



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**IRAQ'S RESPONSES AGAINST TERRORIST GROUPS  
BETWEEN 2003 -2017: THE REASONS OF FAILURE**

SARHAD NAJAT MUSTAFA

MASTER'S THESIS

NICOSIA  
2019

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2019

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We as the jury members certify the "IRAQ'S RESPONSES AGAINST  
TERRORIST GROUPS BETWEEN 2003 -2017: THE REASONS OF  
FAILURE" by Sarhad Najat Mustafa defended on 12 June 2019 has been  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **IRAQ'S RESPONSES AGAINST TERRORIST GROUPS BETWEEN 2003 –2017: THE REASONS OF FAILURE**

To understand the causes of terrorism, there is a need to explore the background of terrorism, the political, social, economic, religious and psychological cradle of terrorism. Indeed, a better understanding of the background and roots of terrorism is the first step towards effective counter-terrorism measures. This study therefore addresses the most important causes of terrorism in terms of social and political factors. To this end, the political and social and religious roots of terrorism in Iraq are investigated from 2003 to 2017. During the collapse of Saddam Hussein and the Baath regime, Iraq underwent a change of political system from one-party dictatorship to more democratic establishment and at the same time radical jihadist ideas were spread. Regional unrest such as the Arab Spring and the civil war in Syria also has had an impact on instability and the development of terrorism in Iraq. As the social root of terrorism in Iraq during this period, the dissemination of Salafist jihadist ideas and their relationship to sectarianism further rose. Also, the inappropriate political system in Iraq after the collapse of Saddam Hussein further contributed to the instability in Iraq and to the failure of government responses against terrorist groups.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Militant groups, the reason of failure, Anti-terrorism Law

## ÖZ

### **IRAK'IN 2003-2017 ARASINDAKİ TERÖRİZME KARŞI FAALİYETLERİ: BAŞARISIZLIĞIN NEDENLERİ**

Terörizmin nedenlerini anlamak için terörizmin arka planını, yani terörizmin beslendiği siyasi, sosyal, ekonomik, dini ve psikolojik arka planı araştırmak gerekir. Aslında, terörizmin arka planını ve köklerini daha iyi anlamak, terörle etkili mücadele etmenin ilk adımıdır. Bu çalışma Irak'ta terörizmi tetikleyen sosyal ve politik faktörleri araştırmaktadır. Bu amaçla, Irak'taki terörizmin politik ve sosyal kökleri Saddam Hüseyin'in ve Baas rejiminin çöküşü olan 2003'ten 2017 yılına kadar incelenmiştir. Bu dönemde, Irak'ta tek parti diktatörlüğünden demokratik bir federasyona sistem değişikliği yaşandı ve radikal Cihadi Selefi düşünceler artış gösterdi. Arap Baharı ve Suriye İç Savaşı gibi bölgesel ayaklanmalar Irak'taki istikrarsızlığın ve terörün artmasında etkili oldu. Terörizmin sosyal köklerinin güçlenmesindeki temel neden Cihadi Selefi düşüncelerin yayılması ve bunun mezhepçilik ile ilgili sorunları daha da körüklemesidir. Aynı zamanda Saddam Hüseyin sonrası Irak'ta uygun olmayan siyasi sistem ülkedeki istikrarın bozulmasına ve devletin terörizmle olan mücadelesinin başarısız olmasına neden olmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Terörizm, Militan gruplar, başarısızlığın nedeni, Terörle mücadele yasası.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>CIA</b>	<b>Central Intelligence Agency</b>
<b>COR</b>	<b>Council of Representatives</b>
<b>CPA</b>	<b>Coalition Provisional Authority</b>
<b>ERW</b>	<b>Explosive Remnants of War</b>
<b>EU</b>	<b>European Union</b>
<b>FTO</b>	<b>Foreign terrorism organization</b>
<b>IMIK</b>	<b>Islamic Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan</b>
<b>IRAMs</b>	<b>Improvised Rocket Assisted Munitions</b>
<b>IRGC-QF</b>	<b>Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Qods Force</b>
<b>IRGO</b>	<b>Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps</b>
<b>ISF</b>	<b>Iraqi Security Forces</b>
<b>ISI</b>	<b>Islamic State in Iraq</b>
<b>ISIL</b>	<b>Islamic Stats of the Levant</b>
<b>ISIS</b>	<b>Islamic Stats of the Syria</b>
<b>JRTN</b>	<b>Army of the Men of the Naqshbandi</b>
<b>KRG</b>	<b>Kurdistan Regional Government</b>
<b>MSA</b>	<b>Muslim Scholars Association</b>
<b>NATO</b>	<b>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>
<b>OIC</b>	<b>Organization of Islamic Cooperation</b>
<b>OIF</b>	<b>Operation Iraqi freedom</b>
<b>PBUH</b>	<b>Peace be upon him - Muhammad</b>
<b>PDK</b>	<b>Party Democratic Kurdistan</b>
<b>PMF</b>	<b>Popular Mobilization Forces</b>
<b>PUK</b>	<b>Patriotic Union of Kurdistan</b>
<b>SCIRI</b>	<b>Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>UNDP</b>	<b>United Nations Development program</b>
<b>UNMAS</b>	<b>United Nations Mine Action Service</b>
<b>US</b>	<b>Untied States</b>



## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Introduction and the Importance of the Research**

Iraq entered a new phase of political transition in 2003 after the intervention of US and its allies and the fall of Saddam Hussein. The US invasion of Iraq not only led to the collapse of the regime of Saddam, but also led to the collapse of the Sunni-dominated Iraqi state. That is why not only Sunni pro-Saddam Arabs, but some Sunni-opposing Arabs were against Saddam's actions in Iraq. Sunni groups in Iraq after Saddam Hussein had a different approach to Iraqi domestic issues and foreign relations. The Sunni Arabs in Iraq regard Arabian countries as their natural and permanent supporters, and the majority of the behaviors and ideologies of Sunni groups are based on the views and Policies of Arab governments.

Today, Sunni militias, who are victims of Salafi extremists, Takfiris, and wounded Ba'athists, are launching renewed attacks. They have the spiritual and sometimes material support of some Arab regimes, and they have turned Iraq into a bloody stage using advanced methods and techniques (Bagheri, 2013.p.96) .These groups not only target coalition forces, but also civilians, and in particular the Shiites, in addition to some Iraqi infrastructure. The purpose of these groups is to retaliate, and to deter Iraq from any further progress. The existing and returning minority problems is the same as they were in previous decades, and for this purpose, Sunni militias in Iraq have reformed as various groups and organizations.

These are ethnic and religious issues, and together with the emergence of the ISIS group and the livelihood and economic problems, have led to a large

Number of terrorist attacks in Iraq in the period from 2015 to 2017. Although at some losses, Iraq has survived the attacks. In this descriptive-analytical study, I will try to examine the policy of Iraq against terrorism in the years 2003 through 2017 and the reasons for the failure of this policy (Najafi, 2016.p.17).

National security is one of the top priorities and concerns of all governments and communities. In the regional environment of the states, neighboring countries have the greatest potential and means for a positive or negative security impact on a state due to their geographical proximity. In the case of Iraq, the regional components affecting the national security of the country are important because of the special circumstances of the Middle East. While most regions of the world have shifted the level of regional conflicts and challenges towards regional order, stability, and convergence, the Middle East continues to face widespread instability, disputes and insecurities. Most of the political power sources in the region are in fact the bankrupt governments. Accordingly, the regional environment of Iraq is always a factor affecting the national security of the country and causes increased security threats. Therefore, the study of Iraqi issues is of particular importance.

The Middle East has long been considered as a focus of attention by the US foreign policy designers for geopolitical reasons. In recent decades, however, it has also become known as the Islamic fundamentalist center. With the proposal of a large-scale or broad-based Middle East project in September 2002, the United States sought to bring about radical changes at the level of the Middle East communities and governments to combat terrorism in this regard, the US military attacked Iraq under the expressed intent of anti-terrorism policies, the promotion of democracy, and prevention of further warfare.

Terrorism gave the American military attack a justification for its legitimacy. The pattern of the US war in Iraq, which led to the collapse of the former regime of Saddam Hussein, was a pattern of war on terrorism. But after the war, the United States faced security challenges that raised terrorism in Iraq

and ultimately led to a reduction in American credibility in the fight against terrorism. This even influenced future operations of US policy in the Middle East and the challenges they faced afterwards. The operation was still enough to bring a new infrastructure, however, with a new treaty. The Iraqi state has been offered in this treatise and was an answer from this perspective (Paykhambardoost, 2014.p.91).

## **1.2 Problem Statement and Research Questions**

The country of Iraq, which arose in 1920 following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as a result of British colonial policies, is among the "foundations" of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region Iraq has entered a new phase of political transition in 2003 after the intervention of the US and its allies and the fall of Saddam Hussein. After the collapse of Saddam Hussein and the transfer of power to the people of this country, the Shiites took power in the country according to the rules of democracy, simply because of the fact that they constituted the majority of the Iraqi people. Despite its ups and downs, the government was heading towards the rule of law, until ISIL forces suddenly and quickly occupied about one-third of the territory of Iraq. Some of the root causes of this crisis in Iraq include: (Azin 2015.p.32).

1. Rapid changes in the system of distribution of power from the Ba'ath Party and the totalitarian system to the structure of democracy: From the collapse of the Ottoman Empire until 2003, the structure of power in Iraq was based on the kingdom system first, followed by the republic system. That being said, this was a republic in which presidents dominated the country as dictators. With the change, however, democracy and civilization were not only institutionalized among Iraqi citizens, but also among the political elites; therefore, Iraqi society saw the rapid change of power in Iraq with the fall of Saddam Hussein.

2. In Iraqi society, the order was mostly at the hands of a traditionally strong, unchallenged Baath Party and Saddam Hussein, and the military and the Iraqi intelligence service was in complete service to these powers. After the fall of Saddam and the Baath Party and occupation of Iraq by the United States, the intervening forces assumed the position of power and maintained the relative security of a newly established system. After the reduction of US forces and the withdrawal of a significant portion of them from Iraq, the task of providing security to the Iraqi political system lacked the required levels of superior strength. Without a



dominating power, greedy and disaffected Sunnis, Baathists and former army chiefs and intelligence personnel in Iraq sought a new distribution of power in the structure of the Iraqi government based on the people's vote, each hoping for their leadership, and preparing alternative plans in other cases.

3. Maliki's weakness in creating unity between the different axis of power among the Shiites and Sunnis.

4. Neglect of the approved construction and welfare projects in the three major Sunni provinces of Anbar, Ninawa, and Salahuddin.

5. The lack of complete purification of the Ba'athists from the army and security establishments, the ignorance of the intelligence system, the attempted coup by al-Maliki army, the inefficient training provided by security forces during the occupation years, and most importantly, the lack of a military power loyal to the new political system, such as The Badr Army, causing the lack of a powerful military organization to defend the independence and territorial integrity of Iraq and its political systems.

6. The dual policy of the Iraqi Kurdistan's regarding the central government since the fall of Saddam Hussein has resulted in the formation of two distinct powers: namely Baghdad and Erbil, in the country. The efforts of the Erbil authorities for more autonomy or complete independence, and increased tensions between the parties after the oil sales in the region without the consent of the central government, led to the expansion of the crisis in Iraq.

During these years, explosions and terrorists activities turned into daily routine for the Iraqi citizens and made the situation of the country something that could be called "symbiosis of death and life". To confirm this claim, it is enough to pay attention to the areas of bombing that took place in Baghdad; it can clearly be seen that no point in Iraq's largest city was left untouched by terrorist and radical force attacks.

The threat of terrorism and extremist forces aiming for the political and social life of Iraq entered into a more organized phase with the advent of Ahriman's Islamic State in 2013. This self-proclaimed Islamic State was able to gain control of more than a quarter of the country's territories through a strategy of violence and panic over a short period of time. If terrorism and violence were in the past a covert and secular phenomenon, between 2014 and 2017 it emerged as a terrorist government with an organized military and educational organization. In the territories under the control of these terrorist forces, citizens, and especially Iraqi children, learned the principles of killing, violence and assassination instead of learning science. In addition, during the

advent of ISIL, many families have found a minimum of one of their relatives as victims of violence and extremism. In this context, Iraq has suffered two major harms in the sociological dimension at a macro-psychological level. Although the exodus of the city of Mosul is expected to be extant and there is nothing left of ISIS, there will undoubtedly be prolonged effects of the phenomenon of Isisism in two stages:

The First is the continued underground activity of the ISIL survivors in Iraq.

The Second is the remainder of the Isisism in the minds of the people that tried to survive under its rule. Without a doubt, the 3-year ISIL rule will lead to the formation of an underground nuclei and power structures in the years following the end of the ISIL legacy in Iraq and Syria. As a result, after the release of Mosul, the Iraqi state will be even more exposed to the threat of suicide attacks and terrorist attacks than it was before 2014. In this descriptive-analytical study, this research try to examine the policy of Iraq against terrorism in the years 2003 through 2017 and the reasons why it may have failed.

Deriving from these points, the research question of the thesis could be formulized as: **What are the reasons for Iraq's failure to fight terrorism in the period of 2003-2017?**

The secondary research questions include:

1. What are the reasons for the emergence of ISIS terrorist group in Iraq?
2. How do Arabic countries affect the behaviors and roles of the Sunni people in Iraq?

### **1.3 Research Hypotheses**

#### **A. The Main Hypothesis**

The reasons for the failure of Iraqi policy in the fight against terrorism include ethnic and religious disagreements, and the emergence of an inconsistent set of foreign forces, binding of Iraqi forces and local militants in the fight against ISIL, the lack of coordination between them. Economic problems also spur Iraq's policy of fighting terrorism.

## **B. Sub Hypotheses**

1. The emergence of a weak state after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, ethnic-religious and classical crises, developments after the Arab uprising, the lack of modern state-nation building were among the factors behind the emergence of the ISIS terrorist group in Iraq.
2. The Sunni Arabs regard the Arab countries as their natural and permanent supporters, and even the majority of the behaviors and roles of Sunni groups are based on the views and policies of the Arab states.

### **1.4 Literature Review**

Among the researches in the field of terrorism, one can mention the following books and articles:

Roger Scruton in the book "The West and Others Globalization and the Threat of Terrorism" considers terrorism in the Muslim World as the result of the religious beliefs of Muslims being threatened in the process of globalization. He believes that the process of globalization causes a crisis for the Muslim world by presenting a pattern of a secular society in which humanitarian law has balanced itself without God's help. This condition of the old beliefs about the ultimate victory of the right to vanity and the destruction of the flow of life in the minds of Muslims have destroyed the Ummah of the Prophet. The result of these beliefs is an explosion that urges the Muslim youth to express their dissatisfaction with the non-religious way of life that is penetrating the Islamic world and the global system that feeds it. Thus, terrorism is on the other side of religion. Terrorism is a cry of despair that cannot adapt itself to secular values and sees secularism as the death of God (Scruton, 2002).

Vincenzo, O. (2002) in the book "The Origins of Terror: The Wahhabi-Salafi Ideology and Its Consequences" introduces Wahhabi and Salafi teachings as the source of terrorism in al-Qaeda. He especially blames the radical wing and the Salafists, the Takfiris, for the excommunication of other religions and Views using violence to advance religious goals (Oliveti, 2002)

In the book "Fear for God: Islamic Attack to America," Mullies Rutton believes that jihad wars in Afghanistan are effective in al-Qaeda's future orientations, and believes that Al-Qaeda members' thoughts were formed during this period, and their terrorist tendencies were consolidated during the conflict (Ruthven, 2004).

Walker, Martin in the book "There is no end to the war: terrorism in the 21st century," specifically seeks to explore the elements of new terrorism. Finding the roots of terrorism, especially fundamentalist terrorism, and the phenomenon of suicide terrorism are on the agenda of this paper. The responses of governments, media, academics and public opinion to new terrorism are being examined. The perspective of terrorist activities in the future is also examined (Monten, 2014).

Robert, Good in in the book "What's wrong with "terrorism?" explores the specific features of terrorism. In this book, Robert Godin specifically explores the properties and characteristics of terrorism. Terrorists use all their tools to achieve their goals and "do everything in their power". They kill innocent people, destroy buildings and planes, and even kill children. But what does terrorism actually condone? What causes the terrorists to be distinguished from ordinary murderers and abductors, and make them morally blamed? The author uses philosophical assumptions to determine the significance of existing events and facts and tries to examine terrorism from a philosophical point of view. The author reviews the attitude and approach of "fair war theory" to terrorism. Those who believe in the theory of "fair war" define terrorism as the deliberate killing of innocent people in order to terrorize and exert pressure on leaders. Such a definition of terrorism is also used in US law. Robert Good in then examines the problems posed by the theory of fair war (Goodin, 2006).

Ahmed, N. M. (2005) study in the book "The War on the Truth, September 11, The Inaccurate Information and the Anatomy of Terrorism," thoroughly analyzes the events of September 11th, and provides an accurate autopsy of the issue of terrorism. In general, Mosaddeq Ahmad has proposed a

conspiracy theorem on terrorism. He believes that the great powers, in their own interests, use and manipulate terrorism (Ahmed, 2016).

Minitier, R. (2005) on "Misleading Information: 22 Misleading Media on the War on Terror", has presented a new look at the issue of assassination. Getting common sense and wisdom about the war on terror has accepted many of the issues as definitive facts. But the author of the book has quoted some of these facts as void. This issue can be considered in the form of "perception management". Maybe Western media have helped to expand some of these perceptions in the process of perceived management. Regardless of this conspiracy theory, it should be noted that the perceptions management, the war on terror and al-Qaeda will benefit from this book.

The book "The Hunter of Terrorists" provides readers with very useful information on Islamic groups such as Hamas, Jamaat, and some Islamic religious leaders. The author believes that the United States will not be safe until the United States sees the supporters of the terrorists as "friendly and united".

Shay Egan Farideh emphasized that "the civil wars that led to human tragedies lead to the use of violence and the spread of terrorism (Shay Egan, Farideh 2000)." Hassan Vaezi believes that the presence of foreign troops in the region in the long run will lead to protests and resorts to violence (Hassan Vaezi 2001). Khansari, Majid in his book, examines the content and nature of terrorism and describes the types of terrorism, but has not mentioned the real cause of the spread of terrorism in the region, notably Saudi Arabia (Khansari, Majid 2003). In his book, Mohammad Reza Tayeb has only addressed the consequences and the various angles of the September 11 terrorist incident (Mohammad, 2003).

Mohammad Ali al-Ala has also described the nuclear terrorism and the risk of terrorists getting weapons of mass destruction, but did not address the objective explanation for the use of violence by terrorists.

Roger Scranton explains in his book that one of the reasons why terrorism is prominent in the Muslim world is because of how globalization stands as a threat to their Islamic beliefs. Meaning that a western way of life and doctrines that contradicts Gods pattern. Terrorism and Islam are two different things but in the case of Iraq one of the things that are prominent is the extremist ideology of the infidel that needs to be eliminated. The Islamic extremist groups are totally against the western pattern which according to them contradicts Islam.

Vincenzo explains that one of the major things that is driving Al-Qaeda is the Wahhabi and Salafi teachings because of how violence is been used to propagate their religious goals which leads to the exclusion of other religions in the country that explains the activities of terrorist groups like Al Qaeda in Iraq.

Robert Good in and Walker Martin explains that explaining terrorism and the objectives of terrorism and if the fight against terrorism will ever end that shows that the end to the fight against terrorism might be ending because of the political objectives of most of the terrorist attacks just as in Iraq most of the terrorist attacks are aimed at inflicting fear and passing out a message by making the government uncomfortable which leads the population to be disappointed in the government inability to meet up to the needs of the population.

The terrorist activities in Iraq is something that has both political as well as religious attributes in it, although it became more prominent in the region after the 2003 intervention in Iraq the 9/11 bombings shows that terrorist has been present in the middle east region for a very long time. Terrorist activities in Iraq can be as a result of the propagation of democratization and globalization and at the same time the government failure to meet up to the needs of the population which has increased poverty, unemployment and socio economic hardship in the country has contributed to the presence of terrorist organizations in the country.

The conceptualization focus on answering the following research questions:  
 What are the reasons for Iraq's failure to fight terrorism in the period of 2003-2017?  
 What are the reasons for the emergence of ISIS terrorist group in Iraq?  
 How do Arabic countries affect the behaviors and roles of the Sunni people in Iraq?

Among the articles that have examined the role of Sunni political trends in Iraq, one can mention the following:

Stanski, V. (2005) Linchpin for democracy: "The critical role of civil society in Iraq addressed the cases of Sunnis in Iraq" as part of the research, and this study could be a solution to the relevant problems from this perspective.

Jalal Darshchek and Mohammad Mehdi Maleki, (2014) in a paper titled "The Internal Barriers to Democratization of Iraq after the fall of Saddam", addressed the multifaceted Iraqi structure, and in part of this paper, examined the influence of the Sunni political trend on the political structure Iraq has been dealt with. This article can be inferred from this perspective, but this paper does not mention the specific point of time, and only refers to limited cases and, in this respect, differs from the current research.

In the article entitled "federalism and power triangle (Shiites, Kurds and Sunnis) in the new political structure of Iraq", Firouz Najafi and others examined the Sunni dynasty in Iraq. The role of political actors in the new Iraqi political structure was also determined (Najafi, 2016).

In Bolhasani dissertation entitled "The Islamic fundamentalist role in the violence of modern terrorism and its impact on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran (ISIL, Iraq, 2003-2014)," states that political tensions and the resulting conflicts can cause rise of insecurity in societies and the emergence of security challenges, and ultimately regional crisis. The US government confusion in the Middle East has shaped a struggle, partly reflected in sectarianism and emergence and insecurity in Muslim countries, a crisis that was presented in Iraq by a group called ISIS. The Iraqi

government is a product of sectarian conflicts that rooted in the past performance of foreign interference in the region and paved the way for the continuation of crisis in the region.

In Paykhambardoost's dissertation titled "Terrorism and its impact on US foreign policy in the Middle East after the 9/11 incident, a case study of Iraq" (2014) the author expresses that, looking at the evolution of US foreign policy, in particular since the Cold War, the country has always found its foreign policy based on the definitions of the enemies. In the aftermath of the Cold War and the lack of a stimulus called communism, the US faced a crisis with its foreign policy process. On September 9, 2001, a major terrorist incident at the World Trade Center and the Pentagon building in New York and Washington, rocked capitalism and militarism in the country. As the Islamic extremist group of al-Qaeda was first recognized as the main cause of the incident, US foreign policy quickly emerged as a global response to the global fight against terrorism. This is while the Middle East has long been considered by the US foreign policy designers for geopolitical reasons. With the proposal of a large-scale or broad-based Middle East project in September 2002, the United States sought to bring about radical changes at the level of the Middle East communities and governments to combat terrorism. In this regard, the US military attacked Iraq under the expressed intention of anti-terrorism policies, the promotion of democracy, and as preventive warfare.

Sadeghi, (2008) dissertation entitled "Exploring the Causes of Conflict and Exacerbating Violence in Iraq after Saddam Hussein," states that on March 21, 2003, The United States government, under the guise of slogans such as fighting terrorism and achieving nuclear weapons, peace-making, democracy and freedom, illegally harassed Iraq and occupied its military bases. Following this military strike on the part of the United States and its allies, the Iraqi Ba'ath government was overthrown by Saddam Hussein and a new wave of ethnic and religious violence began in Iraq. The collapse of the Saddam Hussein regime paved the way for the Iraqi people, which could improve or worsen their situation. The invasion is considered one of the



biggest mistakes made by the US government. With a thorough examination of Iraq's political, economic, social and security situation today, it appears that a wide range of internal and external factors, such as the historical component and geopolitical characteristics of the country Iraq, the effects of 9/11, the collapse of Saddam's dictatorship, and the consequences of the vacuum of power and the closed system of civilians, the presence of coalition forces and the delay in the formation of state-nation-building, the presence of great powers and involvement in regional affairs and security implications, religious, economic and cultural affairs of people separated in two broad spectrums of Shiite and Sunni, modernization and secularism and its influence in religion, the role of neighboring countries in post-occupation, and the challenges of national security, regional rival competition, all play a decisive role in solving the mystery of ethnic security in the present-day conditions in Iraq. The main purpose of this research is to identify and categorize the causes and roots of the current Iraqi violence and unrest that will lead hopefully to scientific and practical solutions to escaping the existing conditions. Therefore, this research, with the above mentioned factors, is based on three levels and assuming three factors of sectarian difference (internal level), the collapse of the balance of power (regional level), and America's desire to consolidate the power of hegemony (the systemic or international level) after the fall of Saddam Hussein - is dedicated to identifying and explaining the most important factors contributing to the conflict and sectarian and religious violence in Iraq.

### **1.5 Research Methodology**

The descriptive and analytical methods are used in this research, and the data was collected in a library by first searching in databases and websites, and then in logs and citations from various sources like the, Islamic Research Center, Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies, and finally by referring to the digital libraries. The thesis was prepared with general guidelines of case-research methodology, as the subject involves in-depth, detailed study of a geographical region with regards to elements of society living in that region. While such studies are typically qualitative in nature, and deliver a narration for describing a particular set of complex behaviors or

experiences, case study research is often not used to provide a cause and affect insight. A case study usually does not typically discover. Generalizable truths or deliver foresights either.

Instead, a case study usually focuses on exploration and description of a given phenomenon. That being said, this study tries to explain certain sets of events with regards to current geopolitical situation in the world, and therefore, contains elements of deductive methodology.

A qualitative study fits in a better explores the Iraqi case study because it helps to describe a particular set of complex behaviors or experiences it also explores and describes the phenomenon. Iraq has experience different conflicts as well as wars which as affected its place in the international system. The Iran-Iraq War, Iraq-Kuwait War as well as the 9/11 bombings played an important role in the way the Iraqi state is been perceived by other states. Terrorism has been something that has been ongoing but it became more pronounced after the 9/11 incident. A question is how does it relate Iraq? Terrorism is not just peculiar to Iraq but also to other states in the region.

