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AMERICA'S STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST (IRAQ PERIOD 2003-2011 CASE STUDY)

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Abstract:

After Saddam Hussein's regime was overthrown in 2003, the US decided to pursue its interests in the Middle East (ME) despite the interests of the ME countries. This strategic vision became evident in the strategy that guided US policy toward the region.

By examining the rationale behind these programs and their outcomes, we hope to examine the key components of US policy in the ME, particularly in Iraq. In order to further their objectives, the US imposed hegemony on the ME countries and subsequently on the global system during the occupation of Iraq, setting a new precedent for US relations with the region's nations.

The purpose of the study is to analyze America's strategy in the ME, especially the case of Iraq (Starting from the stage of the military invasion of Iraq in 2003 until 2011), also the direct and indirect motives for the America's occupation in Iraq, and the America's strategy followed in Iraq after 2003, as for the decisions it took in Dissolving the Iraqi Army (DIA) and the Ba'ath Party (BP), the consequences of which were disastrous for the Iraqi state. Despite the US ability to change and amend strategies, it was unable to achieve the stated goals that it invoked when it invaded Iraq, and its military strategy ended in failure.

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الاستراتيجية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط (العراق فترة ٢٠٠٣-٢٠١١ دراسة حالة)

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الملخص:

بعد الإطاحة بصدام حسين في عام ٢٠٠٣، قررت الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية السعي لتحقيق مصالحها الخاصة في الشرق الأوسط، على الرغم من مصالح دول الشرق الأوسط الأخرى. وقد تجلت هذه الرؤية الاستراتيجية في الاستراتيجيات التي توجه سياسة الولايات المتحدة تجاه الشرق الأوسط.

ومن خلال دراسة الأساس المنطقي لهذه البرامج ونتائجها، ستتناول هذه الورقة البحثية المكونات الرئيسية لسياسة الولايات المتحدة في الشرق الأوسط، خاصة في العراق. ومن أجل تحقيق أهدافها، فرضت الولايات المتحدة هيمنتها على دول الشرق الأوسط، وبالتالي على النظام العالمي المحتل في العراق، مما شكل سابقة جديدة في العلاقة بين الولايات المتحدة ودول الشرق الأوسط.

والهدف من هذه الدراسة هو تحليل الاستراتيجية الأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط وخاصة في حالة العراق (ابتداءاً من مرحلة الغزو العسكري للعراق عام و٢٠٠٣ لغاية عام ٢٠١١)، وذلك للتعرف على الدوافع المباشرة وغير المباشرة للاحتلال الأمريكي للعراق والاستراتيجية الأمريكية التي أعقبته في العراق بعد عام ٢٠٠٣، حيث تم تفكيك الجيش العراقي وحزب البعث. الذي كانت نتائجه كارثية على الدولة العراقية. وعلى الرغم من قدرة الولايات المتحدة على تغيير وتعديل استراتيجيتها، إلا أنها فشلت في تحقيق الأهداف التي رسمتها من غزو العراق وكانت استراتيجيتها العسكرية فاشلة.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الإستراتيجية الأمريكية، الشرق الأوسط، العراق بعد ٢٠٠٣

المقدمة

INTRODUCTION

One of the US manifestations interest in ME for reasons related to its own strategic interests, that explains US' launch of many initiatives in ME, such as the partnership between US and ME, building hope in the coming years, in addition to the Greater ME project, which highlighted the value of democracy and political engagement [(1)].

The degree of the Arab regime's vulnerability in fending off American aggression was also made clear by the American action against Iraq. Certain nations provided support for the US occupation of Iraq by allowing the US to use their territory [(2)].

The breakdown of the bureaucracy, the police, and the court was one of the many mistakes made by the US in Iraq that ultimately led to the collapse of the Iraqi state [(3)]. Between 2005 and 2007 the country witnessed sectarian violence that gripped the country and, more

(1) Amira Mohammed Rakan Al-Ajami, The Concept of Reform as a Determinant of U.S. Foreign Policy toward ME during the Administrations of George W. Bush, Rassa Ma,Cairo School of Economics and Political Science, 2010, p. 02.

(2) Naeem Ahmed Naeem Al-Hams, US Foreign Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict After the Iraq occupation (2003-2005), Master's Thesis, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University, 2010, p. 01.

(3) Rana Mustafa Abuamra, The Effectiveness of US Policy toward the Phenomenon of the Failed State during George W. Bush's Second Term (2005-2008), Master's Thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2010, p. 02.

recently, the rise of ISIS. In addition to the loss of life and displacement that may result from deteriorating governance and security, all of this would affect all aspects of the economy and society [1].

We have three questions for this paper; 1) what are the direct and indirect motives for the US occupation in Iraq? 2) What is the US strategy followed in Iraq after 2003? 3) What are the results of US strategy in Iraq?

The argument for this study is determined by the direct and indirect motives for the US intervention in Iraq, analyzing the US strategy in the ME by focusing on Iraq case and the US intervention in the political, regional, security and economic issues of Iraq in order to clarify its goals, and results of this policy.

The scientific importance of this study on the strategy concepts, US has a lot of influence in the ME, especially after Iraq occupation in 2003, where the world system characterized at that period by unipolarity, and this had a major impact on the decision to war on Iraq, and the US administration made the decision despite international and regional positions opposed to this decision.

