (Noorzoy 4). In November 2009 Afghanistan occupied the world's second-largest corrupted country in the world, just after Somalia that occupies the first place in the Transparency International's annual index of corruption perceptions (CPI) (“War in Afghanistan” 29). Bribery is one of the aspects of corruption that is prevalent in Afghan society, where members of the government received bribes from the people to carry out their daily duties. Bribery is rampant in all fields especially in the public sectors, where any transactions whether it's for job appointments, obtaining contracts or registering deeds required a bribe. Whereas in education, the Afghan citizen in the public schools must pay tuition fees and a bribe to the official collecting the financial dues on the ground that the payment is for the city and the bribe is for him as a reward. Many sources reported that a total of \$ 3.9 billion was paid for bribes by the public to officials in one year, the equivalent of

donations collected by the donor conference for four years to the state. If these money spent on bribes was utilized in improving the country's economic situation, Afghanistan Will no longer need for foreign financial assistance (Noorzoy 4-5).

There are many abuses witnessed by the Afghan community on a humanitarian level, the most famous of which are violations associated with the rights of women. The United States used the Taliban's persecution of Afghan women as one of the justifications for interfering in Afghanistan (Kolhatkar 12), where President George W. Bush stated in his State of the Union address delivered to the Congress that:

The last time we met in this chamber, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government. (Bush)

Nonetheless, the Afghan women have another opinion:

It's clear that the problem women in Afghanistan face is fundamentalism itself- not just whether or not we have to wear a burqa or whether we are allowed to go to the cinema.... But we also know that the situation was the result of the very inhumane and unjust policies of foreign countries such as the U.S. and other Western countries... which over the years gave a lot of support and help to fundamentalist groups. These fundamentalist groups became powerful, took over Afghanistan, and of course they got out of control. Perhaps the U.S. government never thought that there would be danger from its own creation; maybe it thought that the atrocities would take place only in Afghanistan, that only the women of Afghanistan would suffer, and that only things in Afghanistan would be destroyed. (qtd. in Kolhatkar 13)

The United States contributed to the suffering of the Afghan women over the past two decades by campaigned to arm Afghan fundamentalists and its empowerment, has spurred the tragic demise of Afghan women's rights. At different times, whether peace or conflict, Afghan women have been deprived from basic rights like their rights to education, health care, employment and access to food, shelter and freedom of association, expression, religion and dress, under the name of Islamic sharia law. Therefore, Afghan women suffer

from a high rate of illiteracy and are ranked in second place in the maternal mortality rate (13-14).

US intervention has not changed much, the afghan women struggle continue. We cannot deny the fact that afghan women become occupying significant positions in the governments, but at the same time, it is impossible to deny that these women were chosen according to their background and in a non-democratic manner by male delegates (22).

The government announced that the new version of the new Sharia law would be more moderate. Except that the new government treated women in the same way as the previous regimes, with minor changes. The new administration updated law According to the Judge Ahamat Ullha Zarif will use smaller stones to kill adulterers rather than the big stones of the Taliban, and the bodies of those who have been hung in public will be in display for 15 minutes only instead of the four days under Taliban old Sharia law. In light of this development achieved by the United States, we can only wonder how Afghan women had regained their rights (23).

The United States continues to reject responsibility for the fate of Afghans, especially Afghan women, who suffer the disastrous consequences of the US war on terror, as it did when arming the fundamentalist Taliban predecessors. Violence against Afghan women as a result of US military action may not be limited only to the strengthening of the Northern Alliance, But also on the direct effects of bombs. Where it was recorded for each week several cases of “errant bombs” that hit many villages full of people, and the number of civilian deaths ranges from 1,000 to 4,000, most of them were women and children. As for the remaining survivors from the bombs, they face the inevitable ramification of bombs which are; starvation, homelessness, displacement and other traumas of war. As a matter of fact, women in Afghanistan after the war are even scared to go outside their homes especially in places where factional fighting is taking place (Kolhatkar 19-20). According to a BBC reporter:

Noor, a doctor in a women's hospital told me, "it isn't safe for women to go out now".... Afghans are now making their way to the border with Pakistan at Peshawar and Quetta in their thousands. It's not just U.S. bombing they are trying to escape, but the looting, killing and rape that has been un- leashed upon them. The retreat of the Taliban has led to the return of the warlords and of ethnic rivalries. (qtd. in Kolhatkar 20-21)