The aim of the 2003 intervention was mainly to create a democratic state that will serve as an example to other states in the region. But the intervention rather brought about sectarianism and religious conflicts, terrorism, the rise in militias group. The reasons why I choose this topic as a case study is because it stands as a typical example of a state that has been torn by terrorism. Iraq describes and stands as an example of a state that has experienced an intense level of terrorist attacks and activities for years.

This case study will serve as an example to other cases and the aim to find for strategies and better policies that can be profitable in eradicating terrorism not only in Iraq but in other countries that have been torn by terrorist activities. This thesis explores some of the reasons why policies against terrorism don't work or have the demanded and needed impact, it might not

be the case for other states and societies but it encapsulates some of the main reasons.

The reason why this thesis has deductive methodology is because deductive methodology has deductive instruments focusing and is based on capacities available to the international community, there is a need for cooperation among states to fight against terrorism in Iraq and deductive method is suitable for Iraq. Deductive method develops a hypothesis or several hypotheses, which I have included in this thesis. Hypothesis is normally expressed in operational terms to explain the relationship between variables. The hypothesis is tested with the aim of examining the main outcomes and when it is needed the theory will be created according to the findings of the thesis.

The change in government brought about a major change in Iraq in 2003, which led to a political transition this affected all the different sectors and institutions in the country both government own and the ones that are not owned by the government. The intervention in Iraq brought an end to a Sunni dominated government, the impact the 2003 intervention brought into Iraq included terrorism and the rise in sectarianism and religious conflicts, this can be seen in the contention and the different militias groups and the attacks between both the Sunni and the Shiite militias.

Iraq has been exposed so many made as well as naturally imposed disasters one of which is the 2003 intervention which was aimed state building that has brought about terrorism as well as other difficulties which has to do with economic challenges, socio-economic challenges, sectarian, terrorism, religious extremist. This didn't only start at the beginning of the intervention but going back to the Iran Iraq as well as the Iraq-Kuwait war, this brought about different economic sanctions into the country which affected the economic performance of the country. As a result of this the population of Iraq suffered the consequences of its government as well as the decisions' of the international community. Some of the reasons behind some of the economic sanctions are a result of Iraq inability to accept and to work

according to the rules and the norms of the international community, failure to accept the norms and the rules means that the state is a threat to the global peace.

Security is portrayed as a very important aspect of the international system. This can be seen as one of the reasons behind the creation of the European Union which was aimed at containing Germany and to bring about cooperation which will decrease the chances of conflicts as well as another war. That is why any state that stands as a place where terrorism is not been mention as a serious crime is been perceived as a threat to the international system. This can be seen in the relations between the United States and countries in the middle mainly with the aim of containing the Soviet Union ability to have access to the Middle East by winning so many allies. Mainly to avoid the risk of war and to continue to grow states that have liberalism this will encourage cooperation among state stabilize globalization and decrease the chances of wars.

Deductive method mostly focuses on building a system that is transparent an accountable to the population, this explains the reasons why the United States was more interested in creating structure a political system which was aimed at becoming an example to other states in the middle east which will also serve as a place to reduce the chances of more terrorist activities and have a state that respects international norms and regulations, a state that is not only doing its own things and stands out from the international system.. Iraq is a post conflict country which has experienced so many challenges and the creation of a strict system which does not tolerate terrorism is important, because of how terrorist groups and organizations operate. Also as an institutional approach, to respond to the terrorist activities in Iraq this has led to a government failure as well as economic failure in the country. Deductive methodology aims at evaluating disaster response management stemming from war operations and terrorism in Iraq.

The objectives is to enlace a method and make use of a method that enhances disaster response in managing the terrorism in Iraq, the rise in the

number of disasters and incidents that includes terrorism and post conflict state building and intervention, most of this incidents and disaster aim at creation a structure that response to the needs of does that have been affected by the incidents and the disasters. Deductive method aims at achieving a prompt and appropriate assistance and also to reduce vulnerability, and achieve rapid and effective recovery.

### **1.6 Structure of the Chapters**

In the first chapter of this study, the general outlines of the study were presented. In second chapter all the foundations and concepts for the study will be provided. To this end, the theoretical framework of this research (chaos theory) will be examined first, and in the following, the definitions of terror and terrorism will be provided. Militant groups in Iraq connected to the terrorist operations on Iraqi soils in the years 2003-2017 will be introduced next. Iraq's policies on terrorism will be examined afterwards and, after a brief introduction in four areas, the paper will examine cases (such as condemnation of terrorism in the constitution of the Republic of Iraq, the anti-terrorism law in Iraq, International Covenant on the Suppression of Terrorism, and International Assistance for Iraq against Terrorism). In chapters following these, the reasons for the failure of Iraqi policies in the fight against terrorism will be examined, and after a brief introduction to the subject, four issues will be examined in detail, namely the political factors, socio-economic factors, religious factors and lack of military actions. In the final chapter of this study, the previous chapters and findings will be reviewed and, after concluding, suggestions will be presented.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **TERRORISM IN IRAQ**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The world has faced many challenges since September 9, 2001, and these challenges have caused a lot of change in the countries that were exposed. These challenges appeared on a variety of levels, including economic, political and security subjects, but the most influential of these challenges were political, economic, and social ones. Gradually these changes spread too many countries of the world and left a deep impression on different areas of life. These challenges have also changed the foreign policies of many countries, most of which were dictated by security situations along with certain political and economic realities of these countries, as well as the development of tools and methods related to the subject. The changes occurred and spread from one goal to another and from one environment to another. The phenomenon of terrorism has attracted particular attention in the regional and international circles, especially after the multiplicity and increased temporal and locational diversity of terrorist operations, as well as differences of opinion regarding the approaches to defining terrorism. Defining terrorism requires a substantive and thematic approach, and there exists differences in the classification of terrorism acts with other concepts such as political violence, guerrilla warfare, armed struggle, and political crimes. In this study, in order to clarify this phenomenon and to get acquainted with the theoretical framework, it examined cases such from the viewpoint of the chaos theory, and the definition of terror and terrorism, militant groups in Iraq, and the main causes of terrorist operations on Iraqi soil in 2017- 2003 are all inspected in this perspective.

## **2.2 Definition of Terror and Terrorism**

Terrorism is the most vague and in the realm of action, one of the most complex phenomena that mankind has ever faced and is severely suffering from a semantic, epistemological and methodological crisis. Until now, there is no single, comprehensive, and preventive definition of terrorism epistemologically and ontologically in the academic and political circles of the world, which is the basis for the joint and coordinated action of governments and international organizations. Perhaps for this reason, there is still no understanding and insight on the global elements of terrorism. On the one hand, it seems that one of the reasons why terrorism is not defined as a comprehensive and unstated barrier is to make a commitment, and countries do not want to commit themselves under any responsibility beyond their national interests in combating terrorism. Some governments are reluctant to cooperate against international terrorism due to their national security concerns. They leave the terror sources alone, fearing that they will be victims and targets terrorist attacks. Therefore, there has not been any universal and unanimous definition of this emergence so far the result of this is the unilateral measures of government and chaos. Unfortunately, theories based on "the evil of terrorism" by governments to maintain their own interests continue to live because it gives them more freedom to pursue policies that are seemingly in place to counteract terrorism, but instead deal with the interests of foreign policy (Fleming, Peter and Stoll, Michael 2005). In fact, providing a brief definition of terrorism, which all the governments and organizations agree on, is similar to that of Rumi's old story: "Three people wanted to put an elephant in a large dark room, and tried to describe it while each one touched one part of the elephant's body. Each of them, based on their perception, introduced a different conception of reality." This is the case when different organizations or countries try independently to define terrorism (Qadri, 2011.p.153).

In this case, any definition reflects the mission, interests, or tasks of the immediate organization of the definition.

The concept of terrorism, due to the fluidity of its definition and its dependence on global powers, such as the NATO and EU treaties, will be

labeled by terrorism for any group or country that opposes the policies of the authorities. Therefore, the criteria in this regard are ambiguous and the definition of the variable "terrorism" depends on the interests of hegemony and dominant power. So it seems unlikely that terrorism can be given an exact shape based on such a pattern. Our age, like many other ages of human history, is in the epistemology of a crisis of power influence in the interpretation of words and concepts. Michel Foucault explains this in the "power critique" of the relationship between epistemology (epistemological foundations) and power: "In pre-modern times, the naming of objects was subject to the essence of objects, but after the modern age, the clarity of naming gradually becomes a contract, which means, it began to tend to be general. If that's the case, then what are the customary conventions that, by definition, determine the relationship between the sign and the signifier? Foucault believes that "dominant power determines the dominant discourse and determines the sign and signifier. The modern society also called for the rational tradition and the norm. But who are the rational and what is rational? While such a custom extends from an age to another and differs from place to place, this custom is governed by ground and space. Therefore, it is the power that determines who is wise and who is mad"(Reifer, 2016.p.45). For this reason, Foucault speaks of the concept of breaking the wisdom formations and their lack of relation with each other (and the historical breakdown). Accordingly, he argues that "Power produces reality" (Reifer, 2016.p.45).

In his own words: "The whole life is power ... There is no truth out of power or lacking in power... The truth is that Yemen produces different forms of coercion and preserves the regular effects of power. Every society has its truth and general policy about the truth" (Foucault, 1972.p.55).

Therefore, power in any period and era independently regulates the reality of the same period. Foucault decides the main subject of discourse and the rules of any discourse, shape discursive actions (intellectual, practical, values, norms, and everything) (Foucault, 1972.p.58).



Accordingly, the phenomenon of terrorism, as well as other phenomena, is interpreted and understood from the perspective of the perceiver, which requires a dominant discourse and perceptual environmental space. Therefore, terrorism has its own definition in every discourse, which of course dominant power tries to dominate its perception and discourse on terrorism in the world. Therefore, expanding the concept of terrorism, in all respects, to all defensive and patriotic measures and providing a very weak and heterogeneous pattern whose only logic governs is "the dominant discourse of the dominant power", is actually to generalize the actions of the American government and its policy-making problems.

Maybe it's based on the fact that Noam Chomsky considers terrorism as a powerful weapon, not weak. In his opinion, Americans have been struggling to dismiss and destroy major American residents over the last two hundred years, while Europe's history has been more catastrophic than American history. He accused the United States of creating a state-of-the-art terrorist network that brutally acts around the world. Reagan's war against Nicaragua led to the killing of tens of thousands and the destruction of the country. When the International Hague Tribunal decided to prosecute the United States for the illegal use of force, which Chomsky says is another interpretation of terrorism, the United States did not accept the jurisdiction of the court to deal with this case, and the United Nations Security Council Resolution also called for veto law to comply with international law. Even when Nicaragua became a member of the General Assembly, it did not get any results due to the negative American vote. Chomsky concludes that such measures, in a world dominated by force and power, are ineffective.

Hence, terrorism is a powerful weapon, and if we consider it a weapon of weakness, we are in a mistake. Of course, terrorism may not be considered terrorism because the organization of the ideology is at the disposal of the powerful, and this phenomenon is only considered as a weapon of weakness.

In the framework of the radical approach, Chomsky believes that if there is only one common feature among the definitions of terrorism as “the killing of civilians for political ends” no country has committed terrorist acts like the United States did. In his view, it is a custom and formulation within the framework of political discourse that allows the dissemination of ideas that consider assassinations a weak weapon against the powerful. However, we must not forget that the powerful war on terror that results in the killing of most civilians is itself an example of terrorism. In fact, the regular war on terror with advanced and destructive weapons is sacrificed over irregular terrorist wars (Chomsky, 1990.p.310).

In this way, terrorism is one of the vague terms in the international arena, due to the complexity of its concept and its examples with a kind of "crisis of meaning" in defining and constraining its territory. The definitions of terrorism and its dimensions are based on discursive and propagandistic constructs, rather than conforming to objectivity and accepting the duality of value / reality (Soleimani, 2006.p.36).

Thus, achieving a comprehensive (scientific) definition of terrorism, taking into account the chain of transformation of reality, is based on the creation of discourse on social fabric, which is borderline impossible. In fact, when the external reality of terrorist acts is considered to be preferable propositions and discourses in a particular historical period, the ground for its socialization is provided, and gradually a "notion" of terrorism/terrorists will be formed, and it won't easily be damaged.

Thus, under the influence of the heavy shadow of discourse, constructivists believe that the point of departure and the analysis unit on terrorism are not the terrorists and their acts, but the notions that they are “created” as threats and as "others", and within the framework of patterns of friendship and hostility. In such a context, the introduction of any definition and redefinition of terrorism will be a strong tendency toward our metaphorical expression. This desire for transatlantic prairies has always been accompanied by discursive violence. In other words, as far as we step in our metaphysical

territory, and as long as the discourse begins to move forward, we are subjected to violence that Foucault calls violence against, and it's indeed the worst kind of violence.

In fact, no process can relieve itself of the problems encountered by the science of terrorism, and ultimately, each constitutes itself scientific and others as theorems referred to other discourses. Terrorism thus conveys the uncomfortable feelings, and the knowledge about it is not very meaningful and does not refer to the actual and specific meaning, but instead is used to describe violence that is used, with words like "immoral" and "inhumane". Perhaps one of the reasons why no group has ever referred a terrorist propaganda systematically is that terrorism is more like a political model for the destruction and violation instead of being a source of governance.

In international law studies of terrorism, there are no more frequent or controversial words than Professor Richard Baxter's words: "We are right to regret that the legal concept of terrorism is so disturbing to us. This term is not precise and is ambiguous, and above all, it serves no objective legal purpose" (Baxter, 1974.p.5).

Therefore, the international community has not yet been able to reach a comprehensive definition regarding the terrorism, which causes a hurdle. Due to lack of an acceptable definition by all, a lack of a common understanding and between the peoples regarding the terrorism also emerges. This is due to the fact that the definition of each actor is derived from their own interests and national security concerns. Hence, the definition of terrorism is full of political differences and variations, and it is not indifferent. "The one who is a terrorist from the viewpoint of a person is a freedom fighter from another" (Chinlund, 2003.p.8).

Therefore, the absence of a reliable and central core, which everyone could adhere to and obey, causes chaos in the meaning of terrorism. With these interpretations, finding a single meaning for the phenomenal political dream would be almost impossible.

Of course, in defending the human rights framework, there is a minimal meaning of terrorism in relation to the attack on civilians, which there is very little normative discrepancy about it. This principle is at the heart of the overall structure of international human rights and humanitarian law, and is carried out regardless of the motives or political ends of those committing them.

The root term "terror" means the behaviors and actions of a person or group who, by creating fear, panic, and the use of force, wants to achieve their political goals. Also, violent and illegal actions of governments to suppress their opponents are referred to as state terrorism (Alizadeh, 1998.p.270). Some also refer to the word "assassination" from the Greek word "Tras", which means "terror" and "Tres" or "Ters" in Latin, and the word "fear" in Persian is used in the same sense today. In Arabic, verb means "fear" (Leader al-Shayi: feared), and the word "Rebeh" means fear and phrases, orphans, phrases, and all three means "frightening" and "scare" in Arabic. Terrorist governments refer to regimes that rule over their oppositions through fascist practices, and through terror and merciless killing of their opponents. Terror is commonly referred to in political assassinations as well, which, of course, is not the true meaning of the word. The term "terrorist acts" is often used instead of political killings. International terrorism is a term used to provide political purposes at the international level (Toloui, 1994.p.353).

Contemporary Arabs use al-Ahraq instead of assassination, and this word in French means horror. The rule of assassination was also the foundations of a revolutionary government that emerged in France after the fall of the Gironde's (from May 31, 1793 to July 1794), during which there were many political executions, known as "terror". In terms of political culture, assassination means "horror" and "panic". In politics, it refers to the practice of government or groups that frighten up to preserve power or fight against the state by special actions (Darling, 2014.p.407).

Nevertheless, terrorism as a "scandalous terrorist system" is not a new phenomenon. One of the oldest known examples of terrorist movements is the "kayak movement". Sikari was a highly organized religious sect, consisting of men of the lower class of the ancient Palestinian Jewish community, who were active in the struggle for fanatics who opposed the domination of the Romans in Palestine (Reich, 2002.p.17).

It is obvious that every killing and rape, and murders that are forbidden and punishable by reprisal and retaliation, are not considered terror: that is, it is not like that two people fight and kill one another, and this can be considered a terror act. In Islamic jurisprudence and law, whether Islamic law or non-Islamic rights, this does not mean assassination. So the assassination is not equivalent to the killing or rape of the people.

There is little difference between the two concepts of "terror" and "terrorism," except that terrorism is the mode of organization, the formation, the infrastructure and the systematization of the same assassination. To put it more precisely, terrorism is the theory of the act of assassination and is, in fact, a terrorist act. Therefore, terrorism is the same as the organization of the network and the set-up of the desired action. And the suffix "ism" also means the same. That is, the method, the school, or a procedure, or a basis for a torrent and based on which to assassinate. In fact, terrorism represents a kind of current that, unlike the assassination, which is an individual and punitive act and is carried out in the short term, is a grouped, organized, and continuous flow that covers more diverse goals.

Therefore, terrorism is neither a single act nor an emotional reaction, but a collective action that arises from being organized as a kind of political or even military strategy. In this sense, terrorism is a stream that seeks to advance its perspectives with the military help of violent horror. Terrorism is organized and usually transnational. The dangers are far more than individual ones, and the fight against it also requires effective cooperation between all countries. Obviously, this cooperation can be effective if the unfortunate fact that some countries suffer from terrorism, and other countries endorse

terrorism through shady organizations in some countries, can be avoided. Sometimes a country could even approve terrorism, but they would be risking future deals with the receiving end of terrorism against themselves, or their allies and their friends (Qaderi, 2013.p.17).

Another measure that can be used to distinguish terrorism is the type and purpose of the selected targets. Accordingly, assassination is a surprising and sudden act of killing the enemy. But terrorism is defined with a political, social and action essence beyond a surprising murder. In fact, in terrorism, murder or horror is not necessarily directed at the victim or the victimized population, but is intended to endanger the crowd and the larger society with intimidation and inaction through aggression and plurality, in order to achieve its goals (Khamay, 2002.p.19).

Therefore, terrorist acts are "horrific" and "violence-based", as well as "non-targeting" and, generally, the non-relevance of targets to the terrorists. "Kill them to terrorize them." This is the basis of the philosophy of terrorism. With a few dead victims, there are a lot of terrified live hostages.

Today, some government officials are trying to stick the label of terrorism to all their opponents, so the misuse of the "terrorist" label is very common. Examples of such actions include Philippine President (Gloria Ayoro), who said he would deal with people who illegally cut trees in the eastern provinces of the Philippines as terrorists. US Secretary of Education (Rod Paige) February 2004 announced that the National Center for Education has behaved like a terrorist organization and has resisted the status quo for schools. Also, the Indian Prevention of Terrorism Act states: "Any attempt to threaten the unity, integrity, security or sovereignty of India is a terrorist act." In this way, all opposition parties will also be among the terrorists. In any case, the opposition is by definition against the actions of the ruling government. John Murphy believes that, without asking to deny the important benefits of regional cooperation, we must acknowledge that some states easily label each other as "terrorist" under the pretext of their opponents however, it seems one of the reasons why terrorism can still find ways and

spread is that it makes sense to create a commitment to stop it, but countries do not want to commit themselves under any responsibility beyond their own interests and national security in the fight against terrorism.

Of course, although the definition of terrorism is difficult because of the ontological and epistemological contradictions between states and different perceptions of national interests and national security, the proposed definition can be as follows: "Terrorism is a violent and terrifying act (due to its sudden and surprising nature) and at the same time is conscious and organized with goals and intentions generally political, ideological, and even economic, socio-cultural, individually. A terror act can be collective and is done by any means possible (because the means justify the ends!) against the innocents, and civilian population is often the victim (random selection or targeting of civilians is one of the characteristics and criteria of terrorist acts) even though they are not the main targets. "(Mostaghimi, & Ghaderi, 2011.p.218) more precisely, the product of the terrorist process is not the material invasion of the victim, but the psychological impact, influence and change of the behavior of the objective being. As a result, terrorist victims, which may be a person, group or even religious, cultural, economic, political entities, are carefully selected (not indistinguishable or blindly) so as to maximize their psychological impact on the goal. This is achieved by selecting victims with a symbolic significance for the targeted entity. Some examples of terrorist acts are bombing, hostage taking, kidnapping, piracy (undermining maritime security), and airway hijackings (hurting air and aviation security). There is not much difference between states regarding the acceptance of such acts as terrorist crimes. Therefore, all criminal acts are not called acts of terror, although terror is considered a crime.

According to Walter Laqueur, Terrorism is the use or the threat of the use of use of violence, a method of combat, or strategy to achieve certain targets it aims to induce a state of fear in the victim, that is ruthless and does not conform with humanitarian rules, publicity is an essential factor in the terrorist strategy.

Walter Laquer definition of terrorism as the use or the threat of the use violence as method which aims at inducing fear to its victims is the same as some of the strategies that are been used by terrorist organizations in Iraq mainly with the aim of inducing fear into the population totally against humanitarian rules.

According to John Philip Jenkins terrorism the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective terrorism has been practiced by political organizations with both rightist and leftist objectives, by nationalistic and religious groups, by revolutionaries, and even by state institutions such as armies, intelligence services, and police (Schmid, 2011.p.88).

John Philip Jenkins defines terrorism as a strategy that is used by terrorist organization to create an atmosphere of fear with a political objective this explains that most terrorist activities contain political objective, that is to say that political groups as well as religious groups make use of terrorism to attend their political or religious objective this can be seen in the way religious groups as well as political actors serve as a catalyst of terrorist activities in Iraq.

According to Bruce Hoffman terrorism is ineluctably political in aims and motives, violent or equally important, threatens violence, designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target, conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia), and perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity.

Bruce Hoffman terrorist activities are have political objectives with a long term motive of which its roots cannot be identified this definitions explains how the minds of the population is been captured by the information given to them. The case of Iraq some of the terrorist organizations make use of these strategies mostly to portray to the population how incompetent the



government is this further increases division in the country as well as its used as a medium to recruit terrorist in Iraq.

Also According to organizational definition of terrorism is based on the need for countries to unite in other to fight terrorism, the League of Nations defines terrorism all criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public, some of this terrorist actions can be in the form of violence, force, threat, or it can be through the use of force with political end this can be through coercion, extortion, intimidation, or trying to force the other party in other to achieve their desired objective this can be directed to either the government or an organization this actions are criminal in nature and mostly criminals, civilians, non-combatants, non-resistant, neutrals or outsiders are the principal victims (Ruby, 2002.p.298).

The international organization definition of terrorism identifies the need for corporation by states in order to tackle terrorism because of the fact that terrorism has the capacity to spillover territories and no country is immune to terrorism it at the same time shows that most terrorist activities contain political objectives aimed at inducing violence in the country. The international organization explains that terrorism is not aimed at only the population but the government as well this can be seen in the terrorist activities in Iraq where government infrastructures are been destroyed is a two way thing both the government as well as the population of Iraq are been attacked.

### **2.3 The Theoretical Framework: Chaos Theory**

The rational views of a state-centered paradigm do not pay attention to the phenomenon of the new wars, and as a result there are a few theoretical literatures around it. Walter Lacquer, in *New Terrorism*, sees the new violence as the fourth wave of terrorism that has a religious background. Lacquer does not accept the phenomenon of new wars by plotting various stages of terrorism (Laqueur, 2000.p.8).

Brzezinski states in the book "Choosing Leadership with Global Domination", in the context of current state-owned weapons of mass destruction, the tendency towards limited wars is centered on minority groups. In line with Brzezinski's remarks, Luleen proposes a proxy war approach with limited US intervention in the Middle East, relying on the regional forces, whose slogan "helping others to help themselves" is in this direction (Lujan, 2013.p.37).

In his chaos theory, Castells describes this change in his IT intelligence paradigm and Marie Calder, as an example in the "Thoughts of New Warfare". This theory is one of the few new ideas that fully and completely illustrate the design of the new infrastructure that is taking place in the context of those new wars. This theory follows the ideas of globalization, and in fact believes that globalization is one of the reasons that led to chaos and contributed to it. The frequent occurrence of new developments and their transformation into patterns that are considered as state-centered paradigms of anomaly has led to the realization of this theory. As Freud and Janman believed, the presence, capability and durability of a large number of new issues and subordinate processes, and a distinctly new and different state government, is the main cause of the lamentation of the loss of the ability to conceptualize, model, and comprehend the events of today's world (soltani, & Vosoughi, 2017.p.9).

The theory of chaos is necessary to understand the new conditions, and it is necessary to understand three themes to understand chaos theory. First, the present era is a historical milestone. Second, the two types of global macroeconomic structures refer to the formation of "two worlds of world politics": the state-centered world alongside the multi-centered world. Finally, the change in the level of reason is that the analytical and emotional skills of adults in all countries are being strengthened (Israel, 2012.p.79).

These three themes, coupled with the impact of new technologies that make the world more interdependent every day, have caused the world's politics to undergo such a transformation that the past experiences are not as useful and we are faced with a new paradigm. The theory of chaos sees the end of

the Second World War as the beginning of a new paradigm. Castells and Toffler have considered the same historical period as a great beginning in the beginning of the new era. Especially the late twentieth century is one of the rarest periods of history that gives rise to a new paradigm (Castells, & Cardoso, 2006.p.8).