(1) World Bank Group, Iraq systematic Country Diagnostic, Report No. 112333-IQ, 2017, p. 05. Available at: http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/542811487277729890/pdf/IRAQ-SCD-FINAL-cleared-02132017.pdf.

The specified time for this study will try to study the implications of the US occupation of Iraq in 2003 and after. The spatial field, ME specifically in Iraq state.

About the methodology we adopted a case study approach is based on studying a single unit that is very similar and collecting information from that phenomenon. The case study approach can be used as a means of collecting data and information in a descriptive study. The case results can be generalized to other similar cases. It must be emphasized to study four basic aspects in the case study which are:

1. The case study could be one of the descriptive studies.
2. It is used to test a hypothesis or a group of hypotheses.
3. It is necessary to ensure that there is a similarity between the case and the other cases in the case of generalizing the results.
4. Emphasizing objectivity and avoiding subjectivity.

The importance of the case study approach lies in several aspects, the most important; the researcher was able to understand the topic clearly, study the phenomenon at the present time as well as predictions for the future. It enables the case in question and the people involved in it to avoid the elements of anxiety and fears by diagnosing the weaknesses present in the case under study.

The tools for collection information in the case study are observation and interview. Also, official records or information documents obtained.

Literature review

*According to Movahhedi (2012 [1]), h*e summarized in his study that mentioned, that the US foreign policy in the ME takes into account the diversity of interests represented within the legislature, according to the viewpoint of Congress, as well as the complexity of the formulating process its positions.

Congress, by its very nature, does not enjoy unity of command or a level of hierarchical coherence of the executive branch. It is therefore impossible for it to present a single unified view. In fact, it's a good idea to follow file by file, to understand the special case of the ME, an analysis of the power balance is required. Likewise, if we do not take into account the rise of the "fourth" authority in the government, the vast administrative bureaucracy headed by the White House, headed by the President, we cannot understand the limits of the government. Legislative action, the diplomatic initiative on the nuclear deal with Iran illustrates the forces that break the congressional view.

The US occupation of Iraq had a profound effect on the Arab system, according to *Ragab's (2009) study*, because of the policies the US administration attempted to impose their following the occupation and how those policies affected the system's borders, system of governing values, and system security. The results of the study showed

(1) R. Movahhedi, La politique étrangère des Etats-Unis au Moyen-Orient après le 11 septembre 2011: en particulier à l'égard de l'Iran (sous la présidence de George W. Bush), 2012, PhD Thesis.

that the occupation of Iraq had caused a change in the behavior of the Arab system, which could lead to a systemic change if it persists. The following outcomes are associated with that [1]:

- The fact that certain Arab nations have reacted to Israel's policies of forging economic ties shows how well the Arab system has been integrated into the ME system.
- Due to the occupation of Iraq, the US, which is now an occupying nation, and neighboring countries, which wants to assume the role of regional leader by exploiting the power vacuum created by the occupation, were able to further breach the security of the Arab regime.

In the end, the researcher identified some recommendations through which the Arab system could be strengthened so that it could face the potential challenges.

In De Hoop Scheffer (2011) Study [2], we concluded that the US intervention in Iraq did not have the expected effect, a succession of regime changes leading to the democratization of the region. In fact, Iraq experienced "*regime replacement*" more than "*regime change*".

(1) Iman Ahmed Mohammed Ragab, The American Occupation of Iraq and its Implications for the Arab Regional System, M.Sc. thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2009.

(2) A. De Hoop Scheffer, Les États-Unis en Irak: les errances du regime change. Politique étrangère, 3, 2011, 559-572.

The nascent Iraqi democracy failed to serve as a model for the Arab revolutions of 2011. On the contrary, it is the latter which could influence, in the future, the internal balances in Iraq. The goal of Iraqi Freedom was not democracy but the threat elimination to the US and the installation of a client regime, "*regime replacement*" more than "*regime change*". However, the theory of regime change has proved ineffective in a context of rising insurgency and terrorist attacks, forcing the US to turn its strategy towards the counterinsurgency.

According to Muttitt (2005) [(1)], his study revealed the secrets of the American oil policy regarding Iraqi oil, whose foundations were laid in the American corridors administration immediately after the occupation of Iraq. The study also shed light on the role of oil companies and their competition in allocating most of the Iraqi oil fields, especially Halliburton, which had a major role in urging the US administration to wage war on Iraq.

Seniguer (2016) study [(2)], in his study, the researcher clarified that one of the reasons for the birth of the Islamic State (ISIS) was the Anglo-American intervention in Iraq in 2003, which it would be wrong to deal with in a simplistic way by forgetting the failed Syrian revolution in 2011. Therefore, it is an illusion to believe that the latter only reflects Confrontation between ISIS and US.

(1) G. Muttitt, Crude Designs: the rip-off of Iraq's oil wealth. Platform, 2005.

(2) H. Seniguer, Perceptions et actions des États-Unis face à Daech, 2016.

This article analyzes the terminology of the problem by focusing on two main topics first, the viral "conspiracy" that destroys part of Arab public opinion by overestimating the role of the US in the emergence of a radical organization, and then the rhetoric and reciprocal actions carried out by ISIS and American diplomacy, one of which is opposite the other, to demonstrate that Barack Obama never intended to engage alone in containing the Islamic State.