However, after all, the biggest losses encountered by the Afghan community are human losses. There is no official figure that determines the correct total number of civilians who have been killed in the war since 2001, but a number of organizations have published estimates for years or specific periods ("War in Afghanistan" 34). According to *Wikipedia* article estimations, since the war on Afghanistan in 2001 till 2012 between 12,500 and 14,700 civilians were killed, and reveals the deaths of 14,576 local and foreign security forces (IPPNW, PSR, and Physicians for Global Survival 74). As for the estimations of United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) 19,603 civilians were killed from 2001 to 2012, to reach 26,270 in 2014 (Crawford 2). Yet, as reported by the *Guardian* newspaper, the number of civilian deaths in 2001 only is estimated to be about 20,000 as a result of indirect US air and ground invasion (I. Khan 215). While the number of US and allied military personnel dead and wounded are well known in the Afghanistan war, with 3,557 for US troops and 1,130 for the allied between 2001 and 2015 (Crawford 2).

The United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) calculates the number of their dead soldiers accurately and deliberately avoid the calculations of deaths in foreign countries, because the number of war casualties is a political issue. If Western countries waged war on apparent humanitarian grounds, they must demonstrate to the decisive public at home that the war had improved the humanitarian situation on the ground not the contrary. Thus, War Victims are estimated in two different ways: by a passive method and an active method. The latter depends on their account on the use of statistical methods, which is common in surveys of representative studies. Since that through using this approach we can get more accurate results. Unlike the use of the passive method in which the results are inaccurate and only a fraction of those killed are captured, because this method calculated the death account from reports in the media, police reports or hospital announcements. And this is what has been used to calculate the Afghanistan casualties (IPPNW, PSR, and Physicians for Global Survival 74).

In addition to the social, economic, psychological and human rights violations associated with the repercussion of American intervention in Afghanistan, which the discussion above clearly shows, the long decade of war in Afghanistan since September 11, 2001 caused the deaths of thousands of Afghan civilians. Moreover, the indirect death of tens of thousands of Afghan civilians as a result of displacement, famine, disease, exposure, lack of medical care, Crime, lawlessness and the destruction of their homes, property and personal assets (I. Khan 220).

3.3 The American Undeclared Rationales behind the Invasion of Afghanistan of 2001

The United States declared aims behind their humanitarian military intervention in Afghanistan was under the pretext of capturing Osama bin Laden and eliminating Taliban regime. Nonetheless, these were not the only rationales for the invasion. There is a very important factor ignored by most people, which are the dominant capital interest (Lösche 16). According to Walberg, the US invasion of Afghanistan aimed to expand the hegemony of the United States of America across the area that once was influenced by the Soviet Union. This was America's first step toward the neoconservative new strategy of redrawing the Greater Middle East (123). Especially that Afghanistan has an important geographical location, which has both divided and linked together Asia, Europe, Russia and Africa since ancient times (Lösche 17).

Walberg argues that America's pressing objective since 1990's was securing an ambitious deal of an oil and gas pipeline between UNOCAL³¹ and the Taliban (123). The United States supported Taliban during Clinton administration, and even "The Clinton administration was clearly sympathetic to the Taliban, as they were in line with Washington's anti-Iran policy and were important for the success of any southern pipeline from Central Asia that would avoid Iran." The US oil company Unocal was trying to build a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through Afghanistan (Pilger 10) to transport the Caspian oil and Turkmen gas to Pakistan for export. It was from the interest of the United States to work with Afghanistan (Walberg 124); thus, In February 1997, State Department officials and UNOCAL executives met with Taliban representatives in Washington State. This project had the potential to completely change the future of Afghanistan, as a State Department official said: "the Taliban will develop like the Saudis ... no parliament, and lots of *sharia* law. We can live with that." However, the pipeline project ultimately failed, partly due to the difficult combination of the Taliban government and the difficulty of negotiating with them (Pilger 10).

Therefore, there is a high probability that the failure of this negotiation with Taliban is what accelerated the invasion of the United States to Afghanistan. This was evident when the US government threatened Taliban government when the "US representatives told the

³¹UNOCAL: "is a company that was a major petroleum explorer and marketer in the late 19th century, through the 20th century, and into the early 21st century. It was headquartered in El Segundo, California, United States." Available: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unocal_Corporation

Taliban, ‘either you accept our offer of a carpet of gold, or we bury you under a carpet of bombs’.” And that is what really happened (Walberg 124).

In addition to Bush’s Former National Security Adviser Zalmay Khalilzad on Afghanistan and Central Asia relationship with UNOCAL’s, The United States refusal of negotiations with Taliban after 9/11 attacks increased the confirmation behind America’s true rationales behind the invasion. According to Walberg:

This refusal of both the ‘liberal’ and neocon versions of the imperialists to nip the bin Laden myth in the bud can only be explained one way: Bin Laden was a useful foil for imperial plans to invade Afghanistan and then Iraq, and was worth more as a specter than as a prisoner with potentially embarrassing facts to reveal, or as a martyr. (124)

Thus, America’s Invasion to Afghanistan did not aim at freeing the Afghan people from a tyrannical government, but in order to achieve their own imperialistic interests.