In the theory of chaos or instability, it is believed that in all the phenomena there are points where a slight change in them will cause enormous changes, in this regard, economic, political, social and organizational systems such as atmospheric systems They have a licensed effect, and analysts need to be aware of this important point in analyzing and regulating issues. Regarding Iraq and other countries in the region, religious, linguistic and political areas that cause chaos in the political atmosphere of the country are available. For example, as the Pashtun tribal Taliban was able to seek refuge in Pakistan's Pakistani tribal ties and easily resolve and support Pakistani Pashtuns, geocaching agents contributed to ISIS in northern Iraq, Jabhat al-Nusra and other existing groups are available For example, the religious fabric of Iraq and the operational records of the al-Qaeda-affiliated extremist groups, the Ba'athis, and other fields of support and support for IS. Even in the past few years, as Iraqi and American officials estimate, the number of Arab fighters under the command of Zarqawi is about 1,000, some believed Zarqawi had at least five thousand full-time warlords with twenty thousand supporters in Iraq. The current situation in Iraq seems to have exacerbated a significant part of the Sunni Iraqi society, especially the former Ba'athists, and this would potentially put them in the hands of this extremist group and other extremist Jihadist groups. Give On the other hand, the Sunni Arabs make up about 18% of the Iraqi population. Even when they were ruling oligarchs, they were always pessimistic about the majority of Shiites who are centered especially in the south. This led to the emergence of rivalry and political power and dissatisfaction with the central government of Iraq, and, on the other hand, the field of convergence with extremist groups and the baptism of the former Ba'this with the extremists of ISIS. The main reason for this convergence has been geo cultural trends and riots and irregularities in the internal political arena that led to terrorist incidents following the fall of

Saddam in 2003. Therefore, the chaos theory in the context of studying Iraq's policy on terrorism in the years 2003 to 2017 and the reasons behind the failure of this policy can help us. Considering the issues outlined below, the theory of chaos will be examined.

### **2.3.1 Transformation of Resources**

In the theory of chaos, the sources of metamorphism are divided into endogenous and exogenous sources. The underlying sources of change are five-fold. One driving force is the move from industrial orders to post-industrial-oriented IT, making it easy to cut distances and transfer ideas. The second source of global change is the emergence of issues such as pollution of the atmosphere, terrorism, and the spread of violence that is the product of intense interdependence, and new technologies that have a transnational Range and therefore are different from the issues of the world before.

The third force is the reduction in the ability of governments to solve problems, as these problems are new and not within their competence limits. In this situation, we are faced with fragile states or "nation states in the cage of globalization"(Lakić, 2011.p.6).

Fourth, with weakening of the whole systems (governments), subgroup's has been strengthened, which itself leads to decentralization tendencies. Finally, the feedback from these four effects on the world's adults is that important people, such as the leaders, and the governments, are incapable of handling these problems correctly (Rosenau, 2018.p.114).

The practical effect of this evolution is to increase the individuals' ability to recognize, express the benefits, and participate effectively in collective action in a level beyond the state-oriented framework.

The theory believes that this change has three external sources, the first of which is the pressures resulting from the massive transformation of the structure and volume of population in recent decades. The second is the change in the access and distribution of natural resources associated with

energy production. The third is the result of the development of technology in all areas of human endeavor, which is the most powerful external source (Bell, 1974.p.107).

One of the features of the new era is the emergence of new actors alongside the government. In the new paradigm, five actors in the macro level and three actors in the micro level are active. At the micro level, the first actor is a citizen who is a member of a large group that can be mobilized and controlled. The second actor is the person who leads the big crowd, which is the leader of the organization. The third actor at the small level is a private actor who is able to independently take action through the new conditions.

At the macro level, governments, sub-groups and transnational organizations are hierarchical; the fourth type of actor is the non-dominant people who have radical tendencies that are always prone to activation. This unrecognizable upsurge can cause a pervasive change.

Movements are the fifth type of actors. These two recent actors have the greatest impact on the transformations of the new world and are indicative of a change in the world today. The developments in West Asia (the rise and spread of IS) and the Wall Street movement in the United States indicate the power of the two actors. In this context, military instruments are no longer monopolies on governments. Brzezinski believes that weapons of mass destruction may not be monopolized by the state but other players may achieve it. Governments also wouldn't use them considering the destructive capacity of the weapon. Hence, the likelihood of a war between states is unlikely to increase, and the battle between sub-groups or the state with subgroups becomes more commonplace using conventional weapons. Hence, in this new paradigm, we face a new kind of wars (Brzezinski, 2005. p.38).

### **2.3.2 The New War**

The chaos theory also refers to the change in the nature of violence and emergence of new wars. In defining new wars, their features should be

considered. New actors, especially sub-groups such as terrorist groups, play a role in these wars. New wars have effects such as changes in actors, civilian casualties, and the development of a war economy. Actors of tensions have changed from states to non-states in the current era and created extra-state wars where there is no possibility of differentiating between civilians and terrorists, resulting in high civilian casualties. Brzezinski believes that the decisive strife is more widespread than organized and prolonged official wars (Kaldor, 2013.p.45).

In fact, the new war is a kind of violence caused by a change in the nature of power, in which actors other than states rely on multinational armies with religious and ethnic ideologies that go beyond the boundaries of states to battle for their demands. And in this way, it supplies its resources through the plundering of foreign resources and foreign aids.

The political goals of the new wars are about traditional identities such as religion and culture. As Brzezinski also believes, the most stable subgroup that can't easily be eradicated is the terrorism based on ethnicity and religion. Violence is not only their tool for achieving the goal, but it is basically the reason for it. ISIL is a prominent example of this situation. Participation in these wars is low due to the lack of gains and lack of legitimacy on both sides of the war. Hence, these wars are heavily dependent on the looting of domestic resources and foreign aid, or by governments or non-state actors. In these wars, violence against civilians is ultimately enforced (Münkler, 2005.p.49).

Hence the use of the psychological warfare weapon in this type of violence is prominent. Another hallmark of these battles is the media saturation and soft power core. In these battles, the main battle scenes occur in the media area and physical actions as a theater for the audience around the world will be displayed. In this situation it is very difficult to distinguish the right from false. Hence, in these wars, terrorists strongly rely on the technological developments that the chaos theory emphasizes (Ebelshäuser, 2013.p.383).

## **2.4 Militant Groups in Iraq**

Iraq has long been witnessing the growth of guerrilla groups since the Saddam Hussein's long dictatorship over the country, but these militant groups have played a different role in the Iraqi political arena then they play today. They now play a destructive role and destroy infrastructures, they loot and massacre, and some of them are even candidates to help Iraqi government fight terrorism.

In a close look at the phenomenon of militancy in Iraq, after the collapse of Saddam in 2003, the country suddenly faced with the growth of mushroom-type paramilitary militias. They were prepared, fed, or supported by Ba'athists who was trying to regain power by fighting the central government of Iraq. After intensifying the activities of these terrorist groups, militants who once blamed Saddam Hussein for use weapons did not put their own weapons away, so Iraq was once again baptized with new dictators. Although the activity of paramilitary groups has declined significantly since 2011, the rise of ISIS provided an excuse to intensify the activities of various military forces in Iraq, which are mainly classified into three categories: Sunni militant groups, Shiite militant groups and Kurdish militant groups (Hassanzadeh, 2008.p.20).

### **2.4.1 Sunni Terrorist Groups**

The Iraqi Army suffered some security shortcomings after 2011 and the completion of the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq. Iraqi army, which was just beginning to stand on its feet, was not prepared to respond to security threats. The same motive prompted some Iraqi militant groups that were severely weakened to begin their activities again to overthrow the Iraqi government led by Nouri al-Maliki at that time. Among these militant groups were Saddam's supporters and the Ba'ath Party of Iraq, as well as Takfiri extremists who were supported by al-Qaeda (Shariati, 2015.p.51).

#### **2.4.1.1 Al-Qaeda / Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant / Islamic**

Al-Qaeda's political ideology in Iraq is rooted in the Islamic discourse among the Sunnis that has been formed over the past three decades and has been named after the jihadist Salafism (Gulmohamad, 2014.p.5). The main goal in Salafi's thinking is to purify the religion from the common thoughts. According to the Salafis, these thoughts have come to Islam in the course of time, and they have caused divine punishments. The need to remove polytheism from the body of Islam is a return to the principle of monotheism, as it was posited by the Prophet of God and in the Qur'an. In their view, the great examples of Shirk Akbar are the worship of idols, and the holiest of some people. They regard the Shiites in particular as idolaters, apostate peoples, and religionists because of what they regard as excessive respect for the people of the Prophet Muhammad (Laub, & Masters, 2014.p.12).

Another group of Muslims who, according to jihadist Salafis, have been infected with polytheism are proponents of democracy. They consider this group to be idolatrous for violating the sovereignty of the religion. This aspect of monotheism has been raised by thinkers like Syed Qutb and Abu'l-Al-Maywood, saying that as creator of the universe, only the God who can declare in law what rights and vices are. Thus, from the viewpoint of the jihadist Salafis, any state who rejects the sovereignty of God must be an apostate. Another point to be noted is that, while other Salafists have a very strict process for declaring Takfir, jihadi Salafis have set very high standards in this regard. They believe that "anyone who speaks a word or performs a practice that indicates blasphemy is considered to be an apostasy for this word or act, even if he does not intend to achieve her apostasy in this way" (Liang, 2015.p.8).

The principle of Alwali and al-Barra, which is a relatively recent transformation in the Sunni Islamic thought, was initially considered the head of the Hanbali religion in religion. But with the advent of Sunni scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah in the 13th century, the holy Quran has become one of the basic principles of the thinking of the Salafist jihadists. The interpretation of Holy Quran from al-Wali and al-Barra brings about a relationship between the



pilgrimage and monotheism, which "condemns the political leaders of Islamic countries to the duty of the Muslims who do not escape from them." Instead of declaring loyalty to them, Moghadasi emphasizes that Muslims are obliged, because of the principles of their religion, to denounce their political leaders who have no practical commitment to Islam (Liang, 2015.p.8).

After the fall of Saddam, al-Qaeda has become Iraq's most important and bloodiest Sunni militant group in Iraq. This group, which originated directly from al-Qaeda and has been known as al-Qaeda in Iraq, was guided by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an initiator of Jordan. Zarqawi was murdered by the US airstrike during the military operation in 2006 in the middle of Iraq. A few years ago, the assembly of al-Qaeda altered its name and has been replaced by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and in 2014 its name was called the Islamic State, and its leadership, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, called himself a Muslim caliph and published a map of his caliphate. The CIA began its ISIS work early on, estimated that the terrorist group had succeeded in gathering 20 to 30 thousand militants. Since 2013, the terrorist group has continued its operations in Iraq and managed to take control of parts of Iraq. In this regard, the group has brought a lot of material and spiritual damage to Iraq, and has lost hundreds of thousands of defenseless citizens, apart from the devastation that has been left (Tønnessen, 2015.p.48).

#### **2.4.1.2 Naqshbandi Terrorist Group and Saddam's Commanders**

Some members of militant groups are composed of members of the Ba'ath Party or the military of this period of Iraq. Some of these groups have maintained their independence, but mostly have close ties with ISIL. These include the Revolutionary Brigade of 1920, the Islamic Army of Iraq, and most notably Naqshbandi. Naqshbandi was formed in Ninawa province, and then it became one of the most bloodthirsty militant groups in Iraq, alongside ISIL. In mid-2012, the group conducted deadly attacks against the base of US forces in northern Iraq. Naqshbandi are under the leadership of Ezat al-Duri, a former Saddam Hussein (Karimi, 2015.p.5).

The Naqshbandi arrangement is also recognized as the Arabic acronym Army of the Men of the Naqshband (JRTN). JRTN, grounded in the governorate of Nineveh, was designated by the United States as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO). The assemblies in the previously described organization disagree with the philosophy of the Islamic state association, but superficially, collaborate it as a Sunni organization contradicted the central government of Iraq. The JTRN attacks on US bases in the north of Iraq seem to have subsidized to the Foreign Ministry's resolution to stop the Kirkuk consulate. In February 2013, the Sunnis connected with JRTN printed admiration for the objections from the highest character in Saddam's regime still at high authority, Izzat Ibrahim al-Douri. Counter-Government announcements were purport tilde liver throughout the Islamic State's outbreak in 2014. Iraqi administrator's state that they slaughtered my patrol during a fight in the north of Iraq in the beginning of May 2015, nevertheless that claim is still undecided. A large number of Saddam Hussein's anterior military majors activate under a distinct arrangement named the General Military Council of Iraqi Insurrectionists, which comprises troops from Sunni ethnic group and other earlier dissident figures. A number of the prior soldierly colonels are supposed to be serving the Islamic state by offering premeditated and planned military preparation (Raufer, 2016.p.49).

The Sunni Shi'a tribe, most of whose members support Saddam Hussein, has played a direct role in recent bloody clashes in Iraq. The group wants to overthrow the Shiite regime of Nouri al-Maliki and to cause divisions between Sunnis and Shiites. After ISIS, the largest group is among the Sunni insurgents. The leadership of this group, with the dignity of Ibrahim al-Duri, is one of Saddam Hussein's chief vice presidents, and is considered the most important Ba'athist group in Iraq (Ahmad, 2016.p.332).

As tensions and worries begin from the start of a new civil war in Iraq, the Naqshabandi group, which was considered a supporter of Saddam Hussein, is likely to take power. The Sunni and nationalist Naqshabandi group seeks to defend the rights of the Sunni minority in Iraq against the Shiite majority of the country. Given that not all Sunnis are following the Naqshabandi regime,

this group has created a separate organization to attract all Ba'athis, all of which have been gathered under a single umbrella called the "General Council of the Iraqi Revolutionary Guards." Although the group has not confessed to cooperating with ISIL, it is clear that the Nash-e-Shi tribe and its affiliated groups have collaborated with ISIL not only in Mosul, but in Tikrit and Diyala.

From these collaborations it can be guessed that the goal of the Naqshabandi is to align with the Islamic State, and in the long run to overcome this group and move towards a revival of the Ba'athist regime similar to that of Saddam Hussein. Naqshabandi's Tariqat avoids referring directly to ISIL, and it is clear that in the current circumstances, it does not want a full-fledged engagement with this group. But both sides are mistrusting each other because of extreme differences in their worldviews (Wege, 2018.p.271).

#### **2.4.2 Shiite Militant Groups**

The number of Shiite militias present in Iraq is much higher than the Sunni militant numbers under Saddam's tyranny. But now the Iraqi Shiites are specifically in the hands of two paramilitary groups.

A smaller Shiite Islamist organization, the Islamic Amal (Action) Organization, is headed by Ayatollah Mohammed Taqi Modarassi, a relatively moderate Shiite cleric who returned from exile in Iran after Saddam fell. Islamic Amal's power base is in Karbala, and, operating under the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) umbrella, it conducted attacks there against regime organs in the 1980s. Islamic Amal does not appear to have a following nearly as large as do SCIRI or Da'wa. Modarassi's brother, Abd al-Hadi, headed the Islamic Front for the Liberation of Bahrain, which stirred Shiite unrest against Bahrain's regime in the 1980s and 1990s. Islamic Amal won 2 seats in the January 30 election. A variety of press reports say that some other Shiite militias are operating in southern Iraq. One such militia is derived from the fighters who challenged Saddam Hussein's forces in the southern marsh areas, around the town of Amara, north of Basra. It goes by

the name Hezbollah-Iraq and it is headed by guerrilla leader Abdul Karim Muhammad awe, who was on the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). Hizbollah-Iraq apparently plays a major role in policing Amara and environs (Knights, 2010.p.11).

#### **2.4.2.1 Jaish al-Mahdi (Military arm of Sadr Movement)**

Jaish al-Mahdi was formed in 2003 by Muqtada al-Sadr, who is known as a nationalist cleric, to combat the presence of Americans in Iraq. Muqtada Sadr was the opposition to Nouri al-Maliki, and in 2012 was one of the politicians who were trying to impeach him. However, Muqtada al-Sadr declared on the eve of 2014 parliamentary elections that he would withdraw himself from the political arena. But his party members continued to work in the cabinet. The military wing of the group continued to operate until the withdrawal of the US forces, but in 2011, Muqtada al-Sadr issued a decree ordering the end of Jaish Al-Mahdi's operation, now called "Lava al-'um al-Mamoud". This group received weapons under the name of Sariyas-al-Islam (peace blocs) very soon after ISIL emerged and Ayatollah Sistani issued a decree of jihad against ISIL. The Sariyah-al-Salam group first announced its goal of protecting the mosques and sacred places of Shiites and Sunni Iraqis, but later participated in various operations in areas such as Samarra, Diyala, Amrli and Jurf al-Sahr (Rahimi, 2010.p.10).

Furthermore, Sadr is deliberated as an Iraqi “separatist” who did not participated in exile in the course of Saddam’s authority, and his supporters is predominantly strong as compared to other minor ethnic groups of Shiites. Sadr has occasionally attempted to approach from Sunni leaders in an exertion to determine antagonism to sectarianism and strengthen his pro-independence identifications. Sadr’s declared patriotism in brief clarifies his obstruction to the United States for the majority of the period for remaining U.S. military bases in Iraq. Sadr started to compose his large Mahdi Army paramilitaries in the early of last decade to struggle against the U.S. military attendance in Iraq, and U.S. soldier scatted numerous major encounters with the Mahdi Armed forces and a side-shoot, termed the “Distinctive Groups,”

between 2004 and 2008. Sadr achieved a plan for increasing protests and intimidations of armed accomplishment by soldiers under his governor, forced for the completely receding the U.S. forces in December, 2011. Sadr's movement operation interconnected with Iran's strategy to confirm that the United States terrestrial forces entirely retreat from Iraq. However, the chief U.S. representatives reproached Shiite reservists as a legacy to raised level of U.S. troop losses in the middle of 2011 (14 killed), and Iran was accused of providing armament and mobilization of the aforementioned militias with advanced rocket-propelled weaponries, for instance Improvised Rocket Assisted Munitions (IRAMs). The United States of America constrained the government of Iraq to maintain that Iran to discontinue sustaining the paramilitaries groups, therefore, until the U.S. departure at the end of 2011, missile assaults persisted against the U.S. sub-embassy in Basra (Hubbard, 2007.p.345).

#### **2.4.2.2 Al-Hashid Al-Sha'abi / Iraqi Popular Mobilization Forces**

During the years of the occupation of Iraq by the American military, the pressure that Sadron (followers of muqtada sadr) brought to Washington was based on their military wing, and was complemented by the activities of several Shiite groups. Among these Shiite groups was the as abet al-Haq. After the United States retreated from Iraq in 2011, most of these Shiite groups who were no longer concerned about the presence of Americans began to operate in the construction sector of the country. After the emergence of ISIL in this country and the fatwa of the Iraqi authorities on jihad against the terrorist group, these Shiite militant groups came under a single command under the formation of the al-Hashid al-Sha'abi army, and they came to confront ISIL. The group, also known as the Iraqi popular mobilization, has so far won the most victories in the war against ISIL (Sly, 2013.p.18).

Additionally, the Sadrist pressure force on the United States was augmented by the accomplishments of numerous Shiite soldiers; specific number of them departed Sadr's control and congregated in small groups such as Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq (AAH, League of the Family of the Righteous), Khata'ib Hezbollah

(Hezbollah Battalions), and the Promised Day Brigade, the last association of which still responds to Sadr. In the middle of 2009, the principal of AAH, Qais al-Khazali, in 2010 expatriated to Iran after three years in U.S. protection for his suspected role in a 2005 attack that assassinated five American militaries. After the post-recession phases of U.S army forces in 2011, a substantial number of Shiite militia movement diminished. The majority of the Mahdi Army had previously been gradually incorporating into the political course as assistance and occupation system termed Mumahidoon (“those who surface the way”). In 2011, AAH’s frontrunners, containing Khazali, came back from Iran and inaugurated political headquarters to employee proponents and establishing communal provision platforms. The group has not participated in April 2013 regional elections, however they associated with Maliki to form a unique entity in the 2014 elections for the purpose of winning the majority of parliamentary seats(Sly, 2013.p.18).

The prevalent conscription armed forces were drawn up forces with a varied and long story. The Badr Group was the equipped army faction of the Islamic Highest Convention of Iraq, a chief Shiite party, presided currently by Amar al-Hakim. The Badr Group basically activated from weapon after Saddam’s collapse and combined into the political development. Hadi al-Amiri, an elected member of the National Assembly was decided as the group’s leader; also he was observed as a disciplinarian support in wide spread use of the Shiite reservists to retake Sunni-inhabited zones. The group has around 30,000 militia troops. The unrest in the Sunni areas escalated during 2012-2014, and particularly following the 2014 Islamic State attacks to these areas. After the Islamic State capture of Mosul, the militias mobilized were joined by Shiite “Popular Mobilization Forces” (PMF) answering Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani’s call for Shiites to rally to fight the Islamic State. “Some Shiite militia forces returned from Syria, where they were protecting Shiite shrines and conducting other combat in support of the government of Bashar Al Assad” (Hauslohner, 2013.p.23). “The established militias—the Salaam Brigades, Badr Organization, Khata’ib Hezbollah and Asa’ib Ahl Al Haq, and the Promised Day Brigades are considered armed and trained by Iran (Ibid)”.

According to the “State Department’s Country Reports on Terrorism for 2014”, released on June 19, 2015, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps—Qods Force(IRGC-QF) are: “advises, arms, and trains these militia. The Popular Mobilization Forces operate under a variety of names. They are generally commanded by ‘Iraqi Security Forces’ (ISF) forces, although some might also supply manpower to the more established militias. Some Sunni fighters are included in the PMF, for the primary purpose of freeing Sunni inhabited areas from Islamic State rule”. The United States has said as of May 2015 that “it would provide to Shiite militias that are under ISF command. Current estimates of the total Shiite militiamen available to assist the ISF—including the Sadrist militia, the Sadrist offshoots, the Badr Organization, and Popular Mobilization Forces operating under various names—number about 100,000” ( Sly, 2013.p.22).

Finally, “Hezbollahhas long been involved in assisting Iraq’s Shiite militias, in part because Hezbollah members speak Arabic, whereas Iran’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard personnel speak mostly Persian (although many speak Arabic as well) in February 2015, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah publicly acknowledged that Hezbollah had sent personnel to Iraq to help the ISF and the Shiite militias to combat the Islamic State” (Mansour, 2015.p.11).

### **2.4.3 Kurdish Groups**

Since the end of the US-led war against Iraq in 1991, following Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, the United States helped Iraqi Kurdish groups to fight against Saddam, while at the same time trying to break Iraq's unification by intensifying the independence voices of the Kurds in Iraq. Thus, immediately after the collapse of Saddam, the regional government of Iraqi Kurdistan started its activities halfway apart from the central government of Iraq. Since they were under various threats, they were organizing their own combat troops, now under the name of the Peshmerga. The role of women in the struggles of the Peshmerga against Isis was significant, and these forces achieved many victories in the face of ISIL, and Kobani's freedom in Syria was carried out with the help of the group (Eccarius-Kelly, 2011.p.61).

#### **2.4.3.1 KDP/Kurdistan Democratic Party**

This group is one of the Kurdish political parties tangled in the political systems of Iraqi Kurdistan. They also have robust chronological connections to Kurdish societies within Iran. It has been governed since 1979 by Masoud Barzani. Many high position party spokespersons are unswervingly or circuitously connected to Barzani, either through family influences or as adjacent friends. Barzani is also the President of Integrated Iraqi Kurdistan region. Escaped US State Department communications pronounce the association as nearer to a prearranged corruption association than a factual political party. However, absence of monetary pellucidity within provincial marketplaces has disadvantaged forts confirm these allegations. Although, supposedly self-governing and nonspiritual, this group has been overwhelmed by incessant contentions of dishonesty, cronyism and political authoritarianism. The party has traditionally been thoroughly allied with tribal Kurdish assemblies (De Postis, 2003.p.130).

#### **2.4.3.2 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan**

The PUK is the other main political party within Iraqi Kurdistan. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) is currently working closely with the KDP, despite historical and political problems between the two leaderships. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, at least, partially leads Jalal Talabani. Unlike the traditional membership of the KDP, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) was historically considered the intellectual party. The PUK is a member of socialist international(SI) and its internal structure loosely reflects the structure of the Soviet Union, with a central executive and 11 political offices running the various aspects of the party's operations. Such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), there have been widespread allegations from several international monitoring groups of corruption within the PUK (Prince, 1993.p.17).

#### **2.4.3.3 Peshmerga**

Peshmerga is not a political organization in particular. Rather they are the Iraqi Kurdistan Army. This does not mean that this group is not strongly



affected by the ongoing political differences within the region. To this end, the vast majority of Peshmerga fighters are closely linked to either the KDP or the PUK. In fact, individual groups of Peshmerga fighters are often referred to as either the Peshmerga of the Kurdistan Democratic Party or the Peshmerga of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Although the Ministry of Peshmerga exists within the unified government, deep-rooted political affiliations have hampered efforts to place these forces under a single command structure. At present, each of the 11 Peshmerga brigades operates independently or more.

The Peshmerga (“those who face death”) militias of Iraqi Kurdistan are an important part of Kurdish society and there have been high expectations for their contribution to the fight against ISIS. However, this confidence may be exaggerated. The main Iraqi Kurdish parties, the KDP and the PUK, have strong roots in the Peshmerga and there continue to be formations within the Kurdistan regional government (KRG’s) armed forces with close links to each of these parties, undermining the unity of the force.<sup>160</sup> Strength It is not clear exactly how strong the Peshmerga are. There are some 35,000 Peshmerga nominally incorporated in the Iraqi armed forces (although some of these may be fighting separately since the flight of the Iraqi Army in the face of ISIS advances). Most Peshmerga were already outside the command of the Iraqi government in Baghdad – a Kurdish official estimated the total number at 190,000 (Helfont, 2017.p.13) in 2012 – and they are relatively well-armed and experienced. However, the ISIS strategy and tactics against them are widely reported to be very effective.<sup>161</sup> Although the Peshmerga are often reported to be more capable than the Iraqi army, many commentators think that their abilities have been over-estimated in the West. When ISIS launched its surprise attack on the Kurds in August 2014, the Peshmerga retreated even more quickly than the Iraqi army had when attacked in Mosul. The Kurdish fighters failed to protect the Yazidi communities around Mount Sinjar, even though they are mostly Kurdish speaking. The UK and other Western countries are supporting the Peshmerga with arms and training. This is widely considered a legal intervention because it is supported by the legitimate government of Iraq (Helfont, 2017.p.16).