1. I.AMERICA'S INTERVENTION OF IRAQ IN 2003

The war in Iraq was an obvious implementation of the George W. Bush administration's doctrine of pre-emptive strikes, since those actions constituted the initial use of US strategy. This policy was based on a number of concepts, such as maintaining US dominance in the global arena and launching military interventions in other nations to further US interests and overthrow Arab regimes [(1)].

The US escalation, the decision to go to war, the direct and indirect justifications for going to war, the US strategy implemented there, and lastly the outcomes of the US war on Iraq will all be examined as we address the topic of the US intervention in Iraq. To understand the decision to war on Iraq, it is necessary to first look at the documents issued during that period, including the documents

(1) Ahmed Ibrahim Mahmoud, The New Iraq in the U.S. ME Strategy, no. 154, 2003, p. 62.

issued by the Bush administration, which bear the name (US National Security Strategy) as well as the document (Rebuilding the US Defense Force).This document was based on a many pillars, including [1];

1. Preserving a unipolar world order in which the United States retains global dominance; this was made clear in Bush's West Point speech when he said, "The United States will not seek security through the establishment of a power balance, since America will always be stronger than any country."
2. Destruction of terrorist organizations and the states that harbor them using preemptive force.
3. Reinterpreting the idea of patriotism using the existence of terrorist organizations as an excuse for not respecting national boundaries. In order to remove dangers, the US must thereby interfere in a part of the world and employ military power.

Under the parameters of those ideas, there has been a change in the US foreign policy, and this shift was represented in the rise of the hardline neoconservative in the Bush administration, also a US transformation view of itself and its relationship with other countries [2].

(1) Amani Essam Mohamed Abdulhamid, American Strategy and Restructuring of the Arab System, Master's Thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Float, 2010, p. 354.

(2) Jamal Abduljawad, International Order and the War on Iraq, The Nakba of Economic Relics, Cairo, Center for Policy and Strategic Studies in Al-Ahram, 2003, p. 228.

The American rhetoric adopted the hostile character against Iraq, and Bush called Iraq, Iran and North Korea the countries of the axis of evil Bush stressed the aggressive nature of Iraq and that the Iraqi regime must be removed [1].

Bush met on March 17, 2003, and after the United States and Britain were unable to secure a worldwide resolution supporting war in Iraq, he gave the UN until March 20, 2003, to adopt a resolution in favor of war in Iraq. Iraq war was started by the US and Britain. The American occupation forces took control of the Iraqi capital, "Baghdad," on April 9, 2003 [2].

On May 22, 2003, a resolution passed by the UN Security Council recognized the occupation was above all reactive. It is pursuing the goal of building a provisional administration, but in an increasingly tense security context and in the context of an accelerated socio-political fragmentation of Iraqi society, it is more akin to a stagnation process. Caught between the injunctions and hesitations of Washington, the difficulties in managing Iraq in all its dimensions, and

(1) Angie Mohammed Mahdi Tawfiq, Using Military Force as a Tool in U.S. Foreign Policy, Post-Cold War Post-Cold War Studies, Ph.D., Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2010, p. 152.

(2) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, American Strategy in the Arab Region and Arab National Security (2001-2004), Master's Thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science. 2010, pp. 251-252.

the rise of armed political actors, the strategy therefore essentially consists in managing chaos [1].

The American intervention thus worsens the national deconstruction initiated by Saddam Hussein. The latter's regime borrows as much from the traditional register as from modern forms of authoritarianism. On the political and social level, far from being simply a concentric organization of power, it is characterized above all by the destruction of all the links of solidarity for the benefit of personal power, triggering a deconstruction dynamic characterized by a cascade of survival strategies [2].

1.1. I.1.The Direct Motives for US Intervention in Iraq

Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD); Iraq's chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons programs, along with its long-range missile development and alleged support for terrorism, were the justifications put forward for forcibly disarming Iraq. However, WMD were not used by Iraqi forces and US forces didn't discover any WMD

(1) Stéphane Taillat, " L'impuissance de la puissance?": l'action des militaires américains en Irak (2003-2008). 2013. Phd Thesis, p. 135.

(2) D. Baran, Vivre la tyrannie et lui susrvivre: L'Irak en transition. Mille et une nuits, 2004, p. 434.

during the war [1]. Many analysts believe that if WMD are found, international verification will be necessary [2].

Despite the announcement by Hans Blakes, head of the UN team to search for Iraqi weapons that Iraq has become free of WMD, despite this official announcement that the US administration tampered with official papers and charged the Iraqi regime with buying uranium from Niger [3]. In this context, the approval was issued by a resolution from the Congress that allowed US to invade Iraq on September 24, 2002 [4].

Ties between the Iraqi regime and the Al-Qaeda organization; The United States administration has cited a number of data to establish a connection between the Iraqi regime and Al-Qaeda, including the fact that the two organizations have collaborated to fund Islamic militants in Algeria and other nations via bin Laden's networks. Because the American evidence was flimsy and untrustworthy, the government was unable to provide conclusive proof of that. Scowcroft, a former national security adviser, expressed surprise at the accusations against

(1) Raymond W. Copson, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Iraq war: Background and issues overview. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 2003, p. 19.