3.4TheAmerican Creative Chaos Analysis in Iraq after 9/11

The American occupation of Iraq was a hallmark in Iraqi history. After which America allegedly raised her reconstruction campaign of a democratic, unified Iraq. Hence, she sought the creative chaos as her geostrategic tool to ascend with Iraqi institutions and provide a better environment for Iraqis. Yet, the reality may not depict this image. In contrary, it describes another reality of more complex society struggling not even to maintain democracy, but to ensure the minimum living conditions. Therefore, the American thriving objectives triggered from different perspectives have a hand in explaining America’s failure to attain her noble objectives. The Consequences of this failure had an enormous impact on Iraqi government and future as well.

According to a memorandum prepared by the Council on Foreign Relations and the James A. Baker 3 Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, the Bush administration was provided by a strategic plan to be implemented in Iraq to establish security and stability. It stated the priorities and principles to re-build a secure Iraqi state after the invasion. This memorandum created scenarios of how America should control the situation in Iraq. It recommends for implementing a three-phased approach in which short and long-term objectives of the invasion are determined. Since reconstructing Iraq would be allegedly

difficult, the strategy is divided into three phases. It also emphasizes the Iraqis prominent role in deciding the destiny of their country. The strategy's main goal is to maintain or promote the Iraqi interests and not those of the United States. Moreover, if Iraq managed to restore its sovereignty, America will be able to quickly withdraw from Iraq, especially after establishing Iraqi allies. The strategy, however, should be compounded by a public diplomacy campaign that initiates for a military task in Iraq so that the Iraqis and neighboring regions of the Middle East and the Muslim world in general will be prepared for chaos and violence. Also, they must be aware of the short and long-term objectives of the invasion to destroy any WMD and eliminate Saddam Hussein' system (Djerejian et al. 1-2).

The short-term objectives refer to the immediate American tasks after the invasion. For the destruction of WMD, it should be companied with the fall of Saddam's regime and get rid of its political institutions like the Republic Guard, and intelligence services, except the army. Next, it comes the establishment of law and order. In this step, the American troops should focus on the peacekeeping operations and immediately stop fighting to secure the situation and prevent the country from moving into chaos. Hence, to fill the vacuum resulted from the fall of the old system; a new government must be established. For the Iraqi army, it can preserve peace and security in the country after the fall of the previous system; bearing in mind that it should not be under the control of any Ba'athist officers. Later on, the United States should work on eliminating the system of repression through encouraging Iraqi citizens to involve in their new government. Another significant objective is to preserve Iraqi territories from ethnic and sectarian divisions through spreading the idea of one unified Iraq. Since the launch of war in Iraq, there will be a humanitarian aid distribution. As a result, U.S. forces should react by providing the necessary basics that help in paving the way for international aid such as repairing transportation links and roads. The last short-term goal after the U.S. success in her mission is to drive public information to declare to the Iraqis as well as the Middle East America's objectives and intentions to promote stability and Iraqi sovereignty. This strategy, later on, will be the credible tool for more secured Persian Gulf (Djerejian et al. 5-8).

In this memorandum, the strategy for reconstructing Iraq lays down America's intentions behind provoking violence and anarchy to create more peaceful and secured country. In other words, America's strategy is to implement the Creative Chaos policy to maintain stability in Iraq. It even encourages adopting her strategy in the rest of the Persian Gulf region, or what we call it the domino effect (9).

The American strategic plan seems perfectly suitable for preserving stability. Yet, reality in Iraq, after the American invasion, depicts the failure of this strategy, and draws the other face of it. Reality in Iraq neither reflects what has been declared by the Bush administration, nor the application of creative chaos as stated by the American United States' Former Condoleezza Rice. What is prominent is that America's interference in Iraq in 2003 worsened the situation rather than creating a more settled, stable Iraqi state. The chaotic phase that took place after eliminating the old regime lasted for long and no clear new system was established to control the situation. It, rather, contributed in launching various ethnic and sectarian civil wars and terrorist attacks. The latter did not only target the American occupation, but the temporary Iraqi governmental structures supported by America.