## **2.5 The Factors of Instability in Iraq between 2003-2017**

The internal situation in Iraq, was not as Americans anticipated before the occupation and after the apparent transfer of government to the interim administration, AyadAllawi, things didn't get much better. In such a situation, the factors of instability is on April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2014, National Council of Representatives (COR, parliament) elections were alleged, and the ISIL-led insurgency in Anbar seemed to be restricted. That valuation was overturned on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2014, when Islamic State combatants—speciously abetted by movement of a huge numbers of its combatants into Iraq from the Syria Playhouse—taken the second largest city in Iraq, which is known as Mosul, frequently due to mass renunciations and abandonments by the ISF. The group gradually altered its name to “The Islamic State.” Deceptively reinforced by many Iraqi Sunni inhabitants, Islamic State-led insurgent troops consequently progressed down to the Tigris River valley like Tikrit as well as east into Diyala Region the aggressive seized the Mosul Dam and empowered Islamic State troops to loot banks, free detainees, and imprisonment U.S.- provided military tools such as Humvees, tanks, and armored personnel movers. From locations surrounding Abu Ghraib, IS-led militaries motivated to within close distance of Baghdad International Airport, which is located in the southwest of the city. The Islamic State, beside with its partners, also protracted preceding improvements in Anbar Province, including encroaching on the Hadith Dam by the end of June, Shiite militias had mobilized in large numbers to assist the ISF and the remaining ISF regrouped to some extent. These expansions, joined in spite of that Islamic State armed forces confronted resistance from any position not conquered by Sunni inhabitants, it seemed to lessen the threat to Baghdad itself. The defense ministry in Iraq consultants, as well as by Iran, who sent fighting equipment Besides, Islamic Radical Protector - Quds Force (IRGC-QF) rudiments were also presented to Iraq. The ISF was talented to stop IS-led militaries from taking the Baiji plant, which its products are approximately a third of Iraq's gasoline provisions. The KRG encountered the same main danger in August 2014 when IS-led militaries progressed into the regions controlled by the Peshmerge. The comparatively formally equipped Kurdish

forces removed under pressure force from many metropolises (Sinjar, Zumar, Wane, and Qaraqosh) populated typically by Christians and other Iraqi subgroups, predominantly the Yazidis—a Kurdish-speaking societies which run-through a combination of prehistoric beliefs, comprising Zoroastrianism, which held authority in Iran in advance the arrival of Islam. Dreading IS terrorizations to slaughter them if they rejected its stresses that they renovate to Islam, approximately 35,000-50,000 (Tharoor, 2014.p.18) Yazidis escaped to Sinjar Elevations, where they were delimited by Islamic State armed forces. Furthermore, in the early of August, 2014, IS-led insurgents had forwarded the reservist to catch the KRG capital of Erbil, instigating considerable fright among Iraq's Kurds, who had deeply believed the KRG region protected, and resulted in U.S. concern about the safekeeping of U.S. ambassadorial and soldierly workforces there (Tharoor, 2014.p.18).

The terrorist acts spread exponentially in the aftermath of the American occupation of Iraq. The Ba'athis, Salafis and the psychological environment caused by the occupation of the country led Iraq to become the focus of terrorist acts. The Salafism led by Abu Musab Zarqawi, a former Ba'athist led by Ezzat Ibrahim al-Duri, led the terrorist elements towards the government centers and the people, and created a new wave of violence and assassination in Iraq. The aim of these fear and terrorism acts was to create disappointment among the people to prevent them from participating in the campaigns. In the January 2005 elections, the terrorists achieved this goal among the Sunnis of Iraq. Iraqi Sunnis did not participate in the election, and the national alliance of Shiites and Kurdistan alliance with the authority went to the election stage (Nasr, 2011.p.17).

### **2.5.1 Iraq's Humanitarian Crisis**

The US-led collapse of Iraq in 2003 caused many civilian casualties, but it did not immediately create a major humanitarian crisis or set off mass migration. Soon after, however, Coalition's counter-insurgency operations, including massive attacks on cities like Falluja city led to substantially increased mortality and large displacement, affecting hundreds of thousands of people.

Starting in 2006, sectarian clashes worsened and inter-communal violence led to rising death and injury, as well as massive new displacement.

Iraq's death rate has risen sharply. With stepped-up Coalition bombing and ground attacks as well as the rise in sectarian violence, a growing number of Iraqis are being forced to leave their homes and minority groups are now seriously at risk. According to UNHCR, there are 1.9 million internally displaced people in the country and 2 million refugees escaped to neighboring countries, especially Syria and Jordan. Unemployment and poverty rose sharply, too. According to the United Nations Development Programme, one-third of the people now live in poverty. Education has broken down. Further, Iraqis' basic needs in drinking water, food, sanitation, and electricity are not met. Hospitals lack basic health supplies and are understaffed (Bellamy, 2005.p.31).

### **2.5.2 Displaced & Refugees Crisis**

Dislocation and return movements are largely independent of each other and dependent on the level of security - both physical and economic. The spread of ISIS across Iraq and the consequent campaigns for retaking zones under their control are therefore the main factors that can explicable the evolution of these movements, either from or towards the place of origin. IOM has identified eight periods linked to key events of the Iraqi conflict.

First Period: Near 480,000 people fled their homes in the 2014, particularly in January and February. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who escaped during this period came generally from Anbar, fleeing the combat among ISIS forces and the Iraqi army in the cities of Ramadi also Fallujah. The vast majority of IDPs stayed within Anbar, while smaller shares moved to Baghdad, Salah al-Din and the perceived safety of the KRI. In May, the massive flooding in the Abu Ghraib district of Baghdad, when dams fell while under ISIS control, caused the further dislocation of approximately 40,000 persons (Lischer, 2014.p.95).

Second Period: The spread of the fighting to Mosul led to additional dislocation, prevalently from the governors of Mosul city also Salah al-Din

city. Most of these families bought refugee in other parts of Salah al-Din, for example well as Kirkuk City also Baghdad city. In some cases, those originally displaced during the Anbar crisis suffered secondary displacement. This period also witnessed the peak outpour of Turkmen Shias to southern Shia- majority zones and of Turkmen Sunnis towards Kirkuk and Salah al-Din according to IOM's DTM, at the end of July, the total number of IDPs reached 1,709,178 (Lischer, 2014.p.95).persons.

Third Period: The year 2014 was the single worst month in terms of the number of new IDPs: around 740,000 (Lischer, 2014.p.95) persons. Dislocation was triggered by threats of violence of ISIL in Sinjar city, Ninewa and surrounding zones. IDPs generally fled into the mountainous Dahuk city provinces and neighboring Neenwa districts it is also during this period that the mass migration of Yazidis national towards Dahuk Governorate took place. Erbil city and Kerbala city also witnessed a large increase in their IDP population.

Fourth Period: The collapse of Ramadi bought the total number of IDPs from Anbar to nearly 1,200,000 (Lischer, 2014.p.99) in less than two months (between May and June 2015). Most IDPs remained within the governorate or fled towards Baghdad. Other notable governance displacement occurred in Kirkuk city, as Peshmerga army forces advanced across the southern part of the governorate, reaching approximately 130,000 people at the end of February 2016. Salah al-Din also Diyala city recorded the highest shares of returns with (47%) and (21%) of total returns, around 260,000 and 120,000 people respectively (Lischer, 2014.p.98).

### **2.5.3 Health Crisis**

Substandard living conditions, the stress of long periods of displacement, financial crisis, insufficient diet, and poor sanitation are constant sources of health complications for IDPs. Disease is more common amongst IDPs who live in these conditions, and once present, it spreads more quickly. It is common for IDPs to suffer from diseases for example hypertension, heart disease, diabetes, skin and intestinal infections, and anemia, along with ailments due to malnutrition. These problems have a higher occurrence in females and kids. In addition, due to witnessing violence and conflict,

displaced kids often suffer psychological trauma. Yet, there are few programs which assist with these problems, creating a new generation of Iraqis who undergo from unaddressed psychosocial stresses. Because many IDPs live in poor or rural neighborhoods, access to health care is particularly hard to attain. The number of health care centers is often insufficient, and the ones that are present are not equipped with necessary equipment and medicine. (14%) of IDPs reported that they had no access to health care services, and (30%) (Milaninia, 2007.p.327) cannot access the medications they want. Non-access to health care services is worst in Kirkuk city (71%), (Milaninia, 2007) followed by Diyala city (30%), Muthanna (22%), and Salah al-Din city (21%) (Milaninia, 2007.p.321) those who cannot access health care report financial constraints and unavailability of services as the most common causes for non-access. In addition, there is a serious need for women's health care and health awareness education to avert miscarriages and pregnancy complications among IDPs. Because it is often difficult for women to travel, especially at evening, it is harder for them to obtain proper care, and specialized health care is unavailable (Milaninia, 2007.p.327).

#### **2.5.4 Education Crisis**

Is reaching a particularly critical point most schools undergo from overcrowding and are now forced to hold multiple shifts. Displaced kids are less likely to be admitted or to complete the school year. As a result, more Iraqi kids are seeing their chance to learn slip away. Few safety nets are available to kids who fall out of the education system altogether. Many kids are separated from their families or on the streets, where they are extremely vulnerable to abuse and exploitation. Most kids have experienced trauma but few receive the care and support they must to help them cope with so much chaos, anxiety, also loss.

According to (IDP) kids across the reporting zone are disproportionately absent from school for a variety of causes, including economic difficulties, travel distance to school, staying family to care for the family while parents work, having to work themselves due to no family income, and lack of proper documents. Many host community schools are ill-equipped, lacking reading

materials, furniture, and teaching staff. In locations with high concentrations of IDP families, schools are often doing three to four shifts in order to accommodate as many displaced kids as possible.

The IDP kids who do attend school often have difficulties resolving social and cultural differences, for example the move from urban to rural or moderate to conservative areas. In the three northern governorates, many IDP kids lack education opportunities because of there are few Arabic-language schools.

Monitors observe that when boys leave school, it is often to help the family's financial situation, while misses are often absent from school because of a lack of emphasis upon female education in conservative communities. Other kids lack documents from their place of origin and cannot register for school. Of assessed families with male also female kids, only one third (33%) (Miles, 2013) report that all of their sons are in school, and only 22% report that all of their misses are in school (Miles, 2013.p.798).

### **2.5.5 Iraq's Internal Developments and Security Impasse**

The truth is either that assassinations are occurring in an environment where intelligence and security agencies do not have the ability to detect and neutralize terrorist acts, or that these organizations are naive and lacking in experience. In the case of Iraq, it must be said that the intelligence and security elements of the country are inexperienced, and the terrorist forces penetrate well among them. Using tactics of influence, al-Qaeda carried out terrorist acts easily in Baghdad. This is the beginning of the security of the Baghdad Green Zone, the Peshawar forces of the Kurdish region of Iraq. Terrorism in Iraq is affected by internal changes and regional developments, like the Syrian crisis. In both cases, political solutions are followed as much as possible, so the terrorists could be isolated and the military solution will be possible, but the terrorists were more successful (Ataei, 2015.p.53).

The escape of al-Qaeda detainees from Abu Ghraib and Taji prisons is another indication of the lack of experience of the Iraqi intelligence agency. In mid-July 2013, between 500 and 1,000 prisoners escaped with al-Qaeda's

attack on two major Iraqi high-security jails called Abu Ghraib and Taji, both near Baghdad.

Naturally, if there was a coherent security intelligence system in Iraq, these prisoners would not have escaped, and an incident which furthered the Iraqi security vacuum could have been prevented. Even Nouri al-Maliki confessed this on October 1, 2013, saying: “security forces due to the domestic problems and the country's distressed state, as well as the threat to national peace, are unable to secure the country” (Yari, 2014.p.34).

After the fall of Saddam, all tribal movements in Iraq sought their ethnic and religious interests. The reflection of ethnic-religious interests to the national interests led to a lack of national consensus in the country. The formation of a legal government after the January 2005 and March 2009 elections was only on the initiative of Jalal Talabani and foreign pressures (Salehi, 2015.p.113).

In other words, the accumulation of the interests of the Iraqi people was based on the kind of coercion that it faced in the parliamentary conflicts and the imposition of votes on national decisions. The lack of national consensus has progressed so far that in early 2013, Jalal Talabani did not succeed in persuading the Iraqi political security elite for national dialogue. The Iraqi political leaders signed the Declaration of Comprehension and the Social Compact in September 2013, but only a few days after signing it, the National Dialogue Front, headed by Saleh al-Mutlak, issued a statement towards the Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki that accused him of violating the Covenant, and of bloodshed in the country. This lack of national consensus also affects the attitudes of the Iraqi people. As the conflict intensifies, national consensus will be further reduced (Salehi, 2015.p.110).

#### **2.5.6 Intensifying of Shiite and Sunni Conflicts**

The early architects of Iraq, building on ethnic cleavages, created a new nation-state government as a result of the agreement between Sykes-Pico, the foreign ministers of Britain and France. Naturally, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon,



and even Palestine are a symbol of colonial heritage. It is clear that the legacy of colonialism in France and Britain has served its permanent policy of "dividing and ruling". This scenario continued with the continued support of the Ba'ath regime in Iraq, the minority rule model for the majority, with the support of the foreigners. The model of minority rule was a wider campaign of killing Shabbaniyeh and killing more than 500,000 Shiites in southern Iraq, as well as the Kurdish massacre (Mohammadi, 2009.p.47).

The Iraqi people are afraid of terrorist operations and solving the assassination problem is one of their priorities. This priority is even more prevalent in terms of prosperity and economic development. Part of the new tension is the result of this trend. The Shiite-Sunni conflict, especially in Baghdad, is the culmination of these tensions, which is one of the factors of insecurity and instability. Shiites under the authority of Ayatollah Ali Sistani have taken a self-regulating approach and they are going to slow down the ruling infrastructure in Iraq. In the southern Iraqi regions where Shiites have a majority, the security situation is far better and, contrary to the central Iraqi regions, political stability rests with the Kurdish regions. This is a source of dissatisfaction among Sunni Arabs.

The sectarian tensions between Sunnis and Shiites after the daily terrorist attacks led to the sectarian war in 2005. The death toll went beyond 200 victims killed in Baghdad every day. The provinces divided into Sunni, Shia and Kurdish provinces. Districts in Baghdad in their turn split apart too, where the Sunnis and Shia became isolated in their districts, and people had to leave their homes and move to districts of their corresponding sect. The killings became part of everyday life, and those who wanted to move between the different districts in Baghdad had to use two IDs, each one belong to a different sect, in order to survive. The difference became larger between days before and after the war (Mohammadi, 2009.p.88).

One of the single most important factors in the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant resurgence is the clash between Iraq's largest two Arab religious groups: Shias and Sunnis. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant fighters

themselves are Sunnis, and the tension among the two groups is a great recruiting tool for ISIS.

In the most basic theological terms, the Sunni-Shia split in Islam originated with controversy over who would take power after the Prophet Mohammed's death. Today, of course, Iraq's sectarian problems aren't about relitigating seventh-century disputes; they're about new political power and grievances. But those do tend to fall along Sunni-Shia lines.

A majority of Iraqi Arabs are Shias, but Sunnis ran the show when Saddam Hussein, himself Sunni, ruled Iraq. Saddam spread a false belief, still surprisingly persistent in the state today, that Sunnis were the actual majority in Iraq. Thus, Sunnis felt, and still feel, entitled to larger shares of political control that might perhaps be warranted by their size.

Meanwhile, the Iraqi civil war sparked after the 2003 US-led collapse had a brutally sectarian cast to it and the pseudo-democracy that emerged afterward empowered the Shia majority (with some heavy-handed help from Washington) at the expense of the Sunni minority. Today the two groups don't trust one another and so far have competed in what they see as a zero-sum game for control over Iraqi political institutions. In 2013, Shias used to control completed the police force to arbitrarily detain Sunni protestors demanding more representation in government (Wimmer, 2003.p.111).

So long as Shias control power the government, and Sunnis don't feel that they're fairly represented, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant has an audience for its radical Sunni message. That's an important part of how the group built up to support in Iraq's heavily Sunni northwest.

The conflict between the two faiths, each of which holds a different vision of Islam, continues historically, intellectually and ideologically. Although the conflict in its composition is part of human life and it is a matter of faith if it is in the intellectual field, as was said about one of the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, This conflict will be positive if it remains confined to the ideological and ideological framework to produce new ideas supported by argument and proof. On the one hand, the ideological and intellectual conflict is usually

between the religious and the religious elite, each of which submits its arguments to defend its point of view. Between the two parties over the past times the conflict between Sunnis and Shiites has turned into more than ideological struggle into a conflict between states and political agendas that reach an armed conflict that aims at annihilating each other, eliminating it and eliminating it from the map of competition.

Since the first day he announced the "urging" of his occupation of Mosul, dozens of analysts and observers of the Middle Eastern situation predicted that this dangerous shift in the Iraqi arena, the beginning of a Sunni-Shiite war, may transcend its concept of political disagreement on the ground to reach a decade-long fuel war.

The Iraqi political parties "say and do" these days confirm this, but I rule out the occurrence of this war, but I am sure that it will not happen, for several reasons come on top:

First: In Islamic history, we have not mentioned a Sunni-Shiite conflict that has turned into a real war. Sunni-Shiite conflicts are too many in the history books, but all these conflicts have not entered the cycle of war, either because of the magnitude of their results or because the Sunni nation has overcome all stages of the conflict.

Secondly: The Shi'a sect that followed the Sunni doctrine is not a revolutionary and revolutionary doctrine, as is Protestantism. It is a doctrine that believes in a doctrine contrary to the Sunni, and therefore it equates it with all its creeds and does not intersect with it on the way to the afterlife.

Thirdly: The Shi'a doctrine did not bring about life and practical reforms affecting the lives of the people, which made it a "prelude-continuous-finished" matter in the hands of the Shiite clerics. This dimension of the five main needs of the peoples (Maslow pyramid) eliminated the need for a revolution - followed by war - to impose the vision of life that imposes a certain way of life (Walker, 2006.p.16).

Fourthly: The Sunni rulers have been and still are dealing with the followers of the Shiite sect with a secular methodology that respects their choice and belief (which is limited to the spiritual as I have indicated), unlike the medieval Catholic emperors who saw in the Lutheran Revolution a threat to

their interests gained from the divine right to rule, and the reconciliation marriage with the church.

These main reasons, among other reasons, prevent a Sunni-Shiite war anywhere in the world and at any time. But there are also many reasons for preventing a Sunni-Shiite war in Iraq at this time.

First: The great overlap between Sunni families and Shiite families in Iraq, and the multiplicity of participants between the two parties (for example, in Kuwait and Bahrain and not in the UAE and Saudi Arabia) makes it impossible to fight on an issue that does not exist in their daily agendas.

In Iraq, the person's beliefs do not represent the first determinants of his definition in front of the other, so I think, and so he told us, we have long known many Iraqi symbols, and we have not noticed in the determinations issued to us any contractual or regional features.

Second: Those who believe that he is working to uproot the Shiites and exile them from the land is not a pure Iraqi fabric, but an international organization organized under his banner groups composed of revolutionaries of multiple nationalities. This will bring Iraqi citizenship out of prison, to face the exploitation of religion in the name of politics, as the "state of law" does, and to subject religion to political gains, as it does.

Third: The recent Shiite religious calls to confront the Sunni threat, such as the call by Sistani and others, are dictated by the ruling political class in Iran to ensure that the representative of Tehran remains in Baghdad. The Iraqi people know that they are not pure religious calls, and therefore it is very difficult to be dragged behind them under the promises of paradise and fire, as do other religious calls in the civilized peoples.

Fourth: Sunnis in Iraq are not looking for revolution and war for belief. They are now revolting and mingling deliberately and unintentionally with a "push" to get their stolen rights under a regime that have not been ashamed to announce its sectarianism on more than one occasion (Zagacki, 2007.p.272).

### **2.5.7 The Presence of Al-Qaeda Forces**

After the US invasion of Afghanistan, a large number of these forces were transferred to Iraq at the time of Saddam's rule, and now they are one of the factors contributing to instability in Iraq.

Another major theme in the Administration assertions was the presence in Iraq of a group called Ansar al-Islam (Partisans of Islam). This aspect of the Administration's argument factored prominently in Secretary of State Powell's U.N. presentation, and is the most directly relevant to analysis of the Al Qaeda presence in Iraq today. Ansar al-Islam is considered the forerunner of Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQ-I). Ansar al-Islam was formed in 1998 as a breakaway faction of Islamist Kurds, splitting off from a group, the Islamic Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan (IMIK). Both Ansar and the IMIK were initially composed almost exclusively of Kurds. U.S. concerns about Ansar grew following the U.S. defeat of the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan in late 2001, when some Al Qaeda activists, mostly Arabs, fled to Iraq and associated there with the Ansar movement. At the peak, about 600 Arab fighters lived in the Ansar al-Islam enclave, near the town of Khurmali. Ansar fighters clashed with Kurdish fighters from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), one of the two mainstream Iraqi Kurdish parties, around Halabja in December 2002. Ansar gunmen were allegedly responsible for an assassination attempt against PUK "prime minister" of the Kurdish region Barham Salih (now a deputy Prime Minister of Iraq) in April 2002. The leader of the Arab contingent within Ansar al-Islam was Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an Arab of Jordanian origin that reputedly fought in Afghanistan. Although more recent assessments indicate Zarqawi commanded Arab volunteers in Afghanistan separate from those recruited by bin Laden, Zarqawi was linked to purported Al Qaeda plots in the 1990s and early 2000s. He allegedly was behind foiled bombings in Jordan during the December 1999 millennium celebration, and the assassination in Jordan of U.S. diplomat Lawrence Foley (2002). Similarly, there are claims that reported attempts in 2002 to spread chemical agents in Russia, Western Europe, and the United States was also orchestrated by him. In explaining why the United States needed to confront Saddam Hussein's regime militarily, U.S. officials maintained that Baghdad was connected to Ansar AL

Islam. In his U.N. presentation, Secretary of State Powell said: "Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network headed by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an associate and collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda lieutenants... Baghdad has an agent in the most senior levels of the radical organization, Ansar al-Islam that controls this corner of Iraq" (Chivers, 2002.p.99).

Zarqawi's activities are not confined to this small corner of northeastern Iraq. He traveled to Baghdad in May 2002 for medical treatment, staying in the capital for two months while he recuperated to fight another day. During this stay, nearly two dozen extremists converged on Baghdad and established a base of operations there. From his terrorist network in Iraq, Zarqawi can direct his network in the Middle East and beyond. However, some accounts question the extent of links, if any, between Baghdad and Ansar al-Islam. Baghdad did not control northern Iraq even before Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), and it is questionable whether Zarqawi, were he tied closely to Saddam Hussein's regime, would have located his group in territory controlled by Saddam's Kurdish opponents. The Administration view on this point is that Saddam saw Ansar as a means of pressuring Saddam Hussein's Kurdish opponents in northern Iraq (Chivers, 2002.p.63).

The self-immolation of Mohammad Bouazizi in Tunisia and the Egyptian revolution in 2011, followed by the developments in Islamic awakening, sparked the rise of Arab nations. This uprising was also drawn to the Sunni Arab areas of Iraq. Following the arrest of security guards, Rafi al-Issawi, Iraqi finance minister, and Sunni Arabs held peaceful demonstrations in Anbar province that violently infiltrated the Takfiri currents. The clashes were so high that they led to tensions between the army and the protesters, in which 160 people were killed or wounded. The move led to the rebellion of the Anbar tribes and the arrest of government forces that intensified the tensions and resulted in even more influx of al-Qaeda (Mottaghi, 2015.p.58).

### **2.5.8 Developments in Syria and the Formation of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant**

Syria's political crisis has had a direct impact on the second wave of Iraq's unrest. The Syrian crisis has caused al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri to take troops to Syria in the message "Rush to the Levant, lions of levant". Meanwhile, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, leader of the Iraqi branch of al-Qaeda, also formed the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). The formation of this group meant terrorist acts in both Syria and Iraq. The Islamic State of the Levant (ISIL) is leading most of the terrorist acts. This terrorist group has a significant force in Iraq, mostly consisting of Takfiris. The terrorist acts of this group have martyred more than 5000 Iraqis, wounding thousands more.

The history of ISIS can be traced all the way back to Abu-Musab Al-Zarqawi who was being held captive in Jordan for his sentence of 15 years of imprisonment due to illegal gun possession, and being affiliated with Bayat al-Jihadi. When he was free he immediately moved to Afghanistan where he started dialogue with al-Qaeda. With their help, he established Jund al-Sham, a jihadist group named after "Jama'at al- Tawhid wal-Jihad". They started attacking certain touristic sites in Jordan just before 2000. In one such attack against Radisson SAS hotel, one of the terrorists' bombs failed and Sajida Al-Rishawi was captured. She was later requested by ISIS as a part of prisoner exchange agreement.

"Iraq". Below is direct quotation from their statement:

After the Kurds had secured a state in the north and the Rawaf had won approval for federalism in the south and center with the support of the Jews in the north and the Safawis in the south, protected by armed militias that have black hearts, ideology, and action – militias that have been killing our Sunni people and subjecting them to the ugliest forms of killing, torture, and displacement. The condition of the Sunnis has become the same as the condition of the orphans on the table of wicked people. Therefore, it has become a must for the honorable and free Sunni mujahidin, ulema, and notables to make something for their brothers, sons, and honor in light of this

silly drama that is called Al-Maliki's state, in which it was regrettable that Sunni traitors took part. By doing so, they confused the religion for the people and deliberately wasted the rights of their people.