(2) "In Search of Horror Weapons", New York Times, April 9, 2003. Available at; https://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/09/opinion/in-search-of-horror-weapons.html.

(3) Amani Essam Mohamed Abdulhamid, Ibid, p. 362-363.

(4) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, Ibid, 2010, p. 249.

Saddam Hussein, said that the Iraqi president was on the list that bin Laden prepared for his killing [1].

Iraq's transgression of international law; Iraq's failure to abide by the Security Council's rulings, including [2];

- Resolution No. 707, which required Iraq to reveal its WMD and grant access to foreign inspectors to locations where they are expected to conduct their business.
- Resolution No. 715, which outlines intentions for ongoing Iraqi WMD surveillance.
- Resolution No.1441, which provided Iraq a grace period to remove WMDs before heavy penalties would apply.

Remove Saddam Hussein's regime: The US administration observed that Saddam Hussein's regime was tyrannizing authority in Iraq and that it had threatened to invade Kuwait and, earlier, Iran, its neighbors, using WMD against its people (Kurds). This was answered with punishment from the international community by launching the "Desert Storm War" supported by the US and in which the Saddam regime had to be overthrown in favor of the Iraqi people [3].

(1) Naeem Ahmed Naeem Al-Hams, Ibid, p. 232.
(2) Raji Yusuf Mahmoud, Impact of the US occupation of Iraq on The Problems of The Common Human Element between Iraq and Turkey (Iraq-Turkmen), Doctoral Thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2010, p. 151.
(3) Amira Mohammed Rakan Al-Ajami, Ibid, p. 118.



Figure (1): Shows the location of Iraq and neighboring countries.

Spreading democracy in Iraq; Bush claims that the war's objective is to overthrow the Saddam Hussein government, which the US is fighting Iran on behalf of and which initially turned into an opponent. The war, according their view, was aimed at liberating the Iraqi people from the regime grip and spreading democracy in Iraq, which would serve as the nucleus that would move from Iraq to other countries in the ME [(1)].

(1) D. Waxman, From Jerusalem to Baghdad? Israel and the War in Iraq. International Studies Perspectives, 10(1), 2009, p. 01.

In a speech at the American Enterprise Institute on February 26, 2003, Bush stated that the US objective in Iraq may serve as a model for other ME countries seeking independence, similar to how the US transformed Germany and Japan during World War II [1].

This is the fundamental legal defense put forth by the US for starting the war in Iraq; however, the pre-emption theory is unconvincing and overly broad; many nations could act in this way, making it possible for the Arab nations to attack Israel on the grounds that it jeopardizes their security.

1.2. I.2. The Indirect Motives for US intervention in Iraq

Economic Motivation; Saddam Hussein's decision in November 2000 to convert the oil sales from US dollars to European euros affected US plans to overthrow the Iraqi regime. Additionally, by 2025, 70% of imported oil will be used domestically, meaning US control over the world's oil supplies will become necessary [2]. The major goal of US is to control the global oil industry and control its prices on the world market, because of oil's dominant role as an energy source [3].

(1) G. Palmer-Fernandez, The Iraq War of 2003. Teaching Ethics, 5(1), 2004, p. 64.

(2) Makarem Ibrahim, Is Oil the Reason for America's War on Iraq? Alhiwar Almtmdn, Studies and research in history, heritage and languages, Issue 3078, 2010, pp. 1—07, p. 02.

(3) U. R. A. L. Mert, The impact of the global financial crisis on crude oil price volatility. Yönetim ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 14(2), 2016, p. 65.

Project of the New American Century (PNAC); The PNAC, whose president is William Kristol, was established in 1997 with the intention of bolstering American hegemony globally [1]. It is predicated on the use of force by the US government in the Gulf, eliminating any threat posed by the US, maintaining US military superiority, undermining any new powers that emerge in the Gulf States region, and creating a new global order centered on US leadership [2].

Guarantee the security of Israel; According to Israel, Iraq is an enemy state, The two nations have previously engaged in a number of conflicts, such as the 1973 war, the 1981 bombing of the Iraqi nuclear plant, and the 1991 missile attack on Israel, the primary beneficiary of the US intervention in Iraq is Israel because Iraq is a threat it [3].

Regional situations; In terms of the region, a speech by the former director of the CIA, James Woolsey, disclosed how Iraq helped to solidify US hegemony globally and its capacity to set up regional circumstances. If the US was successful in installing a democratic system in Iraq, it would serve as an example for other countries in the region [4]. It's evident from the examination of the US administration's

(1) Pierre-Henri Bunel, Reconstruire les Défenses de l'Amérique : stratégie, forces armées et ressources pour un siècle nouveau, 2000, p. i.

(2) Naeem Ahmed Naeem Al-Hams, Ibid, p. 232.

(3) H. Brands and D. Palkki, Saddam, Israel, and the Bomb: Nuclear Alarmism Justified? International Security, 36(1), 2011, p. 135.

(4) Naeem Ahmed Naeem Al-Hams, Ibid, p. 235.

stated motivations for going to war that they were based solely on deception and fabrication, since the evidence previously shown that there were no WMD in Iraq, where these weapons had been removed.