3.4.1 Chaos' Analysis on the Political Level

“Today, Iraq had become one of the most violent conflict areas in the world, and the challenges facing the people had never appeared more daunting, Ashraf Jehangir Qazi³², the Secretary-General's Special Representative, told the Security Council today.”(Security Council par. 1)

The fall of Saddam's regime and the American occupation of the country contributed in the great increase in Islamic terrorist activities, especially after the destruction of al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan. This led to its split into five regional defined clusters in Afghanistan/ Pakistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Southeast Asia, and Europe/ North Africa. In Iraq, the mujahedeen reconstructed the organization under the name of “al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers”. They considered the Crusaders and the West in general their primary and main enemy. As a result, Iraq was considered as the new significant battle arena to fight the Crusaders. They thought of a strategic planning to liberate Iraq even before the invasion when America launched a campaign against Iraq in 2002 (Hegghammer 15, 20).

In addition to terrorist threats, a number of ethnic and religious mixed minorities characterized the Iraqi population. Unfortunately, in some Iraqi areas, these ethnic and religious identities have been politicized because of the increasing tensions among them ("Iraq: the Situation" 2, 4). Ethnic and sectarian conflicts flared up all over the country in a long civil war that is still carried out nowadays. The sectarian conflicts include Sunni and

³² Ashraf Jehangir Qazi: is The Secretary-General's Special Representative in his 5523rd meeting with the Security Council in September 14, 2006. Available: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2006/sc8829.doc.htm>

Shi'ite groups. Before the invasion, in Baghdad for instance, these major groups, in spite of the differences, could live side by side and share the same neighborhoods. They were even approximately equal in number. After 2003, however, sectarian divisions increased, especially in 2006 when violence between the two sects exploded. Any family living in a dominated region by the other sect were threatened or attacked to move. By 2009, the majority of Baghdad became Shi'ites, while Sunnis' number reduced by about 15 percent of the population (Cordesman 36). As a result, there was a pressure on the United States to consider the transformation of Iraqi sovereignty to change government into an interim one in June 2004 (Markakis135).

On the other hand, there is the Kurd problem. They were taking control of north Iraqi provinces like Mosul and Kirkuk. Their ethnic struggles with the Arabs also contributed in the division of Iraq (Cordesman 21). The two major Kurdish parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), were looking for establishing their own autonomy and a self-governed entity under federal norms. They refused a central Arab control over their territory. They also seemed unwilling to allow their Peshmerga³³ to serve under Arab officers. It is true that they joined the Iraqi troops in various operations in Mosul and Fallujah in 2004, but it did not cancel the fact of an ethnically divided Iraqi army or country (Van Bruinessen, par. 4).

Along with all these ethnic-sectarian divisions and Sunni terrorist attacks that hampered America's attempt to control the situation, another threat came to existence, which is ISIS. Before 2013, Iraqi forces were fighting against the Sunni resistance. After 2013, however, a group of ISIS coming from Syria took over Iraq and expanded into Mosul. This new conflict is continuing until today (Cordesman 57).

3.4.2 Chaos' Analysis on the Economic Level

It is true that the economic sector nearly started to develop after 2003, but it did not solve the Iraqi problems of nutrition in Iraq. First, the economic crisis and the cessation of investments resulted from the reconstruction greatly led to the increase in the national product. Second, the increase in the number of private businesses in Iraq from 8,000 in 2003 to 35,000 in 2006, for example, was due to the liberalization of economy. Third, the oil refineries are no more under Iraqi control, but under the Special Forces and American-British forces. Since the foreign companies invest in the Iraqi oil, the benefits of oil investments are

³³Peshmerga: The Kurdish military forces.

no more quitrent for Iraqi people. The war, however, destroyed oil factories and refineries and resulted in a shortage in worldwide oil exporting. The fourth sequence refers to the shortage in living necessities like food and medicines, and more prominently, water pollution due to the destruction of oil refineries and war. It even hampered farming from producing enough. Lastly, the Iraqi dinar that bears Saddam's image was replaced with a new Iraqi currency (Bassil 40).

3.4.3 Chaos' Analysis on the Social Level

In addition to thousands of casualties and the considerable amount of refugees to neighboring countries, the war destroyed many public services that play a significant role in the country's reconstruction like schools, hospitals, roads etc. For health services, hospitals and clinics are overloaded, still lacking doctors and equipment to deal with the situation. For schools, in spite of the destruction on the level of public services, the death of many students and teachers, and the lack of security, there have been registered a return to school. Add to this, a great increase in the number of poor families due to the unemployment, burglary, and direct attacks. All these factors contributed in the increase of national insecurity in Iraq. (Bassil 40) compounded by instability and a deteriorate educational system, the demographic pressure on Iraq increased from 22,7 million in 2000 to 33,3 million in 2015, and is still increasing to reach 40,4 million by 2025. With this average, Iraqi state faces critical social problems like providing jobs or supporting housing, families, and marriage for youth (Cordesman 8).