The statement is important because it speaks of the need for a new movement or a group, and clearly defines its allies and enemies. The group experienced a strong growth after the video, and Al-Baghdadi claimed the group was about to reach the point of self-sufficiency. In 2007, the first engagements between local tribes and the group started in Anbar province, which marked the starting point of the Shaw movement and lasted till 2009 during which the group suffered losses. After that point, however, USA began to retreat from Iraq, which undermined the schwa movement, which was foreseen by the acting general of USA. General Lloyd expressed the following in 2011 in that regard:

"As we leave, we can expect to see some turbulence in security initially, and that's because you'll see various elements try to increase their freedom of movement and freedom of action," despite better conditions than at any other point, "there will probably be unfinished business for many, many years to come [...] al-Qaeda will continue to do what it's done in the past, and we expect that it's possible they could even increase their capability" (Kfir, 2015.p.233). But it wasn't just the Shaw movement that was weakened by the withdrawal of USA. Iraqi government also suffered, which quickly became unable to sustain the basic services required by the people.

Al-Malik's Shia-led government began to fail to pay the wages and protect its people. Feeding on their weakness, ISI began to flourish, offering even better wages that were actually being paid to the people, increasing the amount of recruited people from Iraq. With the increased numbers came the increased territory control. They also began to free previously captured members from prisons. When the internal conflict in Syria started, however, the ISI group took advantage of the opportunity and moved to Syria. The situation in Syria developed into armed struggle in 2012, and Jihadist groups thrived even more. President of Bashar Assad was opposed by the jihadist Nusra Font. This group was supported by a large group of people, thanks to its Islamic



theological rule. The group never declared alliance or affiliation with either ISI or al-Qaeda, but they were still supported by the former nevertheless with both manpower and weaponry.

In 2013, al-Baghdadi announced that Islamic State was expanded into Syria in alliance with al-Nusra, and the group began to be called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). On the other hand, Al-Julani, the leader of al-Nusra, denied this alliance and instead expressed their allegiance to al-Qaeda under the leadership of Ayman Zawahri. ISIS expanded in manpower and territory through non-Syrian groups, but Syrian people didn't join al-Baghdadi. A significant portion of local groups still didn't join either group (Klausen, 2015.p.236).

#### **2.5.9 The Forces That Survived the Ba'ath Regime**

With the collapse of the Ba'athist regime in Iraq and the dissolution of the army, the intelligence agency by the US civilian ruler Paul Bremer made an effort to settle accounts with the occupying forces and with groups that in any way opposed the Ba'ath party inside Saddam's rule. Therefore, today Iraq is deeply involved with internal affairs due to the lack of a national and integrated army as well as the severe weakness of the bureaucracy and is considered one of the factors of instability in Iraq (Ataei, 2015.p.56).

Among these is the Narayat-e-Nahshbandi tribe, which was described in the second round. The leadership of this group, with the dignity of Ibrahim al-Duri, is one of Saddam Hussein's chief vice presidents, and is considered the most important Ba'athist group in Iraq. The next is Jash al-Mujahedin, the group's history dates back to 2003 and occupies Iraq. Its aim is to overthrow the central government of Iraq and has a strong anti-Shiite tendency. Recent evidence suggests that in a rally against ISIL's power, the group has established close ties with Jamaat Ansar al-Islam. This evidence is particularly clear about the cooperation between the two groups in the Kirkuk region.

Jaish al-Mujahedin also paid special attention to cooperation with local tribes and appears to be active in the al-Karma area of Anbar province. In the area between Jaysh al-Mujahedin and ISIS, tension has been created over the transportation of materials, but no reports have been made of military conflicts between the two groups.

The Islamic Army is also older than the Sunni insurgent groups. The difference with other groups is that in 2011 and the withdrawal of US troops from Iraq, the group officially stopped its armed struggle and, by forming a branch for political activity, the Sunni Popular Movement, aimed at establishing a federal system for the administration of the Sunni Provinces declared.

The Islamic Army of Iraq does not accept the ISIS world-wide, but it is fighting alongside this group.

Jaish al-Mujahedin strongly criticized the group for joining political mechanisms and denied any coordination with this group. But since the beginning of this year, the Islamic Army has reoccupied armed activity and the first indications of the military presence of the group have become evident in Diyala and Salah al-Din.

Despite the fact that the spokesman of the group claimed that its number exceeds several thousand, then in the realm of this group, after separating from Jaish al-Mujahideen and joining the Awakening Council, which is a Sunni and anti-Al-Qaeda militia and abandoning armed activity Severely weakened. The current position of the Islamic Army is that the central government should either accept a plan for a federal system in the Sunni areas or prepare itself for capturing Baghdad by Sunni insurgents (Byman, 2003.p.123).

#### **2.5.10 Socio-Economic Factors**

Amongst various reasons for dissatisfaction of citizens of a country, the leading factors can be listed as the instability of economic and social factors as:

**Corruption:** The rate at which corruption has grown in Iraq over the years is a major problem to some of the reasons why the population is not relying on the government to effectively respond to its needs and provide judgment. This can be seen in both the government and the private sectors in the country, this has contributed to security problems, political and humanitarian problems. Some of the cases of corruption can be seen in the lack of transparency and accountability in the judiciary a case is when in 2015, 34 judges were been appointed with 19 integrity judges in courts in Baghdad. This was with the aim of tackling corruption cases in the country that is going on in the government and other sectors in the country but nothing was heard about the cases again. The whole story died off. In the security forces there is a high level of corruption which has contributed to the security challenges in the country. In the natural resources which include oil revenue there is high corruption because of the lack of transparency, oil which has over 90% of the government revenue, there has been cases of smuggling among high government officials with mafias to gain personal profits (US department of state, 2016).

**Economic Inefficiency of the State:** Although the Iraqi forces has been able to reduce the activities of ISISL in its territory, there has been arguments concerning the way through which the government can eliminate social unrest, bring an end to the conflict with the Kurds and create preventive measures that will stop the ISISL from returning to the country as well as other terrorist organizations. In order to improve economic strength and efficiency the government needs to include reining in fiscal spending eliminating corruption, fiscal management, restricting the financial sector. Terrorist activities has been the major reasons behind the economic efficiency prime minister Haider al-baidi was accused to have contributed to the major economic failure which was said to have brought about a populist firebrand which was Shia centric. The economy of Iraq is dominated by the oil sector which is the main source of revenue. Providing 90% of the government revenue which the war against terrorism affected the growth of the economy, the tax rate of revenue as from 2014 has capped at 15 % because of the way the GDP has depreciated while the government spending

over the years amounts to 39.7 % out of the country's GDP with the average 9.5 % GDP and the public debt is said to be 58.0 % of the country's GDP (US department of state, 2017.p.36).

**The Severity of the Livelihoods of People Especially the Poor and Low-Income Groups:** Iraq currently considered to be a post-conflict country after the 2003 Iraqi intervention and the military operations against ISIL this has increased the high rate of humanitarian involvement because of the continuous attacks by different armed groups which has resulted to more displacement of people that has affected the return of IDPs. This has increased the poverty rate in the country, reconciliation in communal conflict, no source of livelihood and also a rise in political crises which has contributed to further displacement of people. IDP has increased to 4 million people; over 6.7 million people who include 3.3 million children, 3.3 million women and girls are in constant need for humanitarian intervention in the country. In august 2018 over 10,000 violations were been reported (UN office for the coordination of humanitarian affairs, 2018.p.15).

**Unemployment of Young People:** The rise in unemployment rate amongst young people in Iraq calls for an action, according to the "*international monetary fund the unemployment rate in Iraq is double the government official rate of 20 %*" the population blames the government for the unemployment rate which the government believe that the major factor contributing to the unemployment rate in the country is the crises and the conflict in the country over the years (UN office for the coordination of humanitarian affairs, 2018.p.23).

**Creation of Repression among Different Classes of Society:** One of the major problems in the Iraq is the repression among classes; there is a clear difference amongst the different classes in the country which has contributed to the government inability to respond to the need of the population. This can be seen in the gap between the elite class and the grass roots and the minority groups in the country (Batatu, 2015.p.62).

**Tyranny:** The reason behind the 2003 Iraq intervention was basically with the aim of eliminating a regime that was a threat to global security. But it didn't contain any humanitarian intent mainly because at the moment of the intervention the Iraqi government was not committing any unjustifiable acts, the rise in tyranny which was masked by an intervention which oppressed the country and brought about a government that rather than eliminating the rise of tyranny and oppression it is rather promoting it which has brought about a setback in the country (Teson, 2005.p.13).

**Discrimination:** Discrimination in Iraq varies there are cases where people whose relatives are terrorist or are suspected to be part of a terrorist organization, people are this have been discriminated in the country, also religious, sectarian, and ethnic discrimination in the country has been one of the reasons why the fight against terrorism seems to be unending in the country. As much hate has been built but the differences amongst the different groups in the country is something that needs to be given close attention. After the fall of the Sunni dominated government an era of Shiite dominated government is what is ongoing because right after the 2003 intervention and the introduction of the interim government which brought about the periodic election is the Shiites that have been governing the country from 2004-2018 (UN office of high commissioner, 2018.p.9).

All of the above situations are related to either social or economic status of a given community, but in reality the situation is never that simple, particularly in countries where numerous ethnicities try to live by together. The international influence of countries with strong economies has gone beyond the level where they are now content and satisfied with managing their domestic resources alone. The economy has already turned into a web of international network, and the countries that have the strongest pull have a stronger tendency to lead it, and its effects are felt all the way down to the daily lives of societies. Bad management, lack of justice, education, welfare, along improper movement of international influences may lead to turmoil (Ahmed, 2016.p.332).

### **2.5.10.1 The Economic Disorder**

A large part of the revolts of the Iraqi people can be rooted in the economic turmoil and the hardship of social and health conditions. This has made people realize that neither the occupiers nor the government have been able to address these problems and the issues of Iraqi citizens.

When the Bush administration decided to invade Iraq and finish the struggle in Kuwait, they announced they were going to uproot the economic situation of the people. But since the first day the economic situation got worse to the limit of starvation. Those who, for years, under the economic blockade of Iraq and the imposition of various sanctions, have killed and destroyed thousands of Iraqis, including men, women and children, from the very beginning of the rule of Iraq, not only did not think about building the proper economic infrastructure, but their only intent was simply plundering of the natural resources and signing single-party contracts in the interest of Western and American companies.

In late 2009, the poverty rate in Iraq was very high. According to the Mead News Agency, about 23 percent of the population lived below the poverty line. According to statistics of the Ministry of Planning, more than 930 thousand people in the country (3% of the population) had no food security in Iraq in 2009. Also more than 4.6 Millions of Iraqis, equivalent to 22 percent of the population, were dependent on food ration cards. The United Nations also announced in its 2008 report that "More than 4 million Iraqis faced severe food shortages". Various polls have taken place in Iraq during the occupation, the results of which reflected the widespread dissatisfaction of Iraqis with the conditions prevailing in their country. Of course, these dissatisfactions had different dimensions, but the main disappointments were economic conditions. One of the major polls in 2007, using the 3D system, was a new survey for the BBC, ABCNEWS, the German television channel ARD and the Today USA newspaper. The poll showed that Iraqis suffer from dictates of living in addition to violence and lack of security (O'Hanlon, 2005.p.11).

### **2.5.10.2 Unemployment and Lack of Proper Education**

With the collapse of the Ba'athist system and the lack of proper employment, the closure of factories and infrastructure and the unemployment resulting from the invasion of the occupying forces has made the youth and those seeking work for their livelihoods and their welded groups hardly earn a living. Terrorist groups have sought to absorb these abandoned individuals in the Iraqi community and have attracted many of them, only to be executed for murder, robbery, hostage-taking, spying and insulting people when they were no longer of any use (Shakibai, 2013.p.14).

There were numerous problems at the very beginning of the collapse, such as the emergence of the massive numbers of urban poor consisting of unemployed villagers, the emergence of a widespread smuggling and black market phenomenon which was carried out on numerous occasions with the participation of the occupying forces. Serious water and electricity shortages, massive amount of garbage piles in the streets, oil pipe-line explosions and waste, smuggling of goods, displacement, and poverty were all too common. In 2003, the unemployment rate in Iraq reached to 60%. The Americans still had the prospect of improving the economy, but the economic challenges quickly became apparent in many ways. As in the interim Shiite government of Ibrahim Jafari in 2005 came to power, the unemployment crisis severely aggravated the situation in terms of economic and social collapse. According to a poll conducted in that year, among the four options for unemployment, crime, national security infrastructure, and Multinational forces, the Iraqi Shiites and Sunnis considered the unemployment crisis to be the country's most important problem. Based on a research of a British group, 40 percent of Iraqi Shiites suffered from unemployment in the same year, reflecting the bitter reality of the deep economic turmoil inherited from Saddam Hussein's destructive policies on the one hand, and the multi-year economic sanctions of the new regime on the other.

The inadequate economic situation in Iraq, of course, is not only limited to the early years of the fall of Saddam. In 2006, the first permanent government of

Iraq under the leadership of Nuri al-Malik announced that the official unemployment rate was 37.2%. In the same year, the Iraqi Minister of Commerce also announced that the national unemployment rate in this country was between 50% and 60%, and the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs reported it to be higher than 60 percent. The unemployment rate in Iraq has now declined to 28 percent. Although the unemployment rate in Iraq has been steadily declining to this day, the unemployment rate is still very high compared to world standards. In addition, the decline in the unemployment rate of people's livelihood Iraq has not recovered much since the removal of Saddam Hussein, and many problems (Ozlu, 2006.p.18).

## **2.11 External Factors**

In addition to cases related to the instability of the economic situation and the weakness of domestic security, a series of foreign factors also contribute to the deterioration of the situation in Iraq. The involvement of Bican countries such as Israel and neighboring countries like Saudi Arabia is one of the most important one of these factors. As discussed before, strong countries are no longer satisfied by their domestic influence alone, and want to use their might to influence inner workings of other countries; particularly neighboring ones and the ones that are either sources of raw materials and resources, or that are their markets. Iraq is positioned in a geographical location that has a history of active conflicts, in addition to having the arguably most important resource for the foreseeable future, oil. This makes Iraq a potential candidate over which various countries might want to exert influence upon to improve their current and future interests. Some of these countries and the reasons as to why they would want to influence Iraq are discussed below.

### **2.11.1 Invasion of Iraq by the United States**

This thesis supports that the causes of the war had less to do with fear of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) or other purported aims, for example, desire to "spread democracy" and satisfy the oil and support terrorism and invasion of Kuwait. Rather, the Bush administration invaded Iraq for its own reasons. In 2002 and 2003, President Bush cited the possibility of Saddam Hussein acquiring weapons of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons --



and thus posing a direct threat to the U.S -- as the main rationale for a pre-emptive collapse of Iraq. He and other senior American officials also said. Saddam Hussein had direct ties to the Al Qaeda terrorist organization founded by Osama bin Laden. After the Americans collapse of Saddam Hussein, they searched for evidence in Iraq to bolster both claims but have so far found nothing.

Saddam Hussein supports Sunni terrorist groups at al-Qaeda, in the months following the September 11 terrorist event; there were leaks to the media about alleged evidence of a convention in Prague between an Iraqi intelligence officer and one of the hijackers of the doomed airplanes that crashed into the World Trade Centre. Subsequent thorough investigations by the FBI, CIA, and Czech intelligence have found no evidence that any such meeting took place. None of the hijackers were Iraqi, no major figure in Al Qaeda is Iraqi, and no funds to Al Qaeda have been traced to Iraq (Fawn, & Hinnebusch, 2006.p.355).

It is unlikely that the decidedly secular Baathist regime—which has savagely suppressed Islamists within Iraq—would be able to maintain close links with Osama bin Laden and his followers. In fact, Saudi Prince Turki bin Faisal, his country's former intelligence chief, noted that bin Laden views Saddam Hussein "as an apostate, an infidel, or someone who is not worthy of being a fellow Muslim" and that bin Laden had offered in 1990 to raise an army of thousands of mujahidin armed forces to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

Iraq's past terrorist links have primarily been limited to such secular groups as Abu Nidal, a now-largely defunct Palestinian faction opposed to Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Group. At the height of Iraq's support of Abu Nidal in the early 1980s, Washington dropped Iraq from its list of countries that sponsored terrorism so the U.S. could bolster Iraq's war effort against Iran country. Baghdad was reinstated to the list only after the Iraqi collapse of Kuwait in 1990, even though U.S. officials were unable to cite any increased Iraqi ties to terrorist groups. Abu Nidal himself was apparently murdered by the Iraqis in his Baghdad apartment recently, perhaps as an effort to deny the Bush administration an excuse to attack. A recent CIA report indicates that

the Iraqis have actually been consciously avoiding any activities against the U.S or its facilities abroad, presumably to deny Washington any excuse to engage in further army strikes against their country. The last clear example that American officials can cite of such Iraqi-backed terrorism was an alleged plot by Iraqi agents to assassinate former President George Bush when he visited Kuwait in 1993. In response, President Bill Clinton ordered the bombing of Baghdad, hitting an Iraqi intelligence head office as well as a nearby civilian neighborhood (Smidt, 2005.p.243).

Besides, an American collapse of Iraq would probably weaken the battle against terrorism. It would not only distract from the more immediate threat posed by Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda link, but it would also likely result in an anti-American backlash that would lessen the level of cooperation from Islamic countries in tracking down and neutralizing the remaining Al Qaeda cells.

Despite speculation—particularly by those who seek an excuse to invade Iraq—of possible on going Iraqi efforts to procure weapons of mass destruction, no one has been able to put forward evidence that the Iraqis are actually doing so, though they have certainly done so in the past. The dilemma facing the international community is that no one knows what, if anything, the Iraqis are currently doing.

The expansion of biological weapons, by contrast, is much easier to conceal, due to the small amount of space needed for their manufacture. Early UNSCOM inspections revealed evidence of the production of large amounts of biological agents, including anthrax, and charged that Iraq had vastly understated the number of biological warfare agents it had manufactured. In response, UNSCOM set up sophisticated monitoring devices to detect chemical or biological weapons, though these devices were dismantled in reaction to the U.S. bombing campaign in 1998 (Wedgwood, 1998.p.724).

Frightening scenarios regarding mass fatalities from a small amount of anthrax assume that the Iraqis have developed the highly sophisticated

means of distributing these bioweapons by missile or aircraft. However, there are serious questions as to whether the alleged biological agents could be dispersed successfully in a manner that could harm troops or a civilian resident, given the rather complicated technology required. Such as, a vial of biological weapons on the tip of a missile would almost certainly either be destroyed on impact or dispersed harmlessly. To become lethal, highly concentrated amounts of anthrax spores need be inhaled and then left untreated by antibiotics until the infection is too far advanced. Similarly, the prevailing winds would have to be calculated, no rain could fall, the spray nozzles could not clog, the population would have to be unvaccinated, and everyone would have to stay around the zone targeted for attack.

A far more likely scenario for an Iraqi distribution of biological agents would be through Iraqi agents smuggling them clandestinely into targeted countries. This is what led to some initial speculation, now considered very doubtful, that the Iraqis were behind the anthrax mail attacks during the fall of 2001. To prevent for example scenario requires aggressive counterintelligence efforts by the U.S. Also other potentially targeted states, but this type of terrorism is not likely to be prevented by a collapse. Indeed, a U.S. collapse could conceivably encourage rogue elements of Iraqi intelligence or an allied terrorist group to engage in an anthrax attack as an act of revenge for the heavy Arab casualties resulting from U.S. bombing. One of the frightening things about biological weapons production is the mobility of operations. A "regime change" engineered by the U.S. would not necessarily ensure the closure of labs producing such weapons, since they could easily be relocated elsewhere or even continue to operate clandestinely in Iraq (Wedgwood, 1998.p.724).

Finally, Saddam Hussein has demonstrated that he cares first and foremost about his own survival. He presumably recognizes that any effort to use weapons of mass destruction would inevitably lead to his own destruction. This is why he did not use them during the Gulf War. In the event of a U.S. collapse, seeing his overthrow as imminent, also with nothing to miss, this logic of self-preservation would no longer be operative. Instead, such a

collapse would dramatically increase the likelihood of his ordering the use of any weapons of mass destruction he may have retained.

Regional Allies Widely Oppose a U.S. Attack, although there was some serious opposition to the Gulf War in many parts of the Middle East and elsewhere, it did have the support of major segments of the international community, including several important Arab states. The Gulf War was widely viewed as an act of collective security in response to aggression by Iraq against its small national. This would not be the case, however, in the happening of a new war against Iraq. Instead, Washington's proposed action would be seen as an unprovoked invasion. Unlike in 1991, when most of the region supported—and even contributed to—the U.S.-led war effort (or was at least neutral), Arab opposition is strong today. Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah has warned that the U.S. “should not strike Iraq, because such an attack would only raise animosity in the region against the United States.” When Vice Leader Dick Cheney visited the Middle East, every Arab leader made clear his opposition. At the Beirut summit of the Arab League at the end of March, the Arab states unanimously endorsed a resolution opposing an attack against Iraq (Schachter, 1991.p.452).

The U.S. officials claim that, public statements to the contrary, there may be some regional allies willing to support a U.S. war effort. Given President Bush's ultimatum that “you are either with us or the terrorists,” it is quite possible that some governments might be successfully pressured to go along. However, nearly any Middle Eastern government willing to provide such support also cooperation would be doing so over the opposition of the vast majority of its citizens. Given the real political risks for example ruler in supporting the U.S. war effort, such acquiescence would take place only reluctantly as a result of American pressure or inducements, not from a sincere belief in the validity of the U.S. military operation (Hiro, 1992.p.320).

After the US collapse of Iraq, it was assumed that democracy would flourish in Iraq and reforms in Iraqi institutions would help build a new democratic and free Iraq. The US implemented a de-Beatification process that led to many

Sunnis losing their positions in the new Iraq, but the effort to create a new and democratic state instead resulted in a sectarian war and a destabilized Iraq with a tumultuous political climate. This led to the rise of terrorist organizations also militia. Still, despite the conflicts, the democratic process within Iraq was being implemented to some extent and it was hoped it could be a model in the Middle East.

To put the majority Shiites in power, the Americans held a series of elections in 2005. Iraqis largely voted along ethnic and sectarian lines, further reinforcing the rifts in Iraqi society that had widened under Hussein. Moreover, to the disappointment of the Bush administration, the parties that the Iraqis voted for were overwhelmingly conservative and religious. A Shiite coalition cobbled together by Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, the most powerful Shiite cleric in Iraq, won the most votes in both sets of parliamentary elections in 2005 (Whitehead, 2009) and consequently took control of the government. This further inflamed the Sunni Arab insurgency as well as bringing new worries to the American government.

The United Iraqi Alliance, tacitly backed by Shia Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, led with some 48% of the vote. The Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan was in second place with some 26% (Whitehead, 2009) of the vote. Prime Minister Ayad Allawi's party, the Iraqi List, came third with some 14%. In total, twelve parties received enough votes to win a seat in the assembly.

Turnout was high 79.6) (Whitehead, 2009.p.225). The White House was encouraged by the relatively low levels of violence during polling, with one insurgent group making good on a promised election day moratorium on attacks, even going so far as to guard the voters from attack. President Bush frequently pointed to the election as a sign of progress in rebuilding Iraq (Whitehead, 2009.p.215).

Iraq has the world's second largest proven oil reserves. According to oil industry experts, new exploration will probably raise Iraq's reserves to 200+ billion barrels of high-grade crude, extraordinarily cheap to produce.

The U.S. government strenuously denied an oil motive for the 2003 collapse of Iraq; in reality its war plans grew out of oil supply fears. Throughout the occupation, from 2003 to 2011, privatizing the oil – against the wishes of Iraqis – was a consistent U.S. priority, also was closely tied to army operations. The full story is told in the book 'Fuel on the Fire: Oil and Politics in Occupied Iraq', by Oil Change International Senior Adviser Greg Muttitt.

Before the U.S and Britain invaded Iraq in 2003, their oil companies were shut out of oil-production bonds being negotiated by the government of Saddam Hussein. Today, more than sixteen years of war later, Saddam is gone, and the U.S. and British oil companies are not only in on the oil contracts, they have managed to sweeten the terms (Le Billon, 2005.p.685).

### **2.11.2 Israel and Mossad Activity in Iraq**

To evade an international the Iraqi crisis and be able to make moves from outside of the borders of the country, the Israeli and US intelligence services activated their anti-occupation network in Iraq and have been organizing native agents and squad executives at the top of their work. So far, a large number of Shiite and Sunni activists who opposed political views over the course of the occupation of Iraq have been sentenced to death squads and martyrdom. The United States and Israel and their security organizations (the CIA and the Mossad), in addition to assassinating the main Shiite leaders, have been struggling with the conflicts that have taken place in Iraq. These activities restrict the presence of middlemen and experts in the future government of Iraq, preventing it from becoming a secular government, but instead try to shape it to be concurrent with the designs of United States (Amir, 2010.p.59).

The most important concern for the Israeli regime over the past 60 years has been a about survival. Considering how the state was formed and its

extremely vulnerable position in the region as a whole, Israel has at all times been worried about the survival and continuity of its statehood. In other words, since its establishment, Israel has all the time been in a permanent struggle with other provincial states and has always been in conflict with its neighbors. That is why all its leaders have a robust focus the subject of security. Therefore, the leadership of Israel has approached even the smallest incidence from a security perspective and considered its effects accordingly (Gat, 2000.p.18) given this situation, Israel has always strived to maintain a balance of power in opposition with its own regional enemies and achieve a relative priority against them. In order to improve the balance of powers in the regional system in its favor, the Israeli regime has been consistently taking three measures as follows:

- 1) Strengthening its power: With regard to the anarchy conditions prevailing in the regions and stressing the self-assistance principle, it is normal that Israel seeks to strengthen and promote its offensive and defensive power. In other words, with respect to the dominance of zero-sum game in Israel's relations with neighbors, an enhanced power and strength is itself considered the first and best act for this regime. In this regard, Israel has always been trying to be superior to its enemies in terms of the conventional military power.
- 2) Seeking regional and trans-regional allies: The Israeli's second act for ensuring security against its enemies has always been looking for trans-regional allies such as the United States and some European states on the one hand, and regional allies like Turkey, Iran (Shah era), and the present-day Iraqi Kurdistan on the other. Therefore, Israel actions in the Northern Iraq and its supporting the Kurdish nationalism are justifiable in this regard.
- 3) Adjusting and eventually eliminating its enemies and Arab neighbors' threat and enmity: The action began at Camp David while Israeli regime was able to put Egypt at the negotiation table when Egyptian leaders could have created an Arabic front against this regime by appealing to pan-Arabism. In the next step, Israel signed a contract with Jordanian state in 1994. Jordan has always been one of the serious threats to the Eastern borders of Israel. Israel also has pushed Saudi Arabia in a direction to accept the peace process. Acceptance of this process by Saudi Arabia and its efforts to

enhance it shows that Saudi Arabia has realized the reality of Israeli regime and tried to compromise and get along with this regime (Shenhav, 1999.p.605).