Regarding Saddam's purported affiliation with terrorist groups, it should be noted that this is only a claim. An American official demonstrated this by expressing astonishment at the existence of a tie between bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. Since further research has demonstrated the amount of US military brutality as well as the extent of violations and crimes committed during US occupation, human rights and the advancement of democracy were also ostensibly reasons for the action.

Therefore, the true motivation for the involvement stems from economic considerations, such as the extraction of oil from Iraq and the associated income, as well as the need to preserve Israel's security and maintain its dominance in the area. These are the actual and most reasonable justifications for US involvement in Iraq, and the intervention's goal was to establish the PNAC.

2. II.AMERICA'S STRATEGY IN IRAQ AFTER 2003

Strategy in its general concept is the science using the political, economic, military and psychological capabilities of a state to achieve

the support for the policies it takes in war times and peace to achieve the nation's goals [1].

This word used in reference to the knowledge and art of Strategus, one of the ancient Greek generals, it is stated that the strategy comes from "Stratum" which means road in Latin [2]. It has passed from French to Turkish and it has been used in social sciences since the 1970s [3].

The American victory announcement on April 14, 2003 created the impression that an easy and trouble-free victory had been achieved in Iraq, but what happened after that showed that Iraq was not an easy sting for US and ME [4].

When it comes to managing Iraq in the post-regime age, the US has purposefully adopted an ambiguity policy. Although the US

(1) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, 2010, Ibid, p. 08.

(2) N. Güçlü, Stratejik yönetim. Gazi Üniversitesi Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, 23(2), 2003, p. 66.

(3) Laura Mata Garcia, "Understanding Design Thinking, Exploration and Exploitation: Implications for Design Strategy", IDBM Papers, IDBM Program, Aalto University, 2012, p. 152.

(4) T. Oğuzlu, ABD Sonrası Irak ve Türkiye. MEern Analysis/Ortadogu Analiz, 4(37), 2012, p. 27

government has stated that democracy will rule Iraq, it has not specified the means by which this objective will be attained [(1)].

Assistant to US President Bush, Zalmay Khalilzad, discussed the broad contours of the US administration's post-Saddam strategy, focusing on four key areas [(2)]:

1. The United States wants to oppose terrorism and install a democratic government.
2. Iraqi unity is the closest American objective.
3. Fulfill the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people and begin the country's three-phase reconstruction. Iraq's political rehabilitation comes first, followed by the country's economic recovery and, last, its security restoration.
4. Collaborating with Iraq's creditor nations to remove some of those nations from Iraq.

Among the decisions taken by the US administration, which had a role in the dismantling of Iraq.

a. II.1.a The Dissolution of the Iraqi Army (DIA)

After the fall of Saddam's regime, the army was demobilized by a decision of Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), whereby 400,000

(1) Naha Abdulhafeez Shehata, The Role of the Ministry of Defense in US Foreign Policymaking with a case study of the decision to invade Iraq in 2003, a master's thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2007, p. 166.

(2) Naha Abdulhafeez Shehata, Ibid, p. 166-167.

Iraqi soldiers were deprived of working for the army [1]. General George Casey, insists on the need to respect the chronology of the elections scheduled to take place in 2005 to give Iraq its first elected government and constitution, and on the need to support and assist the interim government. The mission was defined as follows [2]:

"In partnership with the Iraqi Interim Government, the MNF should conduct counterinsurgency operations in all types of operations [full spectrum counterinsurgency operations] in order to isolate and neutralize old regime elements as well as terrorists, and they must organize, train and equip Iraqi security forces in order to create a security environment. Allows the process set out in the timeline for United Nations Security Council Resolution 1546 to be completed." [3]

The reasons that led to this decision was to view the army as an integral part of the former regime, and therefore no settlement will

(1) H. Foster, Master of Military Studies (phd thesis, Marine Corps University), 2002, p. 03.

(2) Stéphane Taillat, Ibid, p. 150.

(3) Timothy R. Reese and Donald P. Wright, On point II: transition to the new campaign: US Army in Operation Iraqi Freedom, May 2003-January 2005. Government Printing Office, 2015, p.176.

occur to me through the army dissolution. DIA was reflected in the lack of control over the escalating anarchy, as many army men joined the resistance teams, starting from national and other social factors, and forming Iraqi militias to fill the security vacuum [1].

In Iraq, the US-led military training program is now operational, with a carefully selected chief of staff and an emphasis on training, discipline, and leadership, the Iraqi army can comeback [2].

b. II.2.b Eradication of the Ba'ath Party (BP)

Paul Bremer announced the party dissolution on the intellectual level. He called for fighting the party's philosophy in various fields, the most important of which was educational and academic curriculum, as for individuals with the Ba'ath philosophy, the American administration has worked to dismantle any groupings of these individuals [3].

"Between the fall of the regime and the departure of Sanchez in the summer of 2004, our strategy focused on the capture and neutralization of the insurgents, starting to reflect on the transfer to the Iraqi army, but there is no had no unified campaign plan. Arrives

(1) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, Ibid, 2010, p. 271.

(2) Michael Knights and Jabbar Jaafar, "Restoring the Iraqi Army's Pride and Fighting Spirit." Al Jazeera, 8, 2015.