Moreover, in accordance to Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, the preservation of respect for both the rule of law and the human rights remained a significant challenge that Iraqi security faces. Hence, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) had its priority to engage and assist the Iraqi state to establish a strong protection system against the violation of the human rights (Security Council, par.4).

The humanitarian consequences are various, and all of them contribute in unsettling the living conditions in Iraq. The most prominent sequence would be the lack of food and water resources. The war along with the burning of oil refineries resulted in the pollution of water resources and food. Hence, the Iraqi population was in risk of fatal diseases like cholera and other respiratory diseases. Furthermore, the neighboring borders are no more representing an escape for Iraqis because of their closure, except for the passage of humanitarian aid. As a response, many world aid programs were held to help Iraqis to get over this dilemma.

Organizations like the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Aid Civil (ORAH), the World Food Program (by sending tons of wheat flour), UNECEF (by providing water and drugs convoys), the United Nations' agencies, the Humanitarian Operations Center (HOC), the Disaster Assistance Teams, and the World Health (Cordesman 40), and The UNAMI (by providing advice to the ongoing problem of the internal displacement after the "Samarra attack"³⁴) (Security Council, par. 4).

It is true that the education was not that secure and good under Saddam Hussein's rule, yet, it was not that bad also. Since the invasion of Iraq, over 200 teachers were killed. Libraries in addition to other educational structures and learning materials were destroyed. The most important library of faculty of Philosophy History of Baghdad University was totally destroyed and burned in 2003. There are no teachers' conferences, congresses, or forums. There are little international contacts so that many students and intellectuals lack the skills of language to exchange or interact. In addition, there is no clear or strict curriculum to follow. The Iraqi educational system is no more effective, especially after the American invasion (Cordesman 40-41).

Moreover, the heritage sites had its part of destruction. According to professor Bahrani:

The occupation has resulted in a tremendous destruction of history well beyond the museums and libraries looted and destroyed at the fall of Baghdad. At least seven historical sites have been used in this way by US and coalition forces since April 2003. (Petzet and Ziesemer 95)

Most of historical places were used as military bases by the United States. The breach of The Hague Convention and Protocol of 1954 was signed in order to protect such sites, though the United States did not ratify the agreement, nor respect it during her occupation. In addition, mud-brick-factories were created in surrounding areas and near to Sumerian archaeological sites. Later on, the factories were apparently a pretext to dig and dissolve "old mud brick" of the archaeological sites to reform them again and sell them to antiquity traders. Antiquity looters also played a significant role in destroying and robbing the historical sites in Iraq. A huge number of stolen objects up to 7,000 years old were presented on Internet Websites offer (95).

³⁴Samarra attack: According to Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, the Samarra attack of 22 February 2006 in Iraq resulted in the displacement of about 200,000 citizens.

3.5 The American Undeclared Rationales behind the Invasion of Iraq

There have been many declared rationales to America's invasion of Iraq, one among which declares that Saddam Hussein's regime is a dictator one, and Iraqi people should be rescued from this system. Bush administration stated that the invasion was to eliminate Hussein and bring political and religious, Islamic, freedom to the country. Yet, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld put that the form of the new political system is not Iraqis choice, and they are not free to decide so (M. Khan 6). Saddam Hussein was accused of being dictatorship and violating the Iraqi human rights. Bush's pretext to invade Iraq was to protect the Iraqis human rights and end their sufferance of Saddam's abuses against his objects. Later on, after the invasion, the human rights had no claims. What is more prominent is that Iraqis did not suffer from that large scale of human rights violation (Lösche 07).

The fact that Hussein possesses WMD was only an initiative pretext to go in war with Iraq and not the prominent reason like the Bush administration stated (Gibbs 297-298). While presenting Saddam as a threat on the Iraqis and the world for his possessing of WMD, the former NATO commander General Wesley Clark states, "I think there were... many who did believe Saddam was a threat. I think there were others who believed that well he was the most convenient way to get military power on the ground." (Pilger 20) in other words, targeting Saddam Hussein was America's opportunity to militarily grip on the region. By 2004, the invasion practices cost America a lot, however, she has a large military presence in the Middle East (Hegghammer 23).

After the invasion of Iraq and eliminating the regime, the country became worse than it was under Hussein's rule. Chaos and disorder were the hallmarks of that time. The living conditions were mostly declined – even water was needed. It was then when people doubted America's intentions and claims to rebuild Iraq and establish peace and democracy in the country. People of the Muslim world blamed Bush for the invasion and distrusted his policy applied in the Middle East (7-8).