### **2.11.3 Intervention of Saudi Arabia**

Saudi Arabia did not like the process of political change in Iraq, and saw Saddam's fall might influence Shiites of their own countries. Considering the fact that Bandar bin Sultan was organizing al-Qaeda terrorists in the Syrian crisis, hatred and grudge towards bin Sultan peaked. Supporting the Salafist currents from North Africa to Afghanistan, he reinforced the Takfiris. In this regard, Iraq was the focal point for Bandar bin Sultan. The port is closely tied to Tariq al-Hashimi, and the unrest in the Sunni areas of the center of Iraq is mainly carried out in cooperation with Bandar and al-Hashimi. Their goal was to bring an economic blow to Abu Risha Awakening Council, which controls the area. Nevertheless, Iraqi intelligence agencies are aware of the influence of Saudi Arabia and warned of its involvement in Iraq, but the influence of Saudi Arabia among al-Qaeda was a fact that was aggravated by internal disputes (Motaghi, 2015.p.60).

Saudi Arabia was an influential country from the beginning of the formation of a new Iraq. Riyadh first tried to bring Iraq to the Arab-Sunni Front, by ordering its officials at the domestic level to repeatedly attack to ensure the imminent destruction of the Sunnis. They also spoke in parliamentary and constitutional elections. At the regional level, the balance then changed in favor of Iran. In the next phase, Saudi Arabia accused the Iraqi government with "sectarianism", causing the relationship of Iran with Iraq to change and Iraqi government became a threat to the people Middle East, so that Saudi officials were safe, secure, and stable. With the escalation of Shi'a presence in power and marginalization Sunnis, the concerns of Saudi Arabia became apparent. Hence, in the 2010 political turmoil in Iraq, Saudi Arabia invited the Iraqi groups and tried to act as mediators in the formation of the new government.



Finally, after 9 years, Riyadh officially signed relations with Iraq in 2012 and sent an unofficial ambassador. As you can see, during these years, Saudi foreign policy was based on denying the Sunnis acceptance into the Iraqi government, and the gradual acceptance of Iraq in the Arab world. Identity ideas such as Arabite, Wahhabis, and the Government structure and oil power of the country was important factors in foreign policy decision making in which Saudi Arabia has pushed for its goals to change the situation in Iraq (Allison, & Cordesman, 2010.p.58).

## **2.12 Conclusion**

With the occupation of Iraq and the abolition of the rule of Saddam, the Iraqi state suffered a vacuum of power, which was the cause of the greed of terrorist groups to gain power. The inherited legacies of the former dictatorial regime and the erosion of nation-building and ethnic and sectarian diversity as well as the increasing poverty and economic problems are among the factors that have contributed to the spread of terrorism in this country. Terrorism in Iraq was also affected by internal changes.

Whenever a political solution was adopted, and the terrorists were isolated and the military solution was taken, the terrorists were more successful. The alignment of religious groups and examples by Shiite and Sunni scholars can be solid steps to neutralize Shiite and Sunni conflict. This alignment can lead to the strengthening of national discourse, and with the intensification of security measures in Baghdad and the Syrian border with Iraq, the connection of terrorists can be cut off.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **IRAQ POLICIES AGAINST TERRORISM**

#### **3.1Introduction**

Despite the international efforts to combat international terrorism, which resulted in the conclusion of many of international conventions, global and regional, aimed at preventing and suppressing some forms of terrorism and punish them, but the events of 9/11 of September 2001 and subsequent terrorist attacks in the various parts of the world have led to the increasing awareness by States of the importance and necessity of taking national measures as well to strengthen their cooperation at the global and regional levels to counter that phenomenon.

The review of Iraqi legislation related to the terrorist phenomenon indicates that the Iraqi legislator has followed, in the beginning, like most national legislations, the meaning of relying mainly on law, Sanctions against terrorism, domestic and international. However, the circumstances experienced by Iraq since 2003 the increase in internal violence for known reasons led to a reversal of the previous approach. As well as orders issued by the coalition Provisional Authority, which included provisions to address the phenomenon of terrorism at home, The Iraqi Constitution contained provisions prohibiting terrorism. The Iraqi legislator also adopts the pro-Iraqi trend to issue a special and independent law, where the National Assembly issued the anti-terrorism law No. 13 2005. And followed the example of the legislator in Kurdistan of Iraq, where he issued a law against terrorism No.2006 (Human Rights Watch, 2014.p.15).

In addition, Resolutions (1546), (1637), and (1723) of the UN Security Council authorized international coalition forces to detain individuals "for

imperative reasons of security,” thereby prompting the U.S. military to arrest anyone in Iraq who posed a “security risk” and hold them indefinitely without filing charges or bringing these suspects to court. These practices provided a precedent for Iraqi security forces incommunicado, detention of suspects in addition to the wide power granted by the Anti- Terrorism Law.<sup>11</sup> Present debates on terrorism involve limited citizen involvement or dialogue. Given that terrorism is likely to remain a serious problem in the future, effective counter-terrorism strategies and tactics must be formulated immediately to protect civil liberty. These strategies must include a strong element of criminal justice that is guided by a normative legal framework and embedded the basic principles of due process and respect for human rights. The role of the criminal justice system in countering terrorism is a challenging one. Indeed, the primary objective of counterterrorism strategies must be to prevent terrorist incidents from taking place. The reality, however, is that many criminal justice systems are currently better at responding to and punishing crimes after the fact than at preventing them in the first place (United Nations, 2009.p.3).

Thus, special counter-terrorism legislation that departs from traditional criminal the law must be carefully adopted. Therefore, the researcher examines the Anti-Terrorism Law from the perspective of the Iraqi constitution and other relevant Iraqi and international laws out the amendment of such law are deemed non-compliant to international standards (United Nations, 2009.p.5).

### **3.2 Development of Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Legislation**

Traditionally, in the writings of jurisprudence on the events of 9/11 September 2001 as a point, the main shift in the development of national counter-terrorism legislation. However, the Iraqi situation represents a special and unique case in this regard. These events have led to increased accusations the Iraqi government - at the time - to support international terrorism, which was one of the reasons it was said to justify Occupation in 2003. In other words, the turning point in the position of the Iraqi legislator regarding Terrorism has been affected by the reality of occupation.

Pre-enactment of a special anti-terrorism law: reliance on the Penal Code, This has been characterized by the fact that the Iraqi legislator, like most national legislations, dealt with crimes Terrorism under Penal Code No.(111) of 1969. The expression of terrorist crimes has been mentioned in article (21) enumerates crimes that are not considered political crimes, even if they were committed by political means It follows that the perpetrator does not enjoy the political advantages enjoyed by the perpetrator of the political offense Including commuting the death penalty to life imprisonment and not depriving the perpetrator of civil and political rights and not Considering the crime as a precedent in the lute (Medhat, 1995.p.78).

The Iraqi Penal Code also criminalizes certain acts that it considers to be terrorism and punishment Rapporteur. For example, article (156) states: "A person who commits a crime shall be sentenced to death intentionally to prejudice the independence, unity or territorial integrity of the country or to join an anti-Iraq group does not have the status of warriors. Article (190) states:" Anyone who commits force or violence to overthrow the republican system of government or change the constitution of the state or the form of government shall be punished with life or temporary imprisonment ( Nour al-Din, 1998.p.69).

Issuing a special anti-terrorism law, this phase, which began in total since 2003, has seen an increase in armed violence as a result of deterioration Post-occupation situations and infiltration of external elements to participate in armed resistance of the occupation, as well as the outbreak of sectarian violence. As a result, Iraqis were subjected to operations kidnapping and incitement to violence. Coalition provisional authority orders no (27). For the year 2003 establishment of the authority for the Protection of Enterprises to Assist the People In its efforts to create conditions of stability and security, coalition provisional authority order no. (28) of 3 September 2003, including the establishment of the defense Corps Civil society of the urgent need to address urgently the hazards posed by harmful actions or disasters which threaten public security and stability and prevent terrorists from tampering

with security in Iraq, which necessitated the establishment of temporary police forces working in cooperation with coalition forces to counter the threat and maintain security in Iraq. Coalition Order no. (1) Of 2004 ordered the National Safety Act, which defined procedures, which impose a state of emergency when terrorist acts, endanger the lives of the Iraqi people? (Mohamed, 1999.p.165)

### **3.2.1 Criminalization of Terrorism in the Constitution of the Republic of Iraq, 2005**

The Iraqi constitution, which was approved by the National Assembly on 28-8-2005, contains the text in its place on the criminalization of terrorism. The Iraqi constitution is the only constitution we know which is explicitly stated Prohibition of terrorism. The preamble to the constitution stated that terrorism did not dissuade the advancing people of Iraq to build a state of law. The provisions of Article (7) of this Article stipulate that:

1. Any entity or approach that adopts racism, terrorism, fakir, or sectarian cleansing shall be prohibited; Incites preaches praises, promotes or justifies him, especially the Sodalist Baath in Iraq and its symbols and under any name was and should not be within the political pluralism and regulated by law.
2. The State is committed to combating terrorism in all its forms and to protecting its territory from being a headquarters a path or a yard for his activity.

Furthermore, the article (21- Third) from Iraqi Constitution 2005, states that: "Political asylum shall not be granted to a person accused of committing international or terrorist crimes or to any person who inflicted damage on Iraq" (Iraqi: Constitution of 2005).

In addition, the article (73- First) from Iraqi Constitution 2005, states that "the President of the Republic must assume the power to issue a special pardon on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, except for anything concerning a private claim and for those who have been convicted of committing international crimes, terrorism, or financial and administrative corruption."

While the Article (132- second) states that: "the State shall guarantee compensation to the families of the martyrs and the injured as a result of terrorist acts"(Iraqi: Constitution of 2005).

### **3.2.2 Anti - Terrorism Law in Iraq**

Given the increase in terrorist operations and the threat to life and lives, Citizens of Iraq, the need for a special and independent anti-terrorism law was urgently needed. The National Assembly approved this law and was ratified by the Presidential Council in resolution no. (13) Of 11/7/2005, this law includes a definition of "terrorism" (art. 1) and a list of numbers of "terrorist" acts (art. 2), as well as offenses affecting State security (art. 3) and penalties (Art. 4), excuses (art. 5) and final clauses (art. 6). The National Assembly has identified the reasons Positive for the issuance of the law in:

The severity of the damage caused by the terrorist operations to the extent that they threaten national unity and the pursuit of a pluralistic democratic system based on the rule of law and the guarantee of rights and freedoms and to promote the development of comprehensive and require the issuance of legislation that would eliminate Terrorist operations and reduce the interaction with those involved in any form of support and support. (Bassiouni, 2005.p.143). Because the analysis of the provisions and provisions of this law will be detailed in another part of this study, it is sufficient to indicate the characteristics that characterize it, which are:

1. That the penalties provided for in this law are intended to achieve the two objectives referred to in the reasons for its issuance, namely the deterrence of individuals and their refusal to commit any terrorist acts. It also allows for repentance or exemption. The legislator has authorized the person to avoid or mitigate the punishment, in order to limit the consequences of acts of terrorism in the event that they occur.
2. The law is devoid of procedural rules, unlike the laws of counter-terrorism. Which has been and continues to be widely criticized by human rights jurisprudence or bodies? The legislator seems to have felt that the guarantees available in the Code of Criminal Procedure are sufficient or that he is of the opinion that security considerations should prevail over human rights.

3. The implementation of the law has witnessed a significant development recently, with the establishment of a special system to compensate victims of terrorism. It is known that this procedure is provided for in article 4 of the Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism (Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Law No (13) 2005).

Article (2) stipulates: "Working with violence and threatening to provoke sectarian strife, civil war or sectarian strife, by arming citizens or by forcing them to arm each other and by instigating or financing terrorist acts." (Iraqi: Constitution of 2005).

Article (1) of Article (4) stipulates the death penalty for any person who commits an act of terrorism mentioned in this law, be it an original or a partner. The instigator, the schemer, the financier, and anyone who enables the terrorists to commit such acts shall be punished by the penalty of the original perpetrator.

Article (2) of the same article stipulates the penalty of life imprisonment for those who deliberately hide any terrorist act or the harbor of a terrorist to cover up (Iraqi: Constitution of 2005).

For its part, the Parliament of Kurdistan ratified the anti-terrorism law in 2006 (Law No. 3) and the law entered into force on 17/7/2006 and the law includes sixteen articles. The law has established the reasons for its issuance in:

The emergences of terrorism as a serious global phenomenon aimed at causing terror or intimidation of people, disrupting public order and the safety and security of society and harm the people and endanger their lives and freedoms of risk and harm to the environment and public and private funds. The law also referred to the Interest of "the international community in the development of legislation to combat terrorism and the demand of its members to cooperate seriously to put an end to this phenomenon and address the causes." It should be noted, however, that the promulgation of the two laws has raised and continues to raise considerable controversy both in terms of the provisions of the laws that affect freedoms and fundamental rights or the absence of special procedural provisions similar to other Arab and non-Arab anti-terrorism legislation. Some have even raised doubts as

to the feasibility and importance of the enactment of the two laws since the provisions contained therein are no more than a limitation of the Penal Code. (Extension: of the anti-terrorism law in Kurdistan, until, 2010.p.71).

### **3.3 Iraq and International Conventions Relating To the Fight against Terrorism**

Iraq has signed and deposited instruments of ratification of five international conventions of the 11 fundamental conventions relating to the suppression of terrorism worldwide, as well as the Protocol for the Suppression of Acts against the Safety of civil aviation. On the regional level, Iraq is a party to the Arab Convention against Terrorism on 22/4/1998.

Most of the bilateral legal and judicial cooperation agreements concluded by Iraq with the various countries of the world include the violations contained in the international conventions relating to the fight against terrorism and the extradition of criminals who commit such violations.

The Iraqi government has referred to "a high committee to combat terrorism headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the membership of all Iraqi ministries and institutions related to the fight against terrorism"(American Bar Association Center for Human Rights 2014. P.6)

The committee, among other things, examines Iraq's accession or ratification of international and regional counter-terrorism treaties. It is clear from the foregoing that Iraq regards terrorism as a threat to national security. It therefore relies on preventive measures as well as criminal law in its broad sense, which includes both the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure to Prevent and Suppress Terrorism. These means are reinforced and supported by close cooperation between Iraq and other countries, both Arab and non-Arab. This cooperation is reflected in early warning mechanisms through the exchange of information between States. It is also involved in various fields such as customs police and intelligence activities. With regard to security cooperation, Iraq is a member of the Arab Police Organization and a member of Interpol with offices around the world. Iraq, in



coordination with the Organization, is working to exchange information on terrorism through an integrated project that contains all the data on terrorists and their methods of work and funding. Iraq also cooperates with neighboring countries through the agreements reached among them for not providing a shelter for terrorists and holding periodic conferences aimed at coordination among them, to prevent the infiltration or infiltration by terrorist elements of any of them (American Bar Association Center for Human Rights. 2014. p.9)

The most important international conventions and protocols related to the fight against terrorism Iraqi has signed these conventions include:

1. Convention on offenses and certain other acts committed on Board Aircraft of 1963, to which Iraq acceded on 15 May 1974.
2. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft of 1970, to which Iraq acceded on 3 December 1971.
3. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation of 1971, to which Iraq acceded on 10/9/1974.
4. Convention on the prevention and punishment of crimes against internationally protected persons, including International Staff, 1973, to which Iraq acceded on 28 February 1978.
5. Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, 1988, to which Iraq acceded on 31 January 1990.
6. United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its two Protocols, which entered into force in 1999, to which Iraq has acceded under Law No. 20 of 2007.
7. The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, ratified by Iraq by Law No. 35 of 2008.
8. International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings of 1997, to which Iraq has acceded by Law No. 109 of 2012.
9. The International Convention for the Suppression and Financing of Terrorism of 1999, to which Iraq has acceded by Law No. 3 of 2012.
10. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Convention against International Terrorism of 1999, to which Iraq acceded by Law No. 4 of 2012.

11.The Arab Convention for the Prevention of Money Laundering and the Financing of Terrorism for the year 2010, ratified by Iraq by Law No. 62 of 2012.

12. The International Convention for the Suppression of Nuclear Terrorism, to which Iraq has acceded by Law No. 5 of 2012.

13. International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, which Iraq ratified by Law No. 26 of 2012.

14.United Nations Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation to which Iraq has acceded by Law No. 113 of 2012 (Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, 2012).

The most important international conventions and protocols related to the fight against terrorism the process of ratification by Iraq. These conventions are:

1. International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, 1979.
2. Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation of 1988.
3. International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings of 1997.
4. International convention for the suppression of the financing of terrorism, 1999.
5. International convention for the suppression of nuclear terrorism 2005.
6. Protocol to the convention for the suppression of Unlawful acts against the Safety of maritime navigation, 2005 (Arowolo, 2013.p.100).

### **3.4 International Assistance in Iraq against Terrorism**

Since its inception in 2014, the International Alliance has worked hard to reduce the threat posed by the organization of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria to international security and our countries. Coalition members unite under a common cause to defeat the organization through a strong approach, including working through and with local partners for military operations; supporting the stabilization of liberated territories from the organization of the Islamic state; and strengthening international cooperation against the global objectives of organizing the Islamic state through

information exchange, Cooperation in the field of law enforcement, cessation of funding for the organization of the Islamic State, combating violent extremist recruitment and neutralizing the narrative of the organization. The alliance is also engaged in large-scale civilian efforts to provide humanitarian aid to communities suffering from displacement and conflict and to support efforts to stabilize the territories liberated from the organization of the Islamic State. The Alliance's joint efforts have reduced the capacity, regional gains, leadership, financial resources and direct impact of the Islamic State's military organization (Behnam, & Rohaida, 2012.p.11).

The 68-member international coalition is the largest international coalition in history it is a diverse group, in which each member makes unique contributions within a strong civil and military effort, Twenty-three coalition partners have more than 9,000(US. Department of state.2017) troops in Iraq and Syria to support efforts to defeat the Islamic state by working through and through our local partners, the Alliance has made significant progress in depriving the Islamic State Organization of a safe haven and building the military capabilities of those involved in direct action against the organization of the Islamic State.

The coalition operations liberated 62% of the territory under the control of the Islamic State Organization in Iraq and 30% in Syria, including the major cities in both countries. The number of fighters of the Islamic State Organization in Iraq and Syria reached the lowest level since the group declared the "Caliphate", less than half compared to the peak in 2014.

Coalition aircraft launched more than 19,000 (US. Department of state.2017.P.3).air strikes on Islamic State targets, displacing tens of thousands of fighters from the battlefield and killing more than 180 (US Department of state.2017.p.3) top-level leaders, including almost all Baghdadi, including those known as the Minister the war Information, finance, oil and gas, and the main strategy of external operations In addition to the fighters, these precision air strikes target foreign attack planners, military and administrative officials, foreign facilitators, communications

officials, energy assets, command and control facilities and cash storage facilities.

The coalition supported our Iraqi partners to make significant progress in the war to restore Mosul. Iraqi security forces liberated eastern Mosul on 24 January 2017 and are now achieving significant regional gains in the western part of the city. To date, the coalition has trained nearly 90,000(US. Department of state.2017.p.5) members of the Iraqi security forces, including Iraqi army soldiers, counterterrorism officers the Kurdish Peshmerga, federal police, border security forces, and tribal volunteers. Coalition members also donated about 8,200 tons of military equipment to our local Syrian and Iraqi partners in the battle against the organization of the Islamic state.

Since 2014, coalition members have provided more than \$ 22.2(US. Department of state.2017.p.5) billion for stabilization, demining, economic support and humanitarian assistance in Iraq and Syria - all of which warn of the resurgence of the Islamic state In July, partners at the pledging conference in Washington pledged more than \$ 2.3 (US. Department of state.2017.p.5) billion for humanitarian assistance, stabilization and mine clearance in Iraq The coalition expects to raise \$ 2 billion (US. Department of state.2017) for these efforts in Iraq and Syria for 2017

NATO's support for stabilization programs is crucial as we seek to retain the land we have prepared from the organization of the Islamic state and to take care of people in the liberated areas. Supporting stability efforts is a strategic investment in combating the organization of the Islamic state. As a result of this support, local partners in Iraq are dealing with the organization of the Islamic State, restoration of services, purification of schools, Explosive Remnants of War (ERW) clinics and improvised explosive devices, helping families to return home when they are ready, and providing security and rehabilitation. Establishing the rule of law in the regions Criminals from the Islamic state organization have committed some of the worst international crimes in the world in decades. Coalition members document these atrocities and expose members of the organization to accountability. Iraq has

requested additional assistance to support local capacity to pursue accountability. At the international level, coalition partners are exploring ways to hold accountable members who defend international crimes, such as genocide and crimes against humanity, in accordance with international investigative mechanisms.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), working on the ground in Iraq with local partners, has implemented more than 350 projects to date, all of which have achieved their objectives on time and within allocated costs. Mosul's first projects began in the suburbs and the previously agreed equipment was deployed for \$ 43 million (US. Department of state.2017.p.6) the provision of civilian security by the trained police is critical to stability efforts. Five countries have joined Italy-led efforts to train more than 7,000 (US. Department of State.2017.p.5) Iraqi police officers: so far and some 900(US. Department of state.2017.p.9) new police officers may graduate every month.

The Iraqi central government has demonstrated its improved ability to deal with a range of important issues, including supporting local governance, maintaining security, providing electricity and other basic services, managing the economy, defending the country's territorial integrity, and supporting the rights of all Iraqis. Sex, religion or beliefs Iraq's success in rehabilitating the partially liberated communities is due to its partnership with coalition members, enabling UNDP to provide more than \$ 240 million (US. Department of state, 2017) for stabilization programs over the past two years Supports the coalition in Iraq and enables the military operations led by the country to secure the liberation and safe cities in a sustainable manner. Working with the United Nations and in partnership with the Iraqi government, relief organizations have worked to ensure that humanitarian assistance is provided before military operations and internally displaced persons are prepared. Through the provision of emergency assistance, the identification of local security forces after the organization of the Islamic State, the establishment of demining capabilities and the implementation of rapid stabilization projects, we have witnessed a significant reduction in the

number of internally displaced persons in Iraq and helped create conditions conducive to the voluntary, safe and dignified return of internally displaced persons. In total, more than 1.5 million (US. Department of state.2017) Iraqis have returned to their homes. United Nations stabilization projects, with funding from coalition partners, have helped create conditions for the return of more than 500,000 (US. Department of state.2017) displaced persons to Anbar alone including Ramadi and Falluja. In eastern Mosul and surrounding areas, more than 70,000 (US Department of state.2017) internally displaced persons have returned to their homes, the Nineveh Provincial Council has returned and the United Nations has begun stabilization operations. We will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to those in need throughout the country as stability programs continue.

Ten members of the coalition are ready to meet one-third of the costs of demining in Iraq in 2018. Canada, Denmark, and Germany generously provided funding for Janus' global operations to clean 1.7 million (US, Department of state.2017) square meters of at least 21,248 kilograms of explosives in Anbar province. The United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS) is working to clear mines from liberated areas, with a focus also on building local demining capacity. Janus and the United Nations Mine Action Service are coordinating closely with UNDP and the Government of Iraq to support planning for the stabilization of Mosul.

In addition to humanitarian and stabilization efforts, the United Nations has developed a plan of action to prevent violent extremism, and States around the world are implementing their recommendations. It also urges the Alliance to fully implement the various Security Council resolutions that require States to take certain measures against the organization of an Islamic State, such as the prevention of arms transfers or the provision of funds. The Global Counter-Terrorism Forum has developed a series of global initiatives, training programs and good practices to address the life cycle of violent extremists. These steps are necessary to limit the ability of an Islamic state to operate freely across international borders (US, Department of state.2017.p.5).

### 3.5 Conclusion

Terrorism is no longer an ordinary crime of honor, but rather a method of committing war crimes, aggression and genocide, crimes against humanity, and even a curtain of new colonialism.

Terrorism not only is dealt with by a criminal policy based on prevention, criminalization, and punishment through legal means but should be addressed by education, religious guidance, political, economic and administrative reform, sustainable development and respect for human rights and public freedoms.

The government cooperates with the people in this struggle, and national efforts are based on regional and international support, support and support of local and international civil society organizations.

Terrorism has no universally accepted definition. Although many scientists they have tried to define this concept over the years; this term is loaded with concepts Problems that hinder the formulation of a universally accepted definition. Iraqi the legislation did not specify the term "terrorism" before the enactment of the Anti-Terrorism Act No. 13 of 2005. Instead, terrorism is defined loosely as an element of a crime or the aggravating circumstances listed in Penal Code No. 111 of 1969. Although the term "terrorism" was mentioned in articles (21), (365), (366) and Iraqi legislation just imagine terrorism as a crime, such as conspiring to change the basic Principles of the Constitution or assault on citizens.

The Penal Code and other relevant legislation in Iraq have been adopted to punish crimes against the security of the state and public order. These laws, which have wide coverage, can include terrorist offenses. However, without defining "terrorism," many measures to ensure security or to counter-terrorism will not be within the rule of law, and consequently, May affect human rights. Despite Penal Code provisions that protect the right of suspects to be free from arbitrary arrest and detention, along with the right to

a fair trial, the Anti-Terrorism Law of Iraq is frequently used to circumvent these protective measures.