(3) Ahmed Ahmadi Ibrahim Ahmadi and Dalal Mahmoud, American Strategy in ME, Case Study of "The US Invasion of Iraq - The Arab Spring Revolutions", Arab Democratic Center, 2016, p. 26.

Georges Casey who develops a plan to coordinate all this. The heart of its strategy is to gradually transfer responsibility for security to Iraqi forces. The political aspect is to establish representative government as quickly as possible. In retrospect, I think this is a short-term strategy. By no means a strategy to defeat the insurgency (1)

In March 2005, the focus was to train the Iraqi army and national police as possible. This political objective and the strategy which should make it possible to accomplish it were adopted by Rumsfeld and Bush in the summer of 2005. On June 28, the American president thus announced that "*while the Iraqis are gaining strength, we must gradually withdraw*" (2).

However, internal dissensions appeared at the turn of 2004 mainly concerning the tactical and strategic approach. The operational readiness desired by General Mattis and his superior General Conway indeed demonstrates the flaws in a strategy decoupling lines of operations. It is about better linking security and development, using force in a dissuasive and coercive manner on the one hand, and promoting links with elites and local communities by including them in

(1) Stéphane Taillat, Ibid, p. 133.
(2) Ibid, p. 154.

the reconstruction process. Therefore, it is a question of generating cumulative effects in each of the lines of operations [1].

The 2006 strategic review is a long process. Begun in mid-June 2006, it ended in January of 2007. This process has been the subject of several accounts and analyzes [2].

c. II.3.c Security Challenges in Iraq

There are two types of security difficulties in Iraq: the first is non-political violence; the other is the result of attempts at retaliation against Ba'athist leaders who have violated human rights and organized crime that has proliferated in the lack of laws. Violence having overt political intent, such as that between sectarian and ethnic groups to further their objectives, as well as the activities of the Iraqi resistance, which consists of jihadist organizations like Al-Qaeda and members of the DIA [3].

But violence would also enter the process of constituting identities because a social identity is constructed with reference to that

(1) Douglas J. Feith, War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism. New York: Harper, 2008, P. 465.

(2) Stéphane Taillat, Ibid, p. 162.

(3) Iman Mahmoud Ayouti, US Foreign Policy on Reform in ME, Master's Thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, 2007, p. 123.

of another group, but also because of conflict, or even use lethal force[1].

d. II.4.d Political Challenges in Iraq

The process of political and democratic transformation in Iraq faced several difficulties, including the lack of democratic experience for the state of Iraq and the sovereignty of authoritarian rule, sectarian and ethnic diversity, and the absence of agreement on the participation of the various political forces, and to exploit the differences inside Iraq in order to achieve interests [2]. In the process of political transformation, the following must be observed:

- Respecting and representing different identities in the new system.
- Giving all groups and factions a role to be represented within the new system.

Thus, the military objective is no longer the elimination of the insurgency, but rather the reconquest of towns fallen to the insurgents, the eradication of resistance being left to the security forces and to the new Iraqi government as soon as they will be able to do it, interview with, former Special Forces officer and adviser to Casey; “There was a consensus that the focus and the key was to establish an Iraqi

(1) P. Amadou Ba, Thomas Lindemann, Penser la guerre. L’apport constructiviste, 2008, coll. Logiques politiques, Paris, L’Harmattan, 230 p. Études internationales, 2009, 40(3), p. 476-477.

(2) Iman Mahmoud Ayouti, Ibid, p. 152.

government and the successful holding of the elections". This means that US political and military decision makers are focused on a solution policy to the Iraqi problem, not a purely military solution [(1)].

An analysis of the above, we find that the American strategy in Iraq had a disastrous impact on Iraqi society, so the decision to DIA and BP was one of the decisions that worsened the situation and reached the chaotic situation in Iraq, the emergence of armed and jihadist organizations, including the Islamic State, which represents a major challenge to the security and stability of Arab countries.

It can also be said that the US laid the foundations for sectarianism in Iraqi society, of course, those decisions resulted in the emergence of fierce resistance on the part of the Iraqis, most of which were represented by the Sunni Arabs of the BP, as well as the formation of Iraqi militias to fill the security vacuum.

3. III.THE RESULTS OF THE AMERICA'S WAR ON IRAQ

The United States provided several reasons for starting the war on Iraq, such as the need to destroy WMD, overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime because they believed it was associated with terrorist groups, establish democracy in Iraq, and intervene on behalf of human rights.

(1) Sepp Kalev, Interview sur PBS Frontline, 19 juin 2007, accessible à l'adresse: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/endgame/interviews/sepp.html.

All of these turned out to be false; rather than being a hub for combating terrorism, Iraq has become a haven for terrorists [1].

The Iraq occupation is a source of disappointment for many American soldiers. They thought to be greeted as liberators, but they failed to understand the growing resistance to their action from large segments of Iraqi society [2]. Hence, we will eliminate the outcomes of the United States war in Iraq on several levels:

3.1. III.A.3. Political and Security Level

After the end of the 2003 war, the US occupation authorities led by the civil governor (Paul Barimer) established the Interim Governing Council for Iraq on the basis of ethnic sectarianism, as the council included 25 members, including 13 Shiite members, 5 Sunni members, 5 Kurdish members, 1 Christian and 1 Turkoman [3].