The Iraqi security structures like police have been systematically destroyed. This led to the rapid rise of sectarian religious, communal, and tribal entities. These groups incorporated into institutions and political structures despite the fact that they were inexperienced in governing matters. Hence, their main practices targeted women through legislation and violence means to maintain authority (Al-Ali and Pratt 1).

After over 18 months of the strategic planning for the invasion, the arrival of American troops in the capital of Baghdad and destroying the government buildings represents the start of the creative chaos of Hussein's regime and opening of the "New Iraq". The city entered in an unplanned state of chaos after which the Bush administration saw it as a necessary phase to clean the crumbs of the previous system. This hindered the political progress. Moreover, the American Secretary of Defense wanted the army to retreat instead of promoting peace, especially in this stage (Flannes 71).

Subsequently, America revealed a new rationale that justifies her war. Spreading economic freedom in the Middle East is directly linked to America's interests. Early after the invasion, Bush stated that only by free markets and trade, which defeat poverty, one could live freely. He indicates that this freedom is prominent in their national interest. He, with Formal Condoleezza Rice, insisted on the utility and effectiveness of neoliberal economic reforms in bringing political and social stability in regions of post-conflict (Flannes 70, 73). This insistence on neoliberal economy reveals the administrations' seeking for spreading capitalism in the Middle East.

Since Iraqi oil was the second largest reserve in the world back then, the war would provide the U.S. a free access to this reserve in addition to the Persian Gulf oil. Thomas Friedman puts that "Any war we launch in Iraq will certainly be –in part- about oil. To deny that is laughable." Bearing in mind that the oil and gas industry costs a huge spending in equipment, expensive facilities, and pipelines; therefore, the facilities must be protected with military means (Gibbs 318).

The initial reforms in Iraq stated by the Bush administration forward democracy were directed to Iraqi economy. Long before under Saddam's rule, the Iraqi economy was a state-monopolized economy that needs to be liberalized. For American economists it would be the dream that becomes true if Iraq became a capitalist. Noticeably, Bremer stated that the reforms could not be held until the rise of a new elected government. In addition, a group of conservatives called the Heritage Foundation wrote a report about the reform of Iraqi economy entitled "the road to economic prosperity for a post-Saddam Iraq." It calls for a whole neo-liberalization of the Iraqi economy. In this vein, it invites "for [a] complete neo-liberalization of Iraq's internal markets, trade relations, and for the privatization of its industries, including oil" (Lösche 29-31).

If Iraq liberalizes her economy, American interests will be reserved in the region. It could also influence and help in liberalizing the economy of other Arab nations that embrace the other economic model of socialism. Hence, even terrorism will be stemmed.

The military-industrial complex was the significant beneficiary of the military rearmament since September 11. The new situation contributed in the military-industry in stock markets after a decade of stagnation –since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Yet, the 2001 attacks came in a perfect timing to justify the American rearmament and overturn the environment for the project of New American Century (Gibbs 321).

America's means to promote democracy in Iraq took the form of transplantation of the American political and economic institutions of liberal democratic system rather than developing the already existing underlying norms and Iraqi institutions. According to Sabah Kadhim, a senior official at the Iraqi Ministry of Interior, these brought solutions would not work in Iraq; rather, the solution should be imposed by Iraqis themselves. (Markakis 137) Nevertheless, according to an Iraqi officer's saying that indicates:

The system now is just like under Saddam: walk by the wall, don't go near politics and you can walk with your head high and not fear anything. But if you come close to the throne then the wrath of Allah will fall on you and we have eyes everywhere. (Markakis176)

Little has been changed in Iraq.

Conclusion:

The creative chaos provided by the Bush administration sought to establish democracy and security in Afghanistan and Iraq, in order to recreate more unified and stable states in the Greater Middle East. Still, it's real implementation on Afghanistan and Iraq ground reflect another face of America's policy. This policy greatly contributed not only to the removal of the tyrannical systems of Osama Ben laden and Saddam Hussein, but also in worsening the situation in both countries. America succeeded in implementing the first phase of her foreign policy, which is to get rid of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. This phase was characterized by provoking chaos in the region due to the vacuum that Afghanistan and Iraq lived until the planned reconstruction of their new strongly based governments. The later stage, after years of the American invasion, could not be established; rather, chaos, disorder, and insecurity became Afghanistan and Iraq's familiar characteristics for years. Nevertheless, the failure of this policy is in line with the United States' imperial interests and objectives in the Greater Middle East. This leads to question

America regarding her intentions behind the reconstruction plan of the Greater Middle East. In Afghanistan, the undeclared rationales behind the invasion were directly linked to America's attempts to fulfill her imperial interests in the region. The prominent rationale, as discussed previously, is extending the hegemony of the United States and achieving its capitalist interests. In Iraq, as well, America occupied the country in order to militarily involve in the region and gain easy access to it and its resources. The economic reforms that took place in Iraq greatly contributed to spread capitalism throughout the liberalization of Iraqi oil economy especially. These economic reforms in Iraqi economy would preserve America's influence, not only in Iraq, but the whole region. Therefore, the impacts of the policy of creative chaos in both countries are tremendous.