Since its implementation on February 9, 2005, Anti-Terrorism Law No. 13 has raised many questions and debates between its supporters and challengers. This act was implemented by a relatively new Iraqi government at a time when the security of the country was compromised after the Iraqi borders were opened to everyone, thereby increasing the crime rates within Iraqi territory. Upon realizing that the existing Iraqi laws were inconsistent with the reality, the Iraqi government issued the Anti-Terrorism Law. The law also contains loose provisions, especially Article (4), which contains broad interpretations that can threaten civil liberties. The law has been worded in such a way that anyone who challenges its orders will be brought to trial.

Under the Anti-Terrorism Law, Iraqi authorities continue to arrest suspects, hold them in protracted, pre-trial detention without judicial review, subject them to torture, and keep them in horrible circumstances while in custody. Therefore, the Anti-Terrorism Law in Iraq has become like a sword that hangs on the necks of Iraqi citizens and an influential factor in the relationship between the Iraqi leaders and their people. People are arrested and detained arbitrarily on political and religious grounds. Many prisoners are held captive without access to relatives, lawyers, or doctors for weeks, months, or years before their trial. Some people are detained for prolonged periods without charge or trial and often outside the judicial process.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE REASONS OF IRAQS POLICY FAILURE ON TERRORISM**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The fight against terrorist activities in Iraq has been on the spotlight for years right from when the united states call on war on terrorist activities because it stands as a threat to global peace prior to the September 11 bombing major countries have been under constant fear, this instigated the intervention in Afghanistan and other countries. The three major countries that have been on the headlines as the major countries that stand as a threat to the international community and the world at large were Iran, Iraq, and North Korea the super powers believe that they were in position of weapon of mass destruction (Foyle, 2004.p.269).

In the year 2003 base on the allegations of the Iraq head of state Saddam Hussein which was human rights violation, been in the position of weapon of mass destruction and suspected to be associated to Al'Queda. This led to the invasion of Iraq, although this brought to end the regime of Saddam Hussein and brought to end the administration of the Sunni, these has had an effect on the Sunni community in Iraq these has led to militias who have been under attacked by the salafi extremist groups, Takfiris having been counter attacking some of the Shi'a shrines, Rumors has it that some of the Arab regimes are backing up some of these activities, these has made all the efforts that has been made by both the international community and the Iraqi government to fight against terrorist activities almost like a failed course.

Terrorist activities after the united states and the united kingdom intervention has really escalated to what seems to be almost uncontrollable, Iraq have had internal conflicts which has to do with ethnicity most at times these things are not taken into consideration that is why few months after the Iraqi

intervention the united states realized that it has bitten more than it can chew, it was actually supposed to be very easy but it has caused the country too much instability and a resting ground for terrorist activities as well as ethnic conflicts. the activities of al Qaida actually started before the US invasion of Iraq but it became more severe base on the believe that the intervention was more centered on self-fish interest rather than intervention as it was called base on the chargers laid on Saddam Hussein it included been in position of weapon of mass destruction, human right violation and the basic thing was to bring down a dictator and bring about peace building in the country which includes state building this has to do with having a stable political election with periodic elections (Sapiro, 2003.p.599).

The believe that the international community invasion of Iraq was based on selfish interest is one of the main reasons that magnified terrorist activities in the country mostly Al Qaida because of the contradicting ideologies and the clash of values according to what Newman considers as part of the possible causes of terrorist activities, al Qaida which is known as the founders of ISIS an extremist Islamic group, another possible reasons behind al Qaida's activities in Iraq can also be poverty and exploitation by the international community because of the mineral resource in the country which is mainly oil. This terrorist group has really been fighting foreign occupation in the country although the aim of the invasion has been fulfilled by the international community but ended up building a monster that the world at large is finding it impossible to contend (Looney, 2008.p.430).

understanding of the ideologies of the US which to them was based on selfish interest, before Al Qaeda had a place in Iraq they Sunnis were strongly fighting against the US habitation of Iraq, in other to do that with the common interest between the Sunnis and Al Qaeda of which they believed they had a common enemy they started working together. Understanding that Al Qaeda was more advanced in terms of skills, technology the Sunnis group was been trained by Al Qaeda and them working together made them to have more fighters to fight against the US habitation of Iraq (Looney,2008.p.435).

This collaboration further enhances and established Al Qaeda's activities in the country because they believe they had a common enemy that needs to be eliminated from the country, one of the main reasons was because of the sectarian differences between the Shiite and the Sunnis they believe that with Al Qaeda by their side they will easily win the war. Al Qaeda made the Sunnis to understand that they had a common enemy which were the Shia and the external habitation of Iraq, in terms of their capabilities when it comes to fighting what they referred to as enemies the Sunnis were limited so they two groups were working together (Al Qaeda and the Sunni) in order to achieve that target. Although they seemed to have different policies one group which was the Sunni was trying to fight for its right while the other group which was Al Qaeda had its strong extremist ideas but with the understanding that they had a common enemy they decided to work together (Burleigh, 2008.p.15).

So many factors have made the policies against terrorist activities in the country to be difficult, some scholars argue that political differences in terms of the ideology might have been a contributing factor to this failure one of which is the intervention in 2003 the peace building and the state building. One thing that cannot be ignored is the issue of Islam and democracy as much as we can't focus our arguments only on this topic but is a factor, the reasons behind a conflict, history of a country needs to be considered before a peace building can be initiated.

Most of the terrorist groups are working based on selfish interest some Scholars argue that some individuals (Politicians) are behind these terrorist activities because of their selfish interest. Chapter 4 aims at exploring some of the possible factors behind the failure of the policy on terrorism in Iraq: political factors, socio-economic factors, religion factors, failure of military measures and the failed state and then the conclusion (Herring, 2008.p.47).

## 4.2 Political Factors

After the 2003 US, and UK interfered in Iraq with the aim of building a state. This came with so many consequences as we mentioned earlier, it has in a way made the fight against terrorism impossible and a failure. The need to understand the power political dialogue has over the use of force through fire arms to resolve conflict in a country that doesn't understand or know what means to have and initiate democracy would have gone a long way and the proper preparation for terrorist acts considering the allegations on the Saddam would have contented the insurgencies that have been taking place. Countries like Syria and Iran played a role by making sure that some of the jihadist groups will not bring it ammunitions into the country to disrupt the intervention this was basically by closing borders that they could penetrate into the country. A provisional government was been instated in 2003 and some of the things they stated organizing was an elections, including and increasing the participation of civil societies, human rights and creating a pathway to democracy, in their statement they were looking for ways to bring about stable electricity in the country which will increase foreign investors and jobs will be created, the major reasons behind the occupation which is de-Beatification was been questioned by so many scholars which according to them played a major role in the failure of the policy against terrorism.

The strategy to rebuild the state and according to the provisional government there wasn't much money to sustain the country of which according to them many working for the government will lose their jobs until when a formal structure is been established. The lack of jobs and the need for survival most have played a role in increasing the rise of terrorism and another reason why the population were taking part in terrorist act can be with the motive of dilapidating and making it very uncomfortable for the provisional government and at the same time terrorist groups with political interest make use of people like this to their own advantage. Political understanding of the failure is reflected in the way the united states came scholars argue that the perspective with which they came with was one of the things that make policy to be unsuccessful considering that plans were not made to counter the

eruption of any crisis or internal conflict in the country but coming with the mindset of constructing and creating a democratic state with a political mindset not understanding the history and where the country is coming from. Political values imposed by the united states was just the bases for the occupation although some scholars argue that a hegemony was the bases behind the occupation with no plans for eventualities, proper playing can be said to have played part in the reasons behind the failure is possible to understand that they troops were equipped or they underestimated the dictator and what he can do not understanding that the population cannot just accept a foreigners view of their day to day reality (Meyer, & Corrigan-Brown, 2005.p.327).

#### **4.2.1 Government Failure**

First of all the interim government was been established by the united nations there have been so many stories of the peacekeeping troops that were been sent to maintain peace violating civilians one of the serious cases that happened was the rape of a 13 years old girl by some of the United States troops and the killing of her family. Another factor that contributed to the failure of the policy against terrorism can be related with the inability to have a government with a stable government institutions, after the occupation of Iraq the existing government was eradicated which means that no stable government was present at the moment apart from the provision government provided by the united states and understanding this factor from a nationalistic perspective which has to do with the external and the internal there will be a quest for leadership which includes selfish interest and also greed possessing government funds for personal use, this open up doors for insurgency to flow as well as increase the rate of crimes in the country. When there is a rise in crime which makes life unbearable for the population people see the government as a failure that unable to ensure their security and they will turn to individuals, groups, religious leaders as well as political actors or leaders that seem capable to ensure their security and safety.

In New man's article on the causes of terrorism he mentioned that terrorism has a trait of bitterness in it one of the things that instigate terrorism is the

gap between the rich and the poor in the society and the way the government is treating the people. Taking the power from the supposed minorities to the majority group is also a problem. Consociationalism is been defined as a system of government where by different groups in a society religious, ethnic are been given the chance and the opportunity to take decisions on their own in a particular state. This is mostly in states that have different ethnicities and have encountered conflicts in the past, this system of government as much as it can be effective in a conflict broken societies scholars argue the point that this can in a way further engrave the conflicts because of the clear lines of differences that has been induced by the system thereby bringing up a clear possibilities of crisis in the future. The introduction of this system of government in Iraq could have been a better model in building the state but this can as well have induced the reoccurrences of ethnic and sectarian differences in the country (Monten, 2014.p.173).

Proportional representation which has shown signs of failure over the years in Iraq, the sectarian conflicts in Iraq explains why the country is divided. Right from when the intervention started in 2003 the country has been faced with so much violence amongst different groups in the country from the attacks on the shite shrines to the kidnapping of the Sunnis, as much as institutions were been build it hasn't stopped the conflicts in the country (Higashi, 2009.p.25).

In the year 2006 to 2008 the country has experienced a civil war that claimed so many lives, rendered many homeless, increased the poverty rate, unemployment, Over 3000 people were killed in the civil war, as much as the peace building efforts in Iraq was not targeted to only Iraq but it was seen as a way of further enhancing the global peace according to former united states president George Bush the creation of two separate government known as the Iraqi Kurdistan's which brought about the Baghdad and the Erbil which has increased more tension when it comes to the sales of the petrol without the knowledge of the government. This instigated more explosions and bombings in the country and increased terrorist activities and made livelihood difficult for the citizens of Iraq, the bombings targeted all important areas in

Baghdad meaning that targeting the social and the political domains in Iraq mostly by the Ahrimans Islamic state these extremist group was controlling almost 3 third of the countries territory over a very short period of time (Badie, 2010.p.277).

#### **4.2.2 Oil Money**

some scholars argue that one of the reasons behind the Iraqi occupation was based on selfish interest (Oil money) and in other to make it easier for the occupation government to have access to the economy and the oil money is by calling on the intervention which was said to be for the interest of the whole world because the Iraqi administration was been viewed as a threat.

When the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), was established with Paul Bremer in charge of the administration so many of the public offices were been deserted by some of the Iraqi public personnel's while others where been sacked, according to the united states the country was in an economy crisis and there was no much funds in the countries account meaning that the reconstruction of the state will be from their own accounts while some scholars argue this to be just some way to clear up what the real deal was all about, aside from the united states playing the role of one of the world's super power and its place as one of the permanent members of the security council selfish interest was part of the intervention (Higashi, 2009.p.25).

#### **4.2.3 Radical Terrorist Organizations**

A better argument can be drawn in the ethnic and sectarian conflict that has been ongoing of which so many terrorist groups with political motives hide behind in propagating their interest through religion. This is related to the reason why the Sunnis were fighting against the occupation these was one of the things that made the Al Qaeda terrorist organization to have a strong place in the country, with the understanding that they have a mutual enemy that is trying to ripe them of their rights, another issue is the Kurds some scholars argue that this area happens to be the main area were the oil is located and the occupation base on its claims that this group have been under threat from the past administration which has to do with human rights

violation and it happens to receive more favor from the occupation but some scholars argue that it is predominantly because of the oil (Piazza, 2009.p.62).

This increased the activities of ISIL in the country in most of the territory of the country, considering the history of the country from the Ba'ath to totalitarian regime and to the introduction of democracy the country has experienced dictatorship over the years and for decades, democracy most have been established but the conflicts between the Shiites and the Sunnis was not tackled, the lack of unity in the and having a stable political orientation and stability which creates differences in terms of ideologies by those producing selfish political leaders who can instigated terrorist activities in the country. These are political factors that make the policy on terrorism a failure in Iraq (Badie, 2010.p.277).

#### **4.2.4 Sunni-Shia Divides**

In the year 1932 king Faisal made a comment on how divided Iraq was because of the religion and ethnic differences which will serve as a major hindrance to the country, it is evident that there has been issues of which 0 years after the king Faisal death the country is still encountering the same challenges just that Saddam's government has not been able to properly handle the situation. It brought up questions about the reason there is so much hatred between the Sunni and the shite, the Shiites view Saddam's regime as oppressive and excluded from the affairs of the country and they were forced to live in a country rather than a home. When Saddam was overthrown the ethnic grievance was uncontrollable it erupted with full fire understanding that the Sunni who happen to be the minorities have been heading the country while the majorities the shite believe that the regime have been unfair to them brought up more conflict according to the Sunni the United States was acting in favor of the Shiite's of which Saddam is a Sunni (Mallat, 1988.p.699).

There have been arguments on the reasons behind the political status of Iraq has been shaky one of the reasons is because Iraq became a state after the World War 1, this constituted the coming together of different ethnic groups



together to form Iraq. Although most Iraqis believe that Iraq's formation is like every other state, the first Iraqi president after the fall of the Saddam's regime mentioned that Saddam played a role in the destruction of the country's identity. The sectarian conflict in the country can be explained as a quest for power and it is not necessary on identity or one group is marginalized compared to the other. This sectarian conflict that has often been categorized to be based on ethnic and sectarian differences is political, each group believes that they have the right to rule and do better than the other group. From the creation of Iraq, the Kurds have always portrayed themselves to be mostly continuers of identity as well as power driven from the monarchy of 1921-1958 to 1958-1963 coming down to the fall of Saddam. More Kurdish movements have been created, another topic that is still debated is the state building and what it can bring about, states with histories of ethnic conflict have often been opened to terrorist groups and the efforts to construct a state which includes building up a political structure which has to do with democracy, this of course has its repercussion on the state. In the other hand the Iraqi population is open to the creation of a democratic state but the sectarian differences which happens to be more political has made it impossible which has opened up doors for terrorist activities in the country.

Scholars argue that Saddam prepared a counter attack against the United States by investing in the villages and organizing movements against the United States that was why immediately the United States attacked its regime he reacted to it, mostly the Sunni community because right from inception the country has been under the leadership of the Sunnis while other groups believe that they have been marginalized over the years by this regime. The Shiites in the other believe that they have not been properly represented during the past administration and also arguments on if religion should be separated from politics according to some scholars this question has played an important role in the inability to properly counter terrorism in the country because the people are divided in what they want each group believes they are more capable to rule the country compared to the other groups (Gonzalez, 2013.p.157).

As the Kurds are also asking to be given a place in the constitution which guarantees their safety while the Shiites are very much divided, this has brought up arguments on the political factors surrounding Iraq some believe that Iraq have never had a political bearing or structure this was a challenge that the CPA encountered.( Siegel, 2015). Some of the terrorist activities are been organized by selfish politicians just to destabilize the state and make out a point on how incapable the leadership which also opens up doors for instability in the country because of how individuals are carried away by the quest for power (Higashi, 2009.p.26).

### **4.3 Socio-Economic Factors**

Economically Iraq can be said to be a successful country because it was the second world's largest producers of oil before it was faced by three wars that disrupted its economy the Iraq-Iran, Iraq-Kuwait and the 2003 US/UK move over one of the things that affected the economy of Iraq and created more dependence on the UN oil for food program, politically Iraq has basically experienced a monarchy and an authoritarian regime not until after the 2003 intervention in 2004 an interim government was established. One of the major factors that makes the policy against terrorism to be visualize as a failure and has increased the number of militants in the country is the economic crisis and the difficulties that is been faced by the people in terms of health facilities, social, education, this has brought up questions on the impact the intervention has had on the country as well as out incapable the Iraqi government is and its incompetence in responding to the needs of its people. When the united states came to Iraq and after the fall of the Iraqi head of state so many of the public offices were been deserted by the workers so many business, companies and enterprises had to close down, this increased the poverty rate, unemployment in search for survival, so many of the youths were been left with terrorism as a source of livelihood (Kaufman, 2004.p.10).

When the new Iraqi government came to power in the year 2010 after the 2009 elections this was with the expectation that this will further strengthen the state through the restructuring of the countries various sectors, there

was still less transparency in terms of the accountability and not much as well-developed to enhance the rule of law holding leaders accountable for their decisions and mismanagement of public funds this led to an increase in the oil sector which happens to be the highest medium of income into the country, this affected the health system making it difficult for people to have access to the required drugs, medicine and the adequate equipment needed in the hospitals. If the economic environment in a country is not favorable for the citizens it will rather increase crime, the united states played a vital role in trying to rebuild the economy of Iraq some scholars argue that the united states were not really aware of how broken the Iraqi economy was before the decision to intervene the intervention involves the reconstruction of the economy of Iraq, as much as the interim government was introduced in the year 2004 it was still under the control of the united states (Looney, 2008.p.430).

There was an increase in the production of oil to 2.5 million barrels per day, it is also important to understand that prior to the Iran Iraq war the gulf war and so many other sanctions the economy of Iraq has been suffering for years, although before the 1990s the economy of Iraq has been the strongest in the Arab world. Under the interim government the population had an expectation that the livelihood in the country will be better but rather the interim government explained that they were experiencing difficulties which brought about the reduction in the number of barrels been produced in a day from 2.5 million to 2 million per day, the country still was importing oil, prior to that because of lack of transparency oil pipelines were been targeted and attacked by terrorist groups, some of the NGOS in Iraq actually blame both the CPA and the interim government for mismanagement and lack of accountability to the population.

Some scholars argue that more accent was been putting more on the oil rather than looking at other aspect and sectors in the country that could have help in the building of the Iraqi economy, this in a way strengthen the critics that the lack of transparency and accountability from the CPA concerning the oil revenue shows that the intervention in Iraq was not really meant to be

advantageous to the country but it was rather from the occupation government to rip the country's economy by building up stories of how dismantled the country's economy was before the intervention and the united states had to spend more of its resources in rebuilding the country, the CPA rather focused on one single means of reconstructing the economy from scholars argue that when a country focused majorly on a single medium of building the country it furthers widens the gap between the different classes in the country this will increase the chances of instability because of issues related to conflict, little growth in the basic human resources and development, decrease in the growth of the economy, bad governance, violation of human rights. Due to the way terrorist activities was on the rise in the country and major structures were been sabotaged the CPA mentioned that it was due that that they had to keep some of its activities as well as achievement confidential one of which is the sewage treatment in the city of Baghdad that was something that has not been done for more than a decade. The state that was been built by the united states and its allied and the government that was been established by the peace building efforts left the state in a worst state than it was in the beginning there has been argument of corruption in all the sectors that was supposedly reconstructed or build by the occupation government from the health, defense, justice, there has been cases of bribes for the release of militants (Richmond, 2004.p.125).

The socio-economic crisis became more serious in the country because of corruption was eating deeply into the system, no employment, lack of social amenities all the promises of the occupation government that came with so many changes was rather because of lack of accountability. This has in a way made the quest and the fight giant's terrorism impossible. Rather it further encourages terrorist activities making the public believe that the only way to stand up and build up the country is by eliminating the foreign occupation and everything that comes with them. The poverty rate in Iraq has increased giving the youths no option that to follow after terrorist acts (Sapiro, 2003.p.599).

#### **4.4 Religion Factors**

Religion is presently the predominant model for political violence because ideology and nationalism remain strong catalysts of extremist behavior. Religious extremism has become a central issue for the global community as many religious fanatic groups continue to proclaim the superiority of their religion over others. The propagators of religious terrorism are devoid of logic, rationale, or reason (Martin, 2013.p.89). They make it difficult for different religions to coexist, regardless of how much the international communities have tried over the years to eliminate these boundaries these individuals promote an extreme cult in which religious coexistence is ruled out. This form of terrorism seeks to coerce followers of other religions into accepting the supremacy of their religion. Any challenge to religious terrorism is not tolerated, and its challengers are usually killed. On a smaller scale, single-issue fanatics are obsessed with the desire to change a specific policy or practice within a specific society.

After 2003, Iraqi civilians remained under attack because of their religion, ethnicity, and affiliations. Several large-scale attacks were directed toward Shiite pilgrims and their places of worship. Religious terrorists also target Christian communities, as were members of the Turkoman community, and members of other ethnic and religious minorities, such as Yezidi, Sabian Mandaean, Shabaks, and Manichaeans. These religious fanatics also kill members of sexual minorities despite the widespread sanctions against discrimination and the presence of Iraqi security forces and other government institutions who are failing to protect them(Aksoy, 2002.p.37).

Iraq with a population of 25 million people of which Shiites are the majority in the southern parts with a population of 60-65%, followed by the Sunni in the middle triangle with a population of 32-37% followed by the Kurds in the north with a population of 17% there are other little religious groups like the Assyrians, Jews, Christians, Man deans, Turkmens and the Romans Iraq is centered at the lower and upper of the Mesopotamia the Arabian and the Syrian desert.

Most terrorist organizations and Islamic extremist fighting against infidels, in the case of Iraq there are different terrorist organizations although one of the major reasons of Al Qaeda in Iraq was with the aim of building a Islamic caliphate is also evident that the reasons why terrorists are terrorist are different according to New on the root cause of terrorism he argues that most terrorist groups use the failures in a state and were states and governments are unable to meet up with the needs of their populations some of these are lack of clean water, unemployment, clash of values, corruption, marginalization of some societies, clash of values and rural to urban migrations(Herring, 2008.p.49).

It is that one of the reasons why the Sunnis were fighting against the foreign occupation because the Shi'a according to them were been favored by the CPA. The extremist group used some of the root causes that were been mentioned by New man to recruit members by making them believe that they were fighting for the right thing and against a system that have been depriving them of their rights and the only way to be free is by getting rid of everything that has been established by what the referred to as the infidels, major constructions have been neglected in the Sunni base areas of Anbar, Ninawa and Salahuddin (Hutchinson, 1972.p.383).

The activities of Ahriman's in the year 2003 after it called its self as an Islamic state with using violence mostly using children in its mission scholars argue that this Islamic terrorist group became strong in its activities between a very short period of time, research shows that in each family one or two relatives or family members are engaged in extremist violence.

Although the terrorist activities in Iraq can be traced back to the beginning of the intervention in 2003, records shows that the rise in terrorism in Iraq became very serious some basically were fighting the western occupation because according to them the west was acting base on its own interest just to get something from the country and the Jihadist group stands as one of the groups that according to them the west has always been against Islam

and is willing to do anything possible to rule them which is against their interest and the best way to destroy their attempts and their agendas to rise and fight against them and religion becomes a tool. Most of these religious extremist often target government structures and institutions with the aim of establishing the minds of the Iraqi population how incapable the system is and portraying them as the best option for the country, this has contributed in the failure of the state because major institutions that make up the state are often under attack. The oil pipelines which have as the major source of income and revenue in the country has also been attacked which affects the economy of the country and creates insecurity in the minds of nations as well as companies that whole like to trade with the country or establish a company in Iraq (Hafez, 2007.p.95).

#### **4.4.1 Background of Sunni-Shite Conflict**

When the Ba'ath regime headed by Saddam was overthrown, there were attacks organized by the Sunnis against the shite Muslims according to the Sunnis the Shiites attacked their mosque which resulted to the killing of their ulama. This can be explained as one of the major causes of the Sunni-shite conflict in Iraq. The ethnic minority which happen to be the Sunnis have been leading the country right from the end of the world war one while the majorities who are the Shiites according to bean have been suppressed and oppressed by the Sunni minorities in which they have in a way been marginalized considering the fact that they are more populated than they Sunnis in the country. This conflict has been accepted and is been propagated by both the Sunni and shite leaders been seen as something that is right. In the year 1051 there has been a challenge of a peaceful coexistence between the Shite and Sunni this event led the emir not reading the khutba just as to show its concern in the inability of the caliph to stand for the Shiites. After the 2003 United States intervention in Iraq the dead of Ayatolla al-Hakim, al-Zarqawi was the major provoker of the Shite in Iraq to fight back against the Sunnis with the aim of creating a civil war in the country (Dodge, 2013.p.89).

#### **4.5 Failure of Military Measures and a Failed State**

It has been several years after the Iraqi intervention but the country has been argued by so many scholars to be a failed state, the 2003 intervention according to George Bush the former US president (2003) was supposed to serve as an example for the countries in the middle east meaning that at the end of the intervention the country will be operating under a stable democracy with a stable political system and countries in the middle east will learn from Iraq. The current reoccurrences in terms of terrorism and instability in government and the political institutions brings up questions on how effective were the measures or policies implemented in Iraq because of how it has spiraled up a failed state. One of the reasons behind the failed state have been argued by some scholars to have been the use of force by the United States in Iraq which includes disbanding the Iraqi Army, excluding the governing elites in the country, removing the Ba'ath party. Major roles has been played by some of the neighboring countries like Iran and Syria in eliminating the Saddam's administration, the disbandment of the Ba'ath party which was with the estimated number of 30,000 and also the relinquishing of the Iraqi army 350,000(Piazza, 2007.p.521). In number engendered anger against the United States occupation because according to them the Americans drove them to unemployment without a means for them to sustain themselves and their families. Some scholars argue that one of the reasons behind the relinquishment of the Iraqi army by the United States was because the United States were trying to effectively build up all the sectors from the scratch and letting the participation of the Iraqi army might affect its objective of state building (Piazza, 2007.p.521).