Former US ambassador Richard Holbrooke claims that the installation of a democratic government in Iraq will lead to sectarian conflicts, which could be worse than those that occurred in Bosnia

(1) Abdel Fattah Al-Harouni, Challenges Open to Gulf Regional Security Diagnosis and Movement Proposals, Gulf Center for Strategic Studies, Cairo, 2007, p. 190.

(2) Dexter Filkins, La guerre sans fin. Albin Michel, 2008, p. 171.

(3) Raji Yusuf Mahmoud, Ibid, p. 168.

because sectarian affiliations in Iraq are more complex [1], and because security issues can occur in any nation [2].

In addition, violence and fighting increased between 2003 and 2006, we note this fight turned against the “occupier”, as well as the killing between sects became more complex [3]. the outbreak of so-called “community violence" since 2005, many Iraqis also find themselves in the situation of refugees [4].

Among the results of the US policies is the de-Baathification policy, which has led to the expulsion of thousands of employees, teachers and professors from their jobs and depriving everyone associated with the BP of their jobs. This had a clear impact on the security situation in Iraq, as many of them joined the resistance groups that took up arms in the face of the occupation and the Iraqi government [5].

Between (2003-2006), Iraq witnessed the most dangerous stage of insecurity, because of the increase in sectarian violence, reaching the

(1) Amani Essam Mohamed Abdulhamid, Ibid, p. 386.

(2) N. A. Özcan, İşgal Sonrası Irak'ta Olanlar Sıradan Bir Güvenlik Sorunu mu? Uluslararası İlişkiler/International Relations, 2004, p. 93.

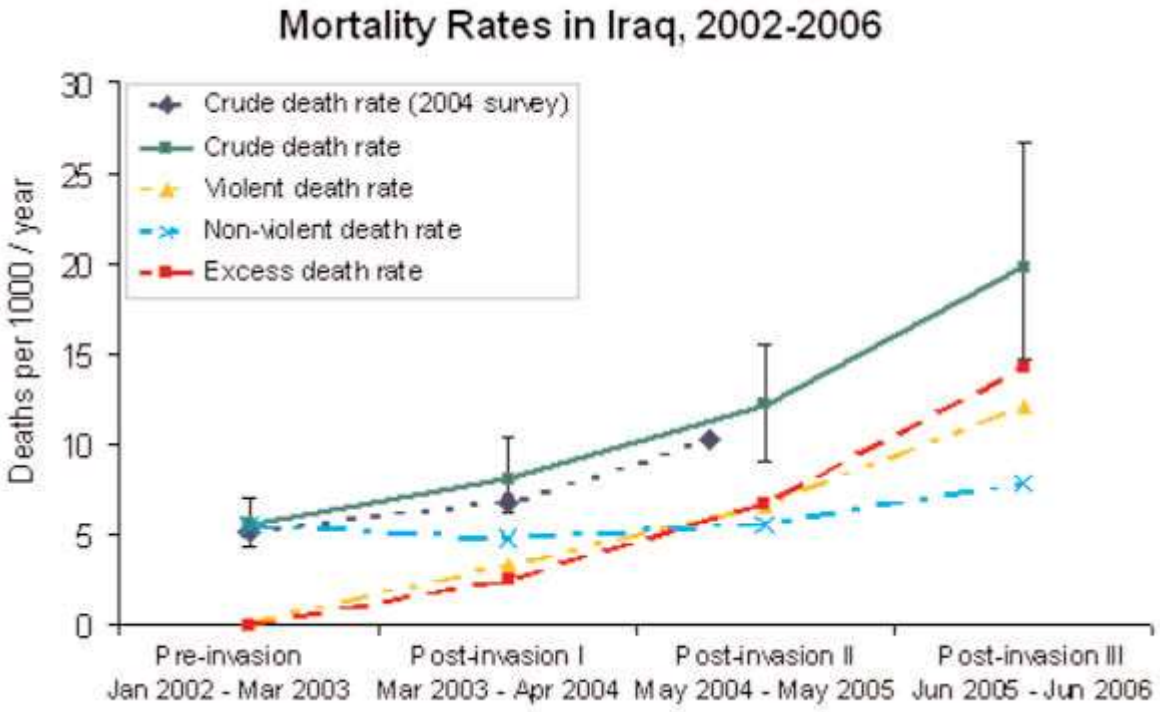
(3) Stéphane Taillat, Ibid, p. 188.

(4) Ibid, p.217.

(5) Hadi Nuaimi, Law of Justice and Accountability: Is It Right to Settle in Iraq, Cairo: Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Al-Ahram, 2011, p. 173.

level of civil war and even division and the collapse of the state. Despite the holding of elections in Iraq, the future of democracy is unclear in Iraq [1].

The number of victims of the security situation increased, according to a study prepared by the British medical journal *The Lancet*, the death rate resulting from acts of violence increased from 3.2 deaths to 12 deaths per thousand people after the invasion from June 2005 to June 2006, also the number US dead increased to 2,974 in four years between 2003-2006 [2].



(1) Amani Essam Mohamed Abdulhamid, Ibid, p. 387.

(2) S. Miles, Oath betrayed: torture, medical complicity, and the war on terror. Random House, 2006, p. 125-126.

Figure (2): Shows the death and violence and another rate in Iraq between (2002-2006) [1]

3.2. III.B.2.Economic Level

US war on Iraq ended on the pillars of the nation-state in Iraq. In general, the series of wars led to the collapse of the Iraqi dinar value. On October 15, 2003, the Iraqi dinar, which contains the image of Saddam, was replaced by another new dinar, where 1500-2000 Iraqi dinars equal one US dollar [2].

According to Çalışkan [3], the Iraq problem can be seen as a small universe of international power tensions after the Cold War, the focus is of course who will control Iraq's oil reserves. Between 2003-2005 the increase in unemployment rates, the spread of corruption in the oil sector, the indicators of oil production decreased from 2.25 million barrels to 2.1 million barrels, due to the resistance operations, in addition to the US policy focus on the oil sector to achieve US interests [4].

(1) G. Burnham, The human cost of the war in Iraq: A mortality study, 2002-2006. Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2006.

(2) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, Ibid, 2012, p. 272-273.

(3) Koray Çalışkan, Irak Savaşı Sonrası Ortadoğu, Birikim Sayı 169 - Mayıs 2003. Available at: https://birikimdergisi.com/dergiler/birikim/1/sayi-169-mayis-2003/2357/irak-savasi-sonrasi-ortadogu/5550.

(4) Amani Essam Mohamed Abdulhamid, Ibid, p. 387-388

The war led to the infrastructure of the Iraqi economy suffers from the collapse and deterioration of the oil industries, the suffering of the banking sector from plundering, and Iraqi debts reach billions of dollars. Suffering in the oil sector, the deterioration sometimes reaches Iraq's import of gasoline from neighboring countries such as Kuwait. Finally, the collapse of the agricultural sector and the infrastructure of Iraq and the deterioration of the electricity, drinking water, telecommunications, and housing sectors [(1)].

3.3. III.B.3.Cultural and social level

During the occupation of Baghdad in 2003, historical and archaeological museums were looted, documents and manuscripts were stolen, the value of these antiquities was estimated at billions of dollars. Gold coins, paintings and rare manuscripts were also stolen[(2)].

On the social level, between (2003-2006), social life disintegrated and the monopoly process increased, in addition to the division within society and the tyranny of ethnic and religious division on national unity, and this in turn reflected on the Iraq instability [(3)]. In this context, it includes the social and cultural

(1) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, Ibid, 2012, p. 272-273.

(2) Mohammed Ahmed, The US, British Invasion of Iraq in 2003 discussed the causes and results, Damascus University Journal, Volume 20, Issue (3-4), 2004, p. 138.

(3) Rania Mahmoud Ibrahim Abdulrahim, Ibid, 2010, p. 273.

requirements of democracy, especially the minority rights protection from the tyranny of the majority with political and legal systems [1].

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

US strategy in the Middle East is focused on servicing the interests of the US and its allies, whether or not these activities will have a detrimental effect on the neighboring countries. If using force is necessary, as the US did in Iraq, the US adopted a set of justifications for doing so, including the need to overthrow Saddam Hussein's dictatorial regime, eliminate WMD, combat terrorism, and promote democracy in the country. However, these justifications were not the main ones; there were other, more direct ones, such as economic ones, the desire to profit from Iraq's oil and resources, the need to ensure Israel's security and supremacy, It can be said that one of the outcomes of the American war on Iraq was the later emergence of the Islamic State in both Iraq and Syria, as the organization is an extension of Al-Qaeda, which itself resulted from the American war on Iraq. As for the decisions it made in Iraq, such as DIA and BP, had disastrous consequences for the Iraqi state. The American conflict had a significant negative impact on Iraqi society in addition to establishing the PNAC, eliminating developing nations in the area, and establishing American hegemony over it. The Iraqi state collapsed and became a

(1) P. İpek, İşgal Sonrası Irak'ta Devletleşme Sorunlarının Kuramsal İncelemesi ve Petrol Zenginliğinin Etkileri. MEern Studies/Ortadogu Etütleri, 3(1), 2011, p. 73.

weak state in terms of politics, economy, society, and security as a result of US policy in the country. Additionally, it has planted the nation's initial seeds of sectarianism.

Finally, and based on the results indicated, the researcher recommends the following:

1. US must be determined in the use of power sources as a means of change. The military force is no longer the most capable means of change.
2. The necessity to build close cooperation in various fields between US and its allies, and conversely, the ability of US to face challenges will decline.
3. US should benefit from the previous lessons from its use of hard power alone in many countries of the world, especially in ME which constituted a burden on it in the military and economic fields.
4. The countries of the ME should enhance good neighborly relations and regional cooperation processes, encourage economic cooperation, participate in preserving regional security and contribute to decisions related to disputes, in addition to seeking to activate dialogue in confrontations.
5. About Iraqi issue, the state must be serious in its decisions regarding the country interest and avoid any external interference by neighboring countries in their political internal affairs. After 2003, the external factor became a major influence on the Iraq

stability. The reason is due to the wrong US strategy that provided an opportunity for neighboring countries to interfere in Iraq's internal affairs. Iraqi government must work according to a fair allocation mechanism to include all components of the Iraqi people to avoid conflicts over ministerial chairs.

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