General Conclusion

The main aims of this research were to uncover the real objectives behind applying one of America's most controversial policies, creative chaos. In fact, this policy covered most of the Greater Middle Eastern countries. Hence, the other aim was to try to study the outcomes of the American application of creative chaos and its impacts on both Afghanistan and Iraq since they are the case studies of this research.

This policy was an attempt to bring democracy and stability to the Afghans and the Iraqis. Nevertheless, creative chaos did not seem (in the positive sense) that creative and successful in accomplishing its main objectives in the region. Rather, Afghanistan and Iraq are still suffering from the war outcomes. Furthermore, it took America a long time to implement her policy to promote democracy due to the new undeclared interests of the Bush administration in the Greater Middle Eastern region.

Yet, creative chaos as a foreign policy should not be criticized or rejected since it is just of an American or western creation. In contrary, the policy embraces and reflects noble goals that contribute to humanitarian objectives. Creative chaos is the process through which chaos is motivated and provoked by external powers (America in this case) in the form of *coup d'état*, color revolution, or unconventional war against an old political tyrannical system. The latter, should be substituted later on with a more peaceful, and stable one. Chaos during this sensitive operation is only an initial condition of creative chaos, a transitional process, or a base for the new coming process. Therefore, the significant aim that lies under the implementation of creative chaos is to restore security and peace to the target nation. America was allegedly seeking to transplant her democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq. By achieving this goal, the remaining region of the Greater Middle East would adopt the same democratic government model.

Bearing in mind that the same targeted systems in Afghanistan and Iraq after 9/11 were the same governing systems years ago before 2001 (the Taliban in 1994; and Saddam Hussein's system in 1979), which were supported back then by the US, yet, it took America more than a decade to militarily intervene in both countries. This was related to various factors that affected the American foreign policy of chaos. It was not pleasant for America's image to adopt her chaos policy in Afghanistan and Iraq directly after the fall of the Soviet Union though she applied it years ago in Afghanistan in 1979 against the Soviet dominance

over Afghanistan-by indirectly supporting the resistance to overthrow the existing government back then. In addition, the fall of the Soviet Union was fresh back then, and any provoked chaos in the region would tip the scales in favor of the Soviet party to renew or re-establish its influence over the region. Another prominent element is that the American administration supported these regimes during the 1990s but once they presented obstacles against the United States' interests, few years later, she adopted this policy to secure her imperial interests in both nations using the 9/11 attacks as a pretext. The 9/11 attacks were the appropriate cover to intervene militarily in Afghanistan and Iraq without affecting negatively the image of the United States as the 'policeman' of the world.

Subsequently, the outcomes of America's unconventional wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are still representing tribulations to the establishment of stability and security of both countries. This signifies the failure of the policy. Therefore, America's declared objectives concerning her foreign policy show the opposite of what the reality reflects. Both nations entered a chaotic state that touched all the composing aspects of a secured nation like politics, economy, and the society. These aspects were largely destroyed. Moreover, America's intervention brought but chaos and worsened the situation and the already existing problems that could have been solved without the need of a foreign military involvement.

Thus, depending on the reality in Afghanistan and Iraq, America's failure to accomplish the policy's objectives exposed her ,as seeking her own interests in the Greater Middle East. In Afghanistan and Iraq, America's goal was based on achieving her capitalist interests. In Iraq, for example, several reforms on the economy were applied in order to liberalize the Iraqi oil economy and spread capitalism. While in Afghanistan, the American intervention was America's way to protect her capitalist interests and build a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan, through Afghanistan, into Pakistan in an attempt to avoid Iran's and Russia's territories. Another undeclared objective is to secure America's access to the region, and practice her hegemony over this significant geostrategic area. In order to practice her dominance, America also used the national security as her justification to militarily interfere in Iraq and Afghanistan under her open claim, war on terror post 9/11.

Concerning the direct transplantation of the American democratic model of the US in the region, especially in Iraq, it was crowned with failure since she did not work on developing the already existing institutions and traditional principles that the people of the region were familiar with. Instead, the US aimed to bring non-religious norms based on western principles. Hence, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and their objectives of promoting peace and democracy are rightly questioned.