After the September 11 bombing of the world trade center and the pentagon building in the United States The terrorist group Al' Qaeda was said to have been behind the bombing this instigated the united states foreign policy towards the middle which involves the countering of terrorism, it was in line with this objective that the united states brought up the Iraqi intervention the Iraqi head of state Saddam Hussein was said to have been in position of weapon of mass destructions, violation of human rights, a dictator it was in



view of all these that the united states and the united kingdom without the permission of the united nations security council forcefully invaded the Iraqi territory calling it as an intervention.

The United States peace building in Iraq which includes state building reconstruction of major reforms in the country, the governance, election, human rights and the rule of law this in all incorporates democracy, the two allies the united states and the united kingdom didn't expect the whole intervention to get so far it was supposed to end in few weeks or in months. Pinar in her article individual and the societal dimension of unity argues on the consequences of military intervention, most at times the state is the major factor as much as the population is supposed to take part in the decision making of the state as well as get to decide who will rule them, the masses security is not been considered, it is taken into consideration only on shallow grounds. Military actions is mainly The most important aspects of security has been the state going back to the cold war era, more emphasizes has been laid on the state than the individual and societal perspective has mostly been neglected. More arguments has been on the predominant role of the state to the people non for its ability to create and safe living condition for the citizens, as time goes with the change from the 17th century to the 20th century where the united nations has clearly putting emphasizes on the sovereignty of the state. This draws attention on the impact of nuclear weapons and war in the quest to protect ones territory and boundaries which leads to war where both sides suffer from its effects.

Several attempts as much as efforts were been made by the peace building effort to establish the security in Iraq by training and recruiting the military as well as the police force, the former New York police chief Bernard Keri was supposed to be in charge of the recruiting and the training of the police force in Iraq, he rather was more busy in the maintaining of peace in Baghdad rather than doing his assigned assignment. Months later Bernard went back to the United States the responsibility was later transferred to Clayton McManaway towards the ending of 2003 he was able to organize and start training a large number of Iraqi police officers. There has been an argument

on the reasons by the security reform was been taken serious because terrorist activities became more severe and serious in the country and there was a realization that there was a need for extra troops to take part in the maintenance of peace in the country and the better way is by establishing the security in the country known as the Iraqi civil defense corps (Dodge, 2013.p.89).

The 2003 military intervention has increased terrorist activities in Iraq one of which is the de Ba'athist fiction of Iraq this made the Ba'athists to bring up unrest in the quest to come back to power and eliminate the foreign occupation, in 2011 the united states decided to withdraw their soldiers from the Iraqi territory this became a major problem for the Iraqi government as well as the military, the military has not received enough training to be able to properly withstand the terrorist groups and safe guard the civilians this gave rise to some of the militants group that have been silenced to become a trait to the Nouri al-Maliki administration, some of these groups included the Takfiri, and the Ba'ath party.

With the 2009 elections, the united states withdrew its troops from the Iraqi territory some scholars argue that as much the peace building process in the country seemed like it was a success because after the death of the Zargawi this brought up support from the awakening councils for national reconciliation and the terrorist organization were calmed this brought a reduction in the terrorist activities in the country, in the year 2011 the terrorist activities in the country was an alarm this in a way signaled that the state building was a complete failure. This can be seen in the lack of skills as well as the adequate technology, strategies and techniques to contain the terrorist activities in the country by the country's military which can be said to be incompetent. One of the cases is how the some of the members of Al Qaeda were able to escape from the Abu Ghraid and Taji prisons in 2013 they were over 2,000 in number this prisons are they major prisons in the country not far from the Iraqi capital, this brings up the question of how can a military like this be able to stand up and maintain the security of the country and also shows how well skilled the terrorist organizations are (Foyle, 2004.p.269).

President Bush in 2007 explained that one of the reasons why terrorism has been a major topic of concern to the international organization is because of the limited numbers of soldiers another factor according to him is the fact that more things need to be done. Is one thing to counter insurgency and is another thing to stop the reoccurrence of these events. This in a way explains one important topic that the international organization needs to put in place; one of which it is important for a long term counter insurgence policies to be organized with the understanding that most at times most of these terrorist groups always tend to find their way back with soldiers are not been organized in making sure that the terrorist groups don't retake the territories again.

The 2003 military intervention in Iraq have contributed to the failure of the state. In other for the state to be built major sectors were been dismantled even though it was not directly this has been argued by some scholars to be part of the aftermath of the Iraqi regime change this affected the police force and the military force. There has been argument on the topic of Iraq either been a successful state or a failed state, some scholars argued that an attempt has been made and in a way it has been partially successful while others argue that the reason behind the insurgency in the country is because of the attempt to build the state and correct the mistakes that have been done by the past administration in the country. State building includes so many mechanisms and factors and for a state to be regarded as successful certain factors have to be considered; governance reform, security sector reform, post conflict elections, human rights, return of refugee and the empowerment of civil societies Efforts have been made in the state building initiative in making sure that these mechanisms are been included practically. Few months after the intervention it looked like it was going to be successful before things turned for the worst according to Zartman in understanding a failed state more and critical reasoning is needed it goes beyond riots and coups he explained that a failed state can be a result of the structures of the state which includes the legitimate authorities, judicial, executive, designed political structures are no longer successfully functioning as it should. This

affects the status of the state and the quest for livelihood amongst the population becomes more and more difficult.

When the major sectors that the population depends on fails to live up to expectation this can be the law enforcement, the various institutions in the state and in the case of Iraq a failed state which is not able to stand up in safeguarding and ensuring the security of its citizens lives the population with no option but to sort out ways to maintain its own security and a way of survival. This can further strengthen terrorist activities in the country and make the efforts that is been initiated to eradicate the activities in the country to be almost impossible. There has been argument surrounding the Iraqi intervention some scholars argued that right from the first day that the intervention started that was the beginning of both the military failure as well as the failed state.

Furthermore the use of force doesn't always apply to every case and history has always shown that force always increases violence, maybe the united states and its allies underestimated the situation and what it may rise to be and the aftermath of the forceful intervention, mainly because there wasn't enough soldiers to intervene and to put whatever may rise during the course of the intervention under control. Building a state is important but the population makes up the state and without the population there will be no state (Barakat, 2005.p.571).

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

Making out policies to contain terrorist activities is very important as terrorist activities is on the rise and it has the capacity to spill over territories easily, the case of Iraq and the policies that have been in place over the years mostly by the international community to contain their activities which in some cases or at the beginning it seemingly looked like it was working because when the united states occupied the country there was no much cases of terrorism but it rather grew over time with the realization that the fight against terrorism in the country rather enhanced the activities or rather opened up the country to terrorist activities.

One question that is always difficult to answer is the question of what makes up a terrorist what are some of the things that makes a terrorist want to set himself a blaze so many scholars have argued on this subject, some of the possible factors could be under development, clash of values, poverty, unemployment, urbanization, lack of good education. All these are contributing factors to terrorism in a country but in the case of the terrorist activities in Iraq is evident that the main ideology was not from Iraq but the used the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 to their own advantage by making the Sunnis believe that they were fighting the same thing the enemy who to them was the US and other foreign actors in the country.

Some scholars believe that the strongest terrorist group in Iraq is ISIL and this terrorist organization is becoming more stronger more stronger in the country, the international community has to put so much to stop their activities from escalating more because the use attrition more base on the concept of Osama Bin Laden is now difficult to recognize their base because they are now everywhere in the world.

Different factors are affecting the effectiveness of the policies against terrorism and in Iraq some of the major factors are the political factors, religion, socio-economic factor and the failed of military measures and a failed state. Maybe in the fight against terrorism if In other for the government to stop terrorist activities in the local levels is by them providing the rural communities with important needs which has to do with employment, light, clean water, good education although research shows that most of the people involved in terrorist activities are not uneducated because of the technical knowhow involved in their activities I mentioned earlier on in the paper that one of the reason that Al Qaeda was established in Iraq was because the Sunnis believed that working with al Qaeda will help them cover up their weaknesses in terms of their skills and arms to fight, and in other for al Qaeda to execute their purpose they needed ground soldiers of which the non-educated civilians or citizens fall into the trap with the understanding that they are fighting for their rights and when the government training the leaders

in the local level and put things in place it will avoid immigration of the rural to the urban areas where they can find extremist that can lead them to become terrorists.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1 Summarization Of Chapters**

The 2003 Iraqi intervention by the United States and its allies brought about a certain level of political transition in Iraq this consist of the different sectors as well as the institutions in the country, this as well brought to an end the dominated Sunni Iraqi state. There have been arguments on the reactions of some Sunnis as regards to the administration of Saddam because of his reactions when it comes to foreign affairs as well as domestic affairs of the state as some argue that Sunnis are directly connected to the Arab government as they agree on so many grounds this is related to their ideologies. Attacks that have been done against the Sunnis have resulted in attacks by some of the Sunni militias some of the attacks were from salafi extremist, takfiris research has shown that the Ba'athists retaliation over the years has been possible because of the help that they receive from some of the Arab regimes. This has become one of the things that have made the strategies by the United States to counter terrorism to become almost impossible. Some of this attacks have been deadly as civilians, the coalition group, which is mainly aimed at the Shiite population have really have an effect on the progress of the country as facilities that have been build have been dismantled the main aim behind this attacks is aimed at destroying as well as discouraging efforts that have and are still made to bring back or to reconstruct Iraq.

The Sunni militias have over the years grown and have become various groups this have made the economic and the religious atmosphere in the country more difficult with the presence of ISIS. Looking at the happenings

and the impact of terrorist attack in Iraq from the year 2015-2017 it has become more and more evident that terrorist activities have found a strong ground in the country which appears to be almost impossible to eliminate. This thesis tries to descriptively as well as analytically study the reasons why the policies that have been implemented in Iraq have not been successful, by doing that we also consider how important and why more accent have been put ten by government in maintaining national security, this security is both internal and as well external most especial on the regional aspect over the years research has shown that security instability in a country has a way of spilling over to other countries in the region most especially neighboring countries(White, 2016). Looking at Iraq the region has an effect on the country be it positive or negative this can be seen in the security instability in the Middle East region and this have affected the security stability in Iraq.

When exactly the United State did took an interest in the affairs of Iraq and why has the United States decided to make policies directed to Iraq in particular these are some of the questions that have been and are still ongoing. It is also important to note that the United States foreign policy has no only been directed to Iraq alone looking at the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and how involved the United States have been over the years in trying to find a lasting solution to the conflict and also the United States have had foreign policies directed towards countries in the middle east. In recent decades, however, it has also become known as the Islamic fundamentalist center. With the proposal of a large-scale or broad-based Middle East project in September 2002, the United States sought to bring about radical changes at the level of the Middle East communities and governments to combat terrorism. In this regard, the US military attacked Iraq under the expressed intent of anti-terrorism policies, the promotion of democracy, and prevention of further warfare. Terrorism gave the American military attack a justification for its legitimacy. The pattern of the US war in Iraq, which led to the collapse of the former regime of Saddam Hussein, was a pattern of war on terrorism. But after the war, the United States faced security challenges that raised terrorism in Iraq and ultimately led to a reduction in American credibility in the



fight against terrorism. This even influenced future operations of US policy in the Middle East and the challenges they faced afterwards.

In order to best understand the current situation in Iraq, it is important to know how Iraq has been formed. The country Iraq came to be in the year 1920 this was after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, at that time Britain was rising and its policies were the major thing that brought about the Middle East region. The year 2003 brought about a new political era for Iraq this was after the 2003 intervention by the United States and its allies in Iraq, this brought up some changes in the country the main aim of the intervention was in a way the propagation of democracy. The Iraqi Sunni government came to an end after Saddam Hussein was been removed from office this brought into power the Shiite government. The basic problem that have been going on during the Sunni government was the fact that the Shiite group that happen to be the majority group in the country have over the years been marginalized by the Saddam Hussein government. This was a major achievement for the United States because the new government was striving towards creating a stable democratic government with the rule of law. These efforts became impossible when the ISIL terrorist organization occupied about half of the Iraqi territory.

Some of the cause of the crisis and the conflict in Iraq according to some scholars can be the way through which the United States responded to the intervention in Iraq and how which the government was changed from the Ba'ath party to a democratic government, the United States didn't take the time to understand the history of the government in Iraq coming from a kingdom system coming from the Ottoman era and to a dictatorship era. The radical change was not a better option for the country. Another factor that was neglected was the influence of Sunni in the country considering the fact that the Sunni has been the governing party for years and the major elites are the Sunni the United States didn't consider the animosity that have existed between the Sunni and Shiite for years.

Terrorism rose to its peak when the Islamic state in 2013 self-proclaimed themselves as a terrorist group in the country this lead to the terrorist group capturing more than half of the countries territory through the Use of violence, this terrorist group was so structured that it has an organized military as well as an educational organization in 2014-2017(Lia, 2015.P.9). The presence of terrorist groups in the country over the years and some of the causes of terrorism in the country as well as the policies that have been implemented by the United States over the years to eradicate terrorism has brought up the research questions what are the reasons for the emergence of ISIS terrorist group in Iraq? And how do Arabic countries affect the behaviors and the roles of Sunni in Iraq? Answering these questions points out the effect that ethnic and religious conflict and how foreign forces have been unable to effectively handle the affairs have had on the success of the policies against terrorism this first hypothesis brought up the second hypothesis the establishment of what was referred to as a weak state because of the way the state building was planned this was part of the emergence of the ISIS terrorist group, the role played by some of the Arab countries played at important role because research shows that the Sunnis were been supported by some of the Arab countries this has to do with how they are connected in their ideologies as well as their political views.

The 9/11 trade center and pentagon bombing has brought so many challenges that has to do with economic, political and security challenges, this incident has brought up so many talks on terrorism and have changed the strategies as well as foreign policies of states. "Terrorism have become a major topic prior to the 9/11 incident and so many scholars have been trying to define the concept" Defining terrorism is requires a substantive and thematic approach, and there exists differences in the classification of terrorism acts with other concepts such as political violence, guerrilla warfare, armed struggle, and political crimes understanding and defining terrorism is something that the international community have been trying to, because of the way terrorist act is escalating and spilling over territories, this has increased cooperation by states to counter the act of terrorism internationally. This on the other hand have discouraged states from participating in actions

against terrorism that goes outside of their territory they rather prefer to stay within their shores because of the fear of becoming victims and targeted by terrorist organizations. Defining terrorism becomes more and more complicated because terrorism means different things to different organizations as well states because of the fear to cooperate to fight against terrorism the definition defers so as the superpowers stand in the place of deciding what terrorism is and what terrorism is not so in away the United States and the United Nation definition of terrorism stands as what terrorism is, this opens up doors for superpowers to act the way they want to because it's up to them to decide what the term is and is not (Jongman, 2017.p.52).Terrorism is a violent and terrifying act (due to its sudden and surprising nature) and at the same time is conscious and organized with goals and intentions generally political, ideological, and even economic, socio-cultural, individually. A terror act can be collective and is done by any means possible (because the means justify the ends!) against the innocents, and civilian population is often the victim (random selection or targeting of civilians is one of the characteristics and criteria of terrorist acts) even though they are not the main targets Guerilla groups have been present during the government of Saddam Hussein. This brings up the definition of what terrorism is and is not comparing the way the guerilla groups were operating prior to the dictatorship of the Saddam Hussein administration and the way they have been against the state building in Iraq this can be seen in the way the destroy government infrastructures. The rise of ISIS provided an excuse to intensify the activities of various military forces in Iraq, which are mainly classified into three categories: Sunni militant groups, Shiite militant groups and Kurdish militant groups (Hassanzadeh, 2008.p.20).

Al-Qaeda's political ideology in Iraq is rooted in the Islamic discourse among the Sunnis that has been formed over the past three decades and has been named after the jihadist Salafism. The main goal in Salafi's thinking is to purify the religion from the common thoughts. According to the Salafis, these thoughts have come to Islam in the course of time, and they have caused divine punishments. The need to remove polytheism from the body of Islam is a return to the principle of monotheism, as it was posited by the Prophet of

God and in the Qur'an. In their view, the great examples of Shirk Akbar are the worship of idols, and the holiest of some people. They regard the Shiites in particular as idolaters, apostate peoples, and religionists because of what they regard as excessive respect for the people of the Prophet Muhammad Peace is upon him (PBUH). After the fall of Saddam, al-Qaeda has become Iraq's most important and bloodiest Sunni militant group in Iraq. This group, which originated directly from al-Qaeda and called itself al-Qaeda in Iraq, was led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an originator of Jordan. Zarqawi was killed in the 2006 US Air Operations in Iraq. In 2013, the group changed its name to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and in 2014 its name was called the Islamic State, and its leadership, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, called himself a Muslim caliph and published a map of his caliphate. The CIA began its ISIS work early on, estimated that the terrorist group had succeeded in gathering 20 to 30 thousand militants. Since 2013, the terrorist group has continued its operations in Iraq and managed to take control of parts of Iraq. In this regard, the group has brought a lot of material and spiritual damage to Iraq, and has lost hundreds of thousands of defenseless citizens, apart from the devastation that has been left.

Cooperation plays an important role in countering terrorism but we mentioned earlier in this study that states because of the fear of becoming victims of terrorist attack choose to exempt themselves in those activities but in much cases this cooperation is mainly to protect the national security of the state with this understanding states most work out active measures through which they can protect their national security. The review of Iraqi legislation related to the terrorist phenomenon indicates that the Iraqi legislator has followed, in the beginning, like most national legislations, the meaning of relying mainly on law, Sanctions against terrorism, domestic and international.

However, the circumstances experienced by Iraq since 2003, the increase in internal violence for known reasons led to a reversal of the previous approach as well as orders Issued by the Coalition Provisional Authority, which included provisions to address the phenomenon of terrorism at home, The Iraqi Constitution contained provisions prohibiting terrorism.

## 5.2 Conclusion

The United States was more interested in building a state which resulted to a failed state. Rather than making adequate plans that would have created an inclusive government where no group or society is been marginalized.

Some groups in the country are been marginalized by the government, the government has not been able to effectively close the gap between the elite class and the general public, most of the policies in the government reforms does not include the grass roots as much as electoral reforms have been made by the government is the same elites that keep on rotating the seats amongst themselves this can be seen in the elections as Shiites have been the prime ministers right from the first interim government in the country to the periodic elections. The creation of a state was more of a priority than attending to the needs of the population, the clash of values is one of the reasons behind the rise in terrorist activities. United States introduction of liberal democracy contradicts the extremist religious values, most of the humanitarian rules that were been brought after 2003 in Iraq was been viewed as the western imposition of their values which is contrary to their religious beliefs. The Sunnis collaborating with terrorist group Al-Qaeda was mainly because they feel they were been marginalized by the new government and their motive was mainly aimed at destroying the infrastructures and the institutions that were been built by the government.

Ethnic conflict has given terrorism more standing grounds against the counter terrorism policies in Iraq mainly the Sunni-Shiite conflict. The conflict between the Sunnis and the Shiites has been something that has been going on for decades, going back to the creation of the country by Britain and France. In some ways their system of government and ruling has portrayed itself in Iraq. Considering how the minorities rule the majorities. This has led to the death of over 500, 000 Shiites in the south of Iraq also with the Kurdish Massacre. The Sunni-Shiite conflict has contributed to the failure of the policies against terrorism, which has served as a factor for insecurity because of the continuous tension between the two groups. This can be seen in the Shiites authority of Ayatollah and the Ali Sistani mostly in the south of Iraq having the

largest population of Shiites. The rise in tension between the Sunnis and the Shiites contributed to the 2005 sectarian conflict as terrorist attacks continues to rise. The sectarian conflict led to more division amongst the different provinces this increased hostility in the country. This further increased terrorism in the country because the terrorist organizations made use of the conflict between the two major groups in the country to further their attacks in the country and this made the policies that were made to tackle and stop terrorism in the country to be futile.

The political transition in Iraq brought an end to the Sunni dominated regime of Saddam Hussein this has increased in the number of attacks amongst militias of both the Sunni and the Shiite. The Sunnis have been under the attack of the Salafi extremist groups and Takfiris in a counter attack because the Sunnis believe that the occupation government are biased in their judgment in which they support the Shiites more. Right after the 2003 intervention the government seats have been occupied mostly by the Shiites most especially the prime ministers. The coalition forces, civilians particularly the Shiites were been attacked by the Sunni militias, the main aim of the attack is to hinder the progress of the government through the destruction of government infrastructure and violence.

The need for cooperation by states would have played an important role in countering terrorism because of its ability to spillover over to other countries, but states choose to exempt themselves because of the want to protect their own security. Looking at how terrorism came to Iraq and how it has entered other countries not only in the Middle East, it shows that states are not immune to terrorism irrespective of the measures they organize to contain it or to stop it from having access to their countries. It shows that for terrorism to be eradicated states need to come together and organize a collective strategy that will totally eradicate terrorism. One of the reasons why states tend to not want to get involved is because they are trying to protect their own domestic security neglecting the fact that whatever happens in the international system affects every state directly or indirectly.

The rise in poverty, unemployment, lack of social amenities, good health system, good education, and clean water has played a role in the rise of terrorism in the country. The 2003 state building in Iraq brought about a transition in government and a major reform in all the government sectors and institutions in Iraq, one of the reforms was in the security sector. In order for the occupation government to have a sustainable and effective state building Beatification was important according to the coalition provisional authority, because the security sector is a very important aspect of a successful government. The security sector was totally reconstructed which led to an increase in unemployment because the people working in the security sector became unemployed. Companies and factories were been closed by the occupation government, the quest for survival became a major topic. Most terrorist organization make use of the weakness of states and considering the case of Iraq the population believed that both its government and the occupation government are not responding to their needs. This decreased the trust they had for the government, some of the root causes of terrorism are related to poverty, unemployment. Lack of social amenities, good health system, good education, and the lack of clean water, most times some groups in the society are marginalized by the government this can be seen in the urban areas. The government doesn't make policies that include the population in the grassroots and terrorist groups use this as a tool for recruitment. In 2003 the unemployment rate in Iraq rose to 60%.

Before the 2003 intervention in Iraq the country has been encountering a certain degree of poverty, unemployment and lacks some of the basic needs The population believe that their voices are not been heard and their participation in the political activities was not taken serious, they believed that the government which happens to have been in power while their communities are not been taken care of and there is a very high degree of poverty, this was one of the reasons they were strongly fighting against the US invasion believing that one group is been favored than the other, another root cause of terrorist activities is under development in the sense that more attention is been given to some areas compared to other areas.

Considering the actors we mentioned earlier on the main aim of the Sunni working with the al Qaeda was with the mindset that they had the same objectives but they had different ideologies not totally but to some extent, the level at which terrorist activities was growing was as a result of poverty, due to the degree of unemployment and poverty in the rural areas most people are left with no option but to migrate to areas where they believe can be favorable for them to earn a living due to this factor extremist groups that are around use that to their own advantage by talking them into involving in terrorist activities, it can be seen in the Sunnis already having a mindset that the government is against them and the only way of avoid unemployment and poverty is to get rid of them this most have created more fire between the population and the Iraqi government and also the international community which is the US and al Qaeda might have used this to its own advantage by created a stable place in the country.

The government inability to respond to the needs of the population has forced so many to lose confidence in the government with the presence of economic and insecurity, the Nouri al Malki's which was a Shiite government couldn't meet up to the payment of the salaries and also the provision of security to the Iraqi government, the ISIS terrorist group was offering better payment this led to a major recruitment of terrorist in Iraq because the population were looking for a way to survive and provide for their families. This led to terrorist groups been in control of territories, the 2005 Ibrahim Jafari government further increased unemployment rate in the country which led to economic and social collapse in the country. Unemployment, crime, national security, and infrastructures were on a rise daily. The United States invasion of Iraq according to some scholars was based on selfish interest, this is one of the main reasons that magnified terrorist activities in the country mostly Al Qaida because of the contradicting ideologies and the clash of values. According to what Newman considers as part of the possible causes of terrorist activities, Al Qaida which is known as the founders of ISIS an extremist Islamic group, other possible reasons behind Al Qaida's activities in Iraq can also be poverty and exploitation by the international community because of the mineral resource in the country which is oil.



The socio-economic condition in the country contributed to the failure as well as the rise of terrorism in the country, some of the issues that have been facing the country has been on going right before the 2003 intervention some of the problems are in the economic, political, and the health conditions in the country, the population expected the occupation government to bring about a change in some of the areas that the past regime couldn't take care of. The country is been faced with economic problems and the government is not capable in maintaining the safety and the security of the population.

Policies are been made without adequate and proper mediums through which it can be implemented through which it will positively impact in the country. The United States attacked Iraq with the aim of countering terrorism through its policies and the promotion of democracy in the country, terrorism was the major thing that the United States to have access into the Iraqi territory. Which ended the regime of Saddam Hussein, the expectations of the United States were not made because of lack of planning. The security sector is inexperienced and is easy for terrorist groups to have their way in the country, as much as policies are been organized and implemented lack of experience and the competence of the security forces makes it impossible for the policies to be impactful this can be seen in the escape of Al-Qaeda detainees from Abu Ghraib and Taji prisons is an indication of the lack of experience of the Iraqi forces. The Iraqi constitution contains prohibitions on terrorism, this aimed at authorizing the international coalition forces to detain individuals for imperative reasons of security making the United States participate in the polices against terrorism in the country whereby arresting anyone that stands as a security risk to the country. As much as strategies and policies are been implemented terrorism stills stands as a threat to Iraq, effective counter-terrorism strategies and tactics needs to be formulated immediately to protect civil liberty the policies are supposed to include a strong element of criminal justice that is guided by normative legal framework and embedded the basic principles of due process and respect for human rights. Instead of just implementing the policies measures should be organized with the objective of countering terrorism must be to prevent terrorist activities from reoccurring in the future. Most of the policies against

terrorism are not been made with the aim of preventing terrorist activities from happening but aimed at punishing the crimes after it might has happened. The policies against terrorism needs to be carefully implemented, in Iraq counter terrorism laws became active after the 2003 intervention, in article 21 in the Iraqi constitutions.

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## PLAGIARISM REPORT

## **ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL**