
Iraq: Invasion, Occupation, and Prospects for Peace and Democracy

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Background

- The invasion was not legal under international law
- There were three reasons provided for that act of war:
 - Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons.
 - That is a potential threat to the security of the Gulf, West Asia, and US interests
 - Iraq was connected to terrorism and had been coordinating and supporting al-Qa'ida
 - Iraq participated in the planning and support of 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US
- All three have proven to be false reasons
 - My contention is that the US and UK governments knew these were not real reason and some leader lied and falsified intelligence reports to forward these reasons for the attack

Results of 5 Years of Invasion & Occupation

- UN estimates Iraq population at 27.5 million
- Over 1M civilian dead; Over 2M injured & crippled*
 - Most caused by the occupation forces; secondary factor sectarianism
- More than 5 million refugees*
 - 2.77M Internally Displaced Persons
 - Over 2.5M are refugees outside Iraq
 - Syria has received 1.5M
 - Jordan .75M
 - Other went to Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco, and Gulf states
 - 41,000 non-Iraqi refugees, 15,000 of them are Palestinians living in tents on the boarder for the past 5 years.

Footnotes: * SEE: Opinion Business Research (ORB) report (January 2008). Steele, Jonathan & Suzanne Goldenberg (March 19, 2008), "What is the real death toll in Iraq?", London Guardian, March 19, 2008. Burnham G, Lafta R, Doocy S, Roberts L., "Mortality after the 2003 invasion of Iraq: a cross-sectional cluster sample Survey", Lancet 2006;368:1421-8. NIJM (Jan 2008), Violence-Related Mortality in Iraq from 2002 to 2006; Iraq Family Health Survey Study Group. Iraqi Body Count. IDP Working Group (24 March 2008). Campbell, Deborah (April 2008), "Exodus: Where Will Iraq go next?", Harper's Vol.316 No.1895.

Results of 5 Years of Invasion & Occupation

- 150,000 – 200,000 in US and Iraqi Government Jails*
- Abu Ghraib was not an isolated incident**
 - It was official policy
 - It was a start of massive US-Iraqi torture enterprise
 - Today most prisons whether operated by US or Iraqi government torture to the extreme
- Kidnap and Assassinations*:
 - More than 15,000 Iraqis, includes: 2,000 doctors + 345 academics + 210 lawyers and judges + 282 Journalists have been assassinate
- 43% Iraqis live in abject poverty on less than US\$1 a day; 60-70% of the workforce unemployed*

Results of 5 Years of Invasion & Occupation

- At least 4M do not have enough food
 - 4%-9% of children under 5 years old have sever malnutrition*
- 40% do not have access to drinking water*
- 30% do not have access to reasonable health services*
- Status of Women**:
 - 85.0% of women respondents described the situation in Iraq as bad or very bad
 - 88.8% expressed a great deal of concern that they or someone living in their households would become a victim of violence
 - 63.9% of respondents stated that violence against women is increasing
 - 72.7% of respondents said that in the future there should be one unified Iraq with a central government in Baghdad
 - 88.6% of women thought that the separation of people along ethnic/religious/sectarian lines was a bad thing

Results of 5 Years of Invasion & Occupation

- More than 4,000 US military dead and about 40,000 wounded mostly severely
 - Coalition dead: 175 UK, 133 other,
 - Contractor Dead: More than 1,000
 - Iraqi Security Dead: More than 8,000
- Total Cost of the War
 - OMB: More than ½ Trillion US\$ Direct cost
 - Total over the Life cycle costs 2-4 Trillion US\$*
- US World moral standing:
 - More than 70% of world wide survey rank the US and Israel as the most dangerous nations on earth

How Did We Get Here?

New Radical Conservative Coalition*

- A coalition of several radical conservative currents took over power in the flawed 2000 US Elections
 - ❑ Neoconservatives (international radicals)
 - ❑ Theo-cons
 - ❑ Tax radicals
 - ❑ Open market warriors (Chicago school)
 - ❑ Big Capital, particularly Financial Capital

How Did We Get Here?

The New Radical Conservative Coalition Evolved a Coherent , Albeit Disastrous, Strategy for Changing the World

- Motivated by the collapse of the Soviet Union
 - The answer is to maintain the supremacy of the US by **preempting** the ability of any power to rise and challenge the single super power world
- Use Military power to solve international problems and to **preempt** the rise of power competitors
- Undo the effects of the post WW2 arrangements and third world liberation and nationalism
 - Constrain Political Independence ... otherwise identify as “failed states”
 - Squash Socialistic tendencies
 - Open third world markets to Chicago School Capitalism preferable through shock therapy
 - Undermine economic, regional, or international bodies like:
 - OPEC, Arab League, African Union, United Nations, etc.
 - Reverse the direction of the nationalization of oil and the role of national oil companies
 - Eliminate constraints like the environment (e.g. Kyoto agreements), social justice, International Law, and Geneva Convention

How Did We Get Here?

The New Radical Conservative Coalition Evolved a Coherent , Albeit Disastrous, Strategy for Changing the World

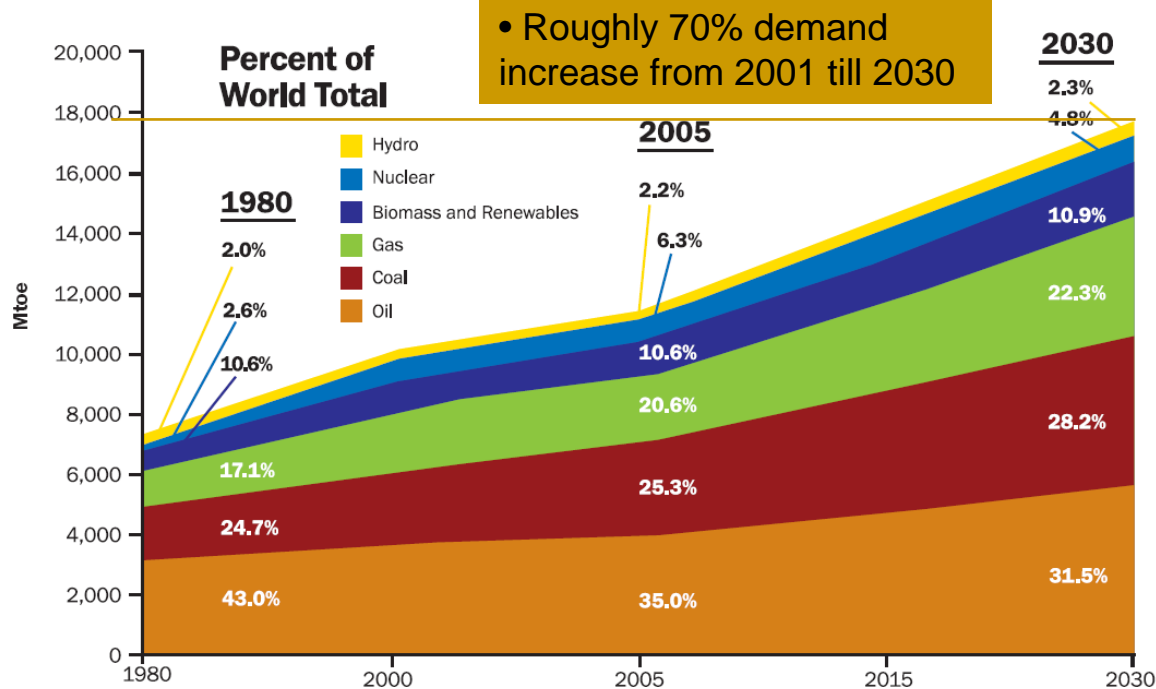
- Reorganize the social, political, and economic structure of the Middle East
 - Create democracy based on US image
 - Utilize shock therapy to introduce totally open markets ...
Disaster Capitalism
 - Redraw political borders to create new alliance
 - Away from the 1916-1922 international understandings, structures, and polity that established the modern ME
 - Protection for Israel through military supremacy and economic-political integration
 - Start with the weak link and the desirable prize: Iraq

Reasons for the War

- Three Strategic factors
 - Energy
 - Nuclear policy
 - Israel security
- In the period 2000-2003 there were policy currents that competed with the Neocons
 - State Department professionals
 - Oil industry Executives
 - Intelligence Services
 - US Military Forces

Energy: Demand*

Future Global Energy Demand



Source: EIA, World Energy Outlook, 2007

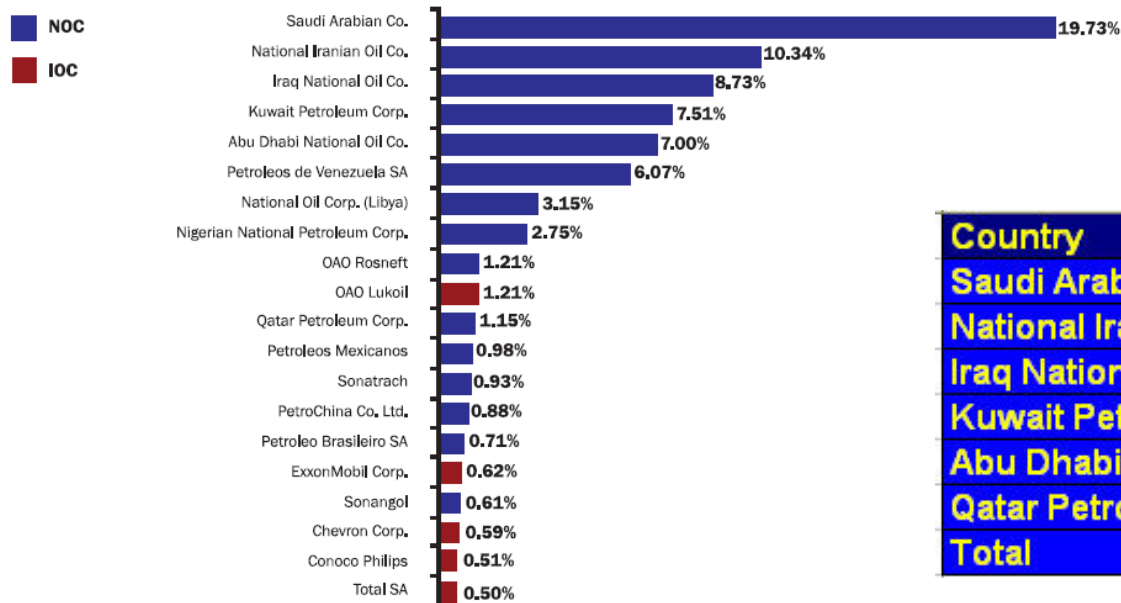
“Recent forecasts by the U.S. Department of Energy’s Energy Information Administration (EIA) estimate that sustaining a 4.1 percent rate of annual growth in the global economy to 2030 will require an expansion of 35 million barrels per day in global oil supplies. That is an increase of 42 percent. The growth in demand for natural gas worldwide is expected to be even larger, increasing by 64 percent by 2030.

Despite significant growth of renewables and improvements in energy efficiency, more than half of the world’s energy demand will be met in 2030 by oil and natural gas, as is the case today.”*

Footnote: * American Petroleum Institute (March 26, 2008), American Oil and Natural Gas Industry -- The Truth about Oil and Gasoline: An API Primer.

Energy: Reserves (Supply)*

2006 Largest Oil and Gas Companies (percent of worldwide reserves)



Country	Percent
Saudi Arabia	19.73%
National Iranian Oil Company	10.34%
Iraq National Oil Co.	8.73%
Kuwait Petroleum Co.	7.51%
Abu Dhabi National Oil Co.	7.00%
Qatar Petroleum Co.	1.15%
Total	54.46%

Source: World reserves of 1.3 trillion barrels as of January 1, 2007 according to *Oil and Gas Journal* December 24, 2007
Leading companies: *Oil and Gas Journal* September 17, 2007

Footnote: * American Petroleum Institute (March 26, 2008), American Oil and Natural Gas Industry -- The Truth about Oil and Gasoline: An API Primer.



Within
1,500 miles
circle from
Baghdad
lies more
than 60% of
the oil
reserves of
the world

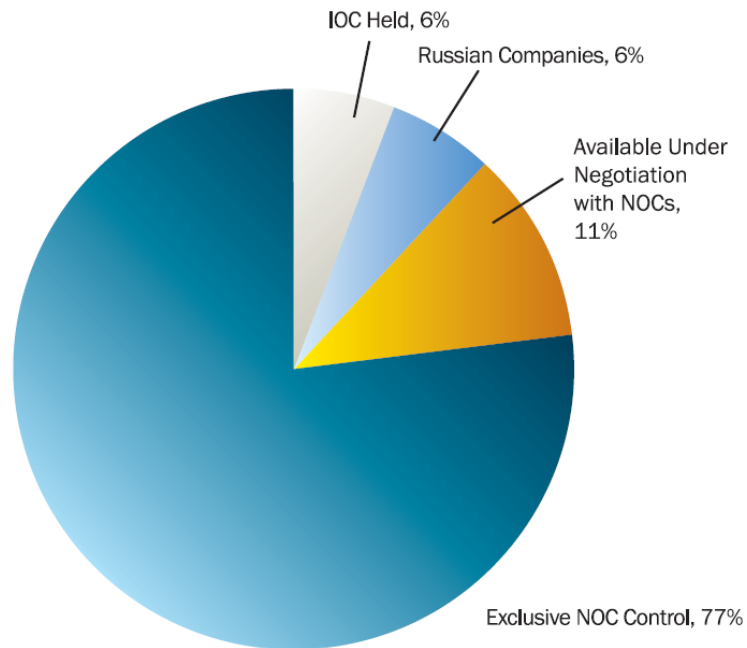
Country	Percent
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Kuwait Petroleum Co.	7.51%
Abu Dhabi National Oil Co.	7.00%
Qatar Petroleum Co.	1.15%
Total	54.46%
Add Russian Oil	6.00%
Add Central Asia Natural Gas	3.00%
Grand Total	63.46%

Energy: Control*

The Myth of “Big Oil” (As a Percent of Proven Reserves)

The total amount of proven oil reserves held by all investor-owned oil companies (IOCs) is just 6 percent

Almost 80 percent is exclusively controlled by foreign national oil companies (NOCs)



Source: J. Robinson West, Chairman, PFC Energy, 9/21/05

“It is also important to understand how the energy world has changed. Forty years ago, world oil reserves were largely the domain of the investor owned, international oil companies (IOC), based principally in the United States. Most people today assume that international oil companies are little changed from decades ago, still sitting astride the bulk of these world oil reserves. That is no longer the case. Today, world oil reserves are 80 percent owned by the national oil companies of foreign governments, many formed during the past 30 years. Only 6 percent of worldwide oil reserves are now held by investor-owned oil companies.”*

Footnote: * American Petroleum Institute (March 26, 2008), American Oil and Natural Gas Industry -- The Truth about Oil and Gasoline: An API Primer.

Nuclear Policy:

End of Containment and Deterrence*

- 1990 End of the Soviet Union and end of containment and deterrence. Several questions arose:
 - What were nuclear weapons for?
 - Who, if anyone, should possess them? Who should not?
 - Who should decide which is which?
 - Who should make the decision stick?
- For over 10 years these were vague questions with no clear answer
 - There were some disarmament
 - In the same period India, Pakistan, North Korea, and Iran expanded their nuclear program
 - Iraq was accused of having an active nuclear program

Footnote: * Schell, Jonathan (February 2008). "The Moral Equivalent of Empire". Harper's Magazine Vol 316, No. 1893; NY, NY.

Nuclear Policy: After Sept 11, 2001, Bush Provided a Simple Bold Answers Pursued with Tenacity*

- The United States and its allies would possess nuclear weapons, and others- especially "rogue states"- would not*
- The United States alone would enforce the rules in this double-standard world, and would do so with the application of overwhelming military force, including nuclear force*
- This is a radical departure from deterrence and containment
- The structure of world governance had to be radically changed

□ Hence the policy of preemption and radical change to governments and to the international system

□ Iraq was the test case for preemption

Footnote: * Schell, Jonathan (February 2008). "The Moral Equivalent of Empire". Harper's Magazine Vol 316, No. 1893; NY, NY. See also: Bush's "National Security Doctrine".

Israel Security

- The neo-cons approach towards the ME was first formulated as a policy proposal to the government of Israel in 1995
- The same policy evolved to a Neo-Con proposal for US international direction in 1997 that culminated in a letter to President Clinton on Jan 1998 which became the Regime Change Policy*
- Israel lobby adopted the same stand, many of the leaders of NAC are also part of AIPAC*

Footnote: * SEE: New American Century Project, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/globalissues.htm>. Cole, Juan (August 30, 2004), "AIPAC's Overt and Covert Ops", Anti-War.Com <http://www.antiwar.com/cole/?articleid=3467>.

Israel Security

- The US policy towards Iraq and the ME became congruent with Israel views and policies once the same people ascended to key positions in the Bush administration in 2000*
- Reshape the Middle East to eliminate the nationalist, “Sunni” system, and normalize relationships with Israel
- Eliminating the “rogue-regimes” will force the Palestinians to accept Israeli dictate**
 - Freeze the peace process
 - Support Sharon’s policy of unilateral solution
 - Establish Iraq as a “democratic base” to change the rest of the Middle East and create the “new Middle East”
 - All 1922 and post WW2 arrangements will become subject to change in favor of expanded prosperous secure Israel. Secure Israel means that Israel can dictate its will using “preemption

Footnote: * New American Century Project, <http://www.newamericancentury.org/globalissues.htm>. ** SEE: Mearsheimer, John J. & Walt, Stephen M. (Sep 2007), The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy. Carter, Jimmy (2007), Palestine Peace Not Apartheid. Walsh, John (April 17, 2007), “Why is the Peace Movement Silent About AIPAC?”, Counterpunch <http://www.counterpunch.org/walsh04172007.html> .

What Mistakes?

- The planning and execution of invasion and occupation was flawed*
 - Hence, the resistance to the occupation
- Yes it was flawed which accelerated the resistance shortly after the invasion
- The real reason for the resistance is Iraqi nationalism against:**
 - Foreign occupation
 - Shock Therapy and disaster capitalism
 - Privatization of Iraqi Oil

Footnote: * SEE: Isikoff, Michael & Corn, David (2006), Hubris. Ricks, Thomas E. (2006), Fiasco. Packer, George (Jan 2006), The Assassin's Gate. Chandrasekaran, Rajiv (Dec 2006), Imperial Life in the Emerald City. ** SEE: Steele, Jonathan (2008). Defeat: Why America and Britain Lost Iraq. Klein, Naomi (2007), The Shock Doctrine The Iraq Study Group (Dec 2006), The Iraq Study Group Report.

Where Are We Today?

- None of the three fundamental reasons for the war has been resolved ... the challenge remains
 - Energy
 - Nuclear policy
 - Israel security
- The situation inside Iraq is deteriorating*
 - politically, socially, and security wise
- Iran has the upper hand in Iraq and threatening the Gulf stability

“... as events in the past two weeks have reminded us and as I have repeatedly cautioned, the progress made since last spring is fragile and reversible.”

Gen. Petraeus opening remarks to US Congress, April 8, 2008

“81% of Americans say the country is on the wrong track”

NY Times Poll, April 2008

Where Are We Today?

- Three Laws
 - Oil and Energy Law
 - Conciliation
 - Local elections and Federalism
- Sectarianism
- Federalism
- Shi'a – Shi'a Conflict
- Turkish Kurdish Conflict

The Path to a Solution: US Strategic Choice

The preemption Policy based on the unilateral use of force has failed

- United states has two strategic choices, both are currents within its tradition:
 - Law and Consent of the governed vs.
 - Supremacy of force ... as in imperial force*
- The Bush Administration has clearly chosen the IMPERIAL FORCE option
 - Preemption and the use of force has taken this country, Iraq, and the rest of the Middle East, to the brink of total disaster
- The principle of “Law and Consent” applied to today’s international system implies also a massive transformation towards an equitable world system that provides for checks and balances to
 - To support the weak, the small, and the disadvantaged
 - To protect humanities global environment
 - To formulate a saner energy policy for the world
 - To assume a common human battle for peace, eradication of disease, and universal learning
 - To ensure common international standards for the rights of women, labor, and minorities

Footnote: * SEE: Kinzer, Stephen (May 2006), Overthrow. Weiner, Tim (Jan 2007), Legacy of Ashes.

The Path to a Solution:

Withdrawal & Transitional Arrangements

- Commitment of the US & foreign forces to withdraw from Iraq
 - A time table for total withdrawal is essential to start the healing and the peaceful dialogue
- Transitional power to UN to:
 - Pave for truly free elections after a defined period when foreign troops are out
 - Redraw constitution with the free participation of all Iraqis (irrespective of sects, ethnicity, etc.)
 - Sponsor national dialogue under the auspices of international and/or Arab and/or Islamic mediators
 - Centralize power and start the process of building a democratic transition power

The Path to a Solution: Principles

**One Unified Democratic,
Secularist, and Pluralistic Iraq**

- Protection of fundamental freedoms
 - Speech, assembly, petition, organization, and media
- Protection of fundamental human rights
 - No arrest without a warrant; no torture; protection of: property and personal safety, women, labor, minorities
- US and international commitment to pay repatriation for rebuilding Iraq