Based on what was discussed previously in this work, the policy of creative chaos in Afghanistan and Iraq was not very effective. In other words, the only achieved application of the American creative chaos was eradicating the old corrupt systems, maintaining a state of vacuum, and disorder. It even created other corrupt governments in Iraq and Afghanistan. The objectives of promoting peace and democracy, meanwhile, became the Afghans and the Iraqis' lost dream. Now Afghanistan and Iraq are listed as one of the most unsecured and dangerous countries in the world.

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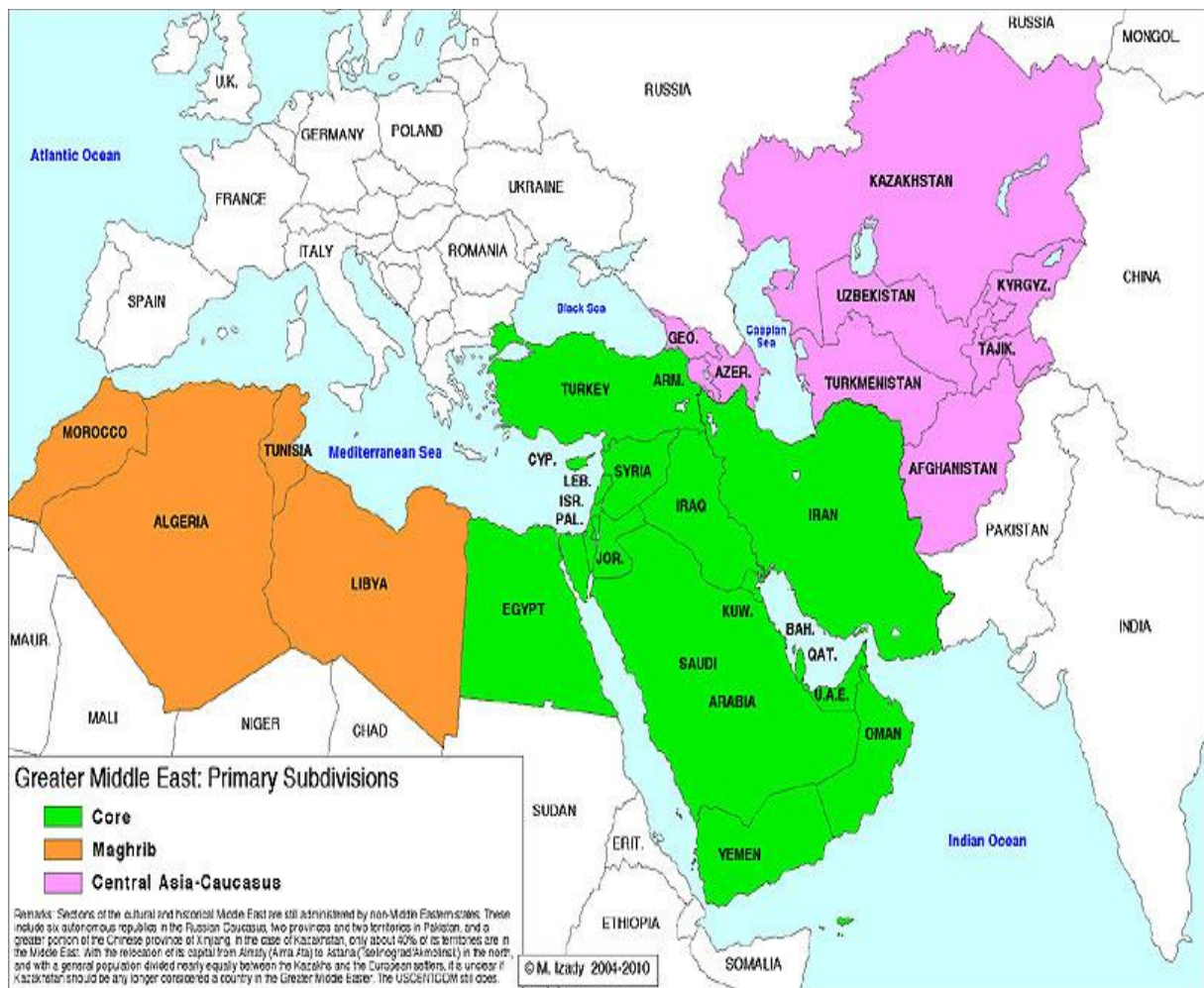
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Appendix

The Greater Middle East Map



Source : The Wikileaks Forum