The Objective of the Democratic Domino Theory: the Iraqi War of 2003 as a Case Study.

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DEDICATION

FOR MY PARENTS WHO BROUGHT NOTHING,

BUT JOY TO MY LIFE.
Acknowledgment

First I would thank God for giving me the power and patience to finish work. I would like to thank all my teachers in the University of Al Arbi Ben M’hidi –OumEl Bouaghi, special thanks to DR Maameri and Miss Brahmi for there guidance throughout this work.

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ABSTRACT

The work examines the objective of the American Domino Theory during the Cold War and Post Cold War. The objective of the US Domino Theory during the Cold War was to prevent the Communism expansion. This theory is appeared again under a new name and new objective which is the Democratic Domino Theory. The main focus this time is to spread democracy in the Middle East. The president George W Bush stated that if they can democriticize Iraq would affect the other Middle Eastern countries. The Arab spring is considered as the result of the war in Iraq and the American secret plan. Therefore; Iraq was the first falling domino and Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria are the following falling dominos. The US in order to achieve its interests can make everything and avoid being the loose.
ملخص

يتناول هذا العمل التطبيق الأمريكي لنظرية الدومينو و أهم أهدافها إبان الحرب الباردة وبعد نهاية الحرب. هي نظرية اعتمدتها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية من أجل منع التوسع الشيوعي في آسيا. أين اعتمدت على القوة العسكرية في مواجهة الاتحاد السوفيتي. لكن هناك الكثير من الذين اعتقدوا بان هناك عودة ظهور هذه النظرية خلال حرب العراق 2003. مع اختلاف هدفها الذي يتمثل في نشر الديمقراطية في العراق يؤدي إلى انتشارها في جميع بلدان الشرق الأوسط. هذا ما يعرف بتكرار نظرية الدومينو.
Résumé

Ce mémoire traite l’application Américaine de la Théorie du Domino et ses importants objectifs durant la Guerre Froide et après la fin de cette guerre. Cette Théorie était appliquée par les Etats Unis Américain cerner l’expansion Communiste en Asie d’où l’utilisation de la force militaire contre l’Union Soviétique.

Mais, il ya beaucoup d’historias qui sont mis d’accord pour signaler le retour de cette théorie durant la guerre contre l’Irak, mais l’objectif n’est pas le même (stopper l’expansion communiste) qui consiste à répandre la démocratie en Irak et par conséquent son expansion dans tous les pays du Moyen-Orient(le printemps arabe). Ce qui est connu par l’influence de la Théorie du Domino.
Acronyms

CPA: The Coalition Provisional Authority.

EU: The European Union.

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement.

NIE: National Intelligence Estimate.

NSA: National Security Agency.


MENA: Middle East and North Africa.

ORHA: Office of Reconstitution and Humanitarian Assistance

PRC: People’s Republic of China.


USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

US: United States.
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Introduction

The American Foreign Policy is the way in which it interacts with other countries with great emphasis on its interests. The United States Foreign Policy during most of the Cold War was based on the policy of the Domino Theory. The Domino Theory was articulated by the president Dwight Eisenhower. The so called Domino Theory is widely viewed as one of the most significant geopolitical discourses underlying American Foreign Policy.

The metaphor had powerful proponents in US foreign policy circles, including Presidents Dwight Eisenhower, John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan, who all employed it at various times to rationalize and promote their policy choices in the face of foreign affair crisis confronting the country. In this regard, the Domino Theory which became a powerful discourse during the Cold War which was directed to counter the threat of Communism.

In post Cold War, The Domino Theory re-used within a new objective. During the cold war, the main goal the Domino Theory is to prevent the spread of Communism in different areas in the world. However; the Domino Theory of Post Cold War or the Democratic Domino Theory its main focus is to spread democracy in the undemocratic countries. The President George W Bush claimed that the Middle East suffer from a lack of democracy. If they can democratize Iraq, the whole Middle East will follow the same path because of the domino effect. As a result, Iraq was the starting point for controlling the Middle East. Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria are the following falling dominos and the result of the American secret plan.

This work is divided into two chapters; the first chapter deals with a historical background about the Cold War and the nature of the conflict between the Unites States
and the Soviet Union. During the Cold War, the US applied the Domino Theory policy in order to combat the Communism expansion. But within the Iraq War of 2003, there is a revival of this theory under a new objective which is spreading democracy. The second chapter, we will tackle the historical background about the invasion of Iraq, and then we move to how the Americans used this democratic domino theory in order to justify its intervention in Iraq. We conclude that Iraq was the starting point of the changing regimes in the Arab world.

This dissertation proves that the Domino Theory is revived and Iraq War of 2003 was its starting point. The Americans declared that their presence in the Middle East is for promoting democracy. But in fact the American presence in the Middle East is for different reasons which are the protection of its interests in the region and the American domination.
CHAPTER ONE:

The Objective of the Domino Theory during and after the Cold War
Introduction

After the end of the Second World War, the world witnessed an Ideological War, the Cold War which lasted for years, where the two super powers the United States of America and the Soviet Union were competing to gain the world’s leader ship. Both powers were looking for world’s domination and contain more countries under their umbrella. They were trying to achieve these goals. The United States used different policies in order to combat its enemy during the Cold War. The Domino Theory was one of the most important theories that have been used during the Cold War, and it is used to counter the expansion of Communism and prevent the Soviet Union from controlling the South East of Asia. The Soviet Union considered as a threat to the American interests in the region. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States moved their interests to the Middle East under the veil of promoting Democracy in the Middle Eastern countries. Invading Iraq is the key to spread democracy in the Middle East. Many historians believe that there is a revival of the Domino Theory, but with a different name and objective. The aim of Post Cold War theory is the promotion of democracy and the united states feels that it’s her job to fulfill this mission. The only way to complete this mission is by invading Iraq. It is considered as a central country in the Middle East, if they can democratize Iraq the other countries will follow the same way and this known as the Domino Effect Principle.

1-1 War of Ideologies

Many historians describe the Cold War as the political conflict, military tension, and economic competition that existed between the United States and the Soviet Union but there is a disagreement between the historians about the exact starting point of the Cold War. Some of them trace its origin to the period immediately after the end of Second
World War, others agreed that conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union emerged during 19th century. The American president Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945, and Harry Truman 1945-1953, and the Soviet Political leader Joseph Stalin 1920-1953, wavered each other, even when working together to defeat the Nazis, this mutual mistrust began in 1917, when the United States refused to recognize the new Bolshevik Government after the Russian Revolution. The fact that American and Great Britain refused to share with the Soviet Union the secret of the nuclear weapons; this complicated the relationship between the two. The Cold War ended by the collapse of the Soviet Union; however, USSR at the end of the Second World War witnessed a great development.

In the early beginning of the struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the Americans represented Communism as a devil that should be defeated and should not be spread to other countries. But in fact, Communism is not an evil, and it is another way of organizing a country. Both Capitalism and Communism have their own ideas on how a government should be worked and in which way the governors should govern their people. It is true that Capitalism is different from Communism since it gives a freedom to the individuals and minimizes the government interference. In this system, capitals and land are private properties and the individual can increase his own capital by using government’s loans.

Communism is a social and economic theory in which means of production are held in common by all members of society not by individuals. Like Capitalism, Communism also has many advantages. Everyone has a job and all people treated equally. In a Communist society, the government makes all the decisions and no one has the right to violate those decisions. Both Communism and Capitalism bring help to their citizens.
When Communism stresses on equality, Capitalism emphasizes individual freedom and creativity.

Abroad, fighting the spread of Communism was a major feature that shaped the American foreign policy. The Soviet Union had controlled and dominated Eastern Europe. Stalin discovered the American plan of spreading Capitalism and controlling the world economically. As a reaction, and because he knew that the two countries followed two opposing systems, he created an Iron Curtain jun24, 1948 to may12, 1949 that divided between the East and West of Berlin to prevent the spread of Capitalism in the communist countries. Winston Churchill declared in march15, 1946 that:”from setting in the Baltic to the Trieste in the Atlantic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent” (Remini 246). Churchill recognized that Stalin wanted to divide the East and the West of Europe in order to save the East from the spread of democratic ideas.

Since the Cold War had an impact on every thing, so the military side is included. The American government discovered the Atomic Bomb before the end of the Second World War, so it was part of the Soviet Union government as a competing country to hold the nuclear weapon. Therefore as a result, stolen information from the United States the USSR detonated the Atomic Bomb in September 1949. The world had suddenly in danger, especially if the two powers would use the nuclear weapons in confronting each other. In response America developed a more terrible bomb, the Hydrogen Bomb.

1-2Truman Doctrine

Is a collection of efforts to prevent the spread of Communism guided much of the United State’s policy during Post War years. The basis of the Doctrine² was an analysis made the Containment Policy Commentator Alexis De Tocqueville in the 1830, in
which he wrote about coming of two giant countries, one in Europe and the second one
in the West across the Atlantic Ocean:

There are on earth today two great people, who, from different point of
departure, seem to be advancing toward the same end. They are the
Russians and the Anglo-Americans. Both have grown great in obscurity;
and while the attention of mankind was occupied elsewhere they have
suddenly taken their places in the first rank among the nations (...). Their
(American and Russia) points of departure are different, their paths are
divergent; nevertheless, each seems summoned by a secret design of
providence to hold in his hands, some day, the destinies of half the
world.(kort 21-22).

George Kennan argued that the Stalinist regime would always remain aggressive
because it depended on the survival of foreign intimidated to keep its domestic
authority. So, the United States of America refused to follow the policy of coexistence
with the Soviet Union but they accepted the policy of containing the Russian expansion
as john Spanier expressed in his book that:”the aim of American foreign policy, Dulles
stressed, should not be to coexist indefinitely with the communist menace, it should be
to eliminate.”(25).

The first beneficiaries of the Truman doctrine were Greece and turkey, who received
military aid to combat Communist Aggression. Communism was dominant force in
Asia. The plan was very successful; it helped in rebuilding the European economy,
achieving political stability and diminishing Communism’s appeal. The plan also saved
France and Italy from socialism and weakened the movement in other countries. The
Truman Doctrine drew the United States closer to Europe than any time since the
colonial period.
1-3 The Cold War in Asia

The main objective of the United States during the Second World War in the Pacific was to defeat Japan and to create powerful and friendly China that would play a leading role in keeping peace in the Far East. Great Britain and the United States promised in Cairo 1943, to return the Chinese territories which were stolen by Japan like Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores to China. They also gave China one permanent seat on the United Nations Security Councils. (The American foreign policy encyclopedia). The U.S president Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisors wanted to establish powerful China. China created tension between the United States and the Soviet Union for controlling over it. In other words the conflict was between the Nationalists and the Communists³. The Nationalists received a great aid from the United States while the Communists were given limited aid by the Soviet Union. The Nationalists were unable to repel the Communist forces and fled in defeat to the island of Taiwan. The Communist Leader Mao Zedong proclaimed the creation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC on October 1, 1949, the Soviet Union recognized the People’s Republic of China in the following day⁴.

The Communist China had a positive as well as negative results, it increased the capitalist support in Asia. As Michael Dockrill viewed:”the rise of communism in china (…) led to the formation of a powerful china lobby in the Republican Party’s”. This party supported the American presence in China and this through the idea of benefiting from the U.S.A’s financial help. (The Marshall Plan).
1-4 The Domino Theory

4-1 Definition

The Domino Theory was one of foreign policy, which promoted by the U.S government. It speculated that if one region fell under the influence of Communism the surrounding lands would as well and creating a Domino Effect. The Domino Theory stated that some change will cause a similar change nearby; this will cause a change nearby the new region and so on. The Domino Theory was used by successive administrators during the Cold War. It was used to justify American intervention around the world.

In a dictionary definition, the theory applying Domino Effect to politics: a theory that political events are interrelated and that one trigger off a chain of others.

The theory was developed by the U.S president Dwight D. Eisenhower to warn the spread of Communism in South East Asia.

On April 7th, 1954, the president Dwight D. Eisenhower announced the “Domino Theory” at a news conference; he was not announcing a radical departure in American’s understanding of the emerging situation in Indochina but he was simply making public aspects of American foreign policy that had been making since the end of the Second World War. Eisenhower used the Domino Theory to explain why American intervention in Asia was very important, because he suggested that it could lead to the spread of “Iron Curtain of the communist control over Asia. This idea of the Domino Theory was very clear in his speech and he said:” you have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is certainly that it will go over quickly”. (the Eisenhower speech).
Here the president Eisenhower means that if Indochina fell under the Communist control all the neighboring countries will follow it. So, the Soviet Union threatened the American interests in the Asian continent and this threat should be defeated in order to save its interests.

The Domino Theory is complex theory. It is based on a simple rule of physics, that rule is Inertia. Inertia is defined as the tendency of a matter to remain at rest or to continue in a fixed direction unless affected by some outside direction; this can be seen by making a line of dominoes, one right after the other and pushing the first domino over, the rest of the dominoes will fall until the last one is down.

They gain speed and power as the process is carried out. This analogy can be used to show what could happen to the political make-up of a specific geographical area in the world. The analogy through, uses dominoes instead of countries. If one country in a region practiced on particular type of government this might influence the neighboring countries or bordering to adapt this type of government.

The president Eisenhower speaks about the most profound influence, and that influence is the impact of Communism. He believed that the Soviet Union was a great power and considered as a real enemy for the U.S.A. the American policy makers think about the world domination by the Soviet Union because of two reasons. The first one the Communists view the Capitalists as imperialists and forever trying to impose themselves on others. As long as Capitalists are present in the world and the Communists feel that they must be worry of the Capitalists trying to impose themselves on them by waging wars. War is a natural result of the Capitalist system according to Communism. Lenin in 1916, wrote a book called” imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism”, in this book this book he says:”capitalists will always seek control over
others as a way of expanding their markets and the control of the masses”. (The American Foreign Policy Encyclopedia). Moreover, the Communists saw themselves as the protection of the masses against this terrible threat of Capitalism. In this case, the Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said that in 1954; “the communists are attempting to prevent the orderly development of independence and to confuse the issue before the world.” (Quoted the American foreign policy Encyclopedia). According to the Americans the Soviet Union considered as threat not just for them but also for the whole world.

4-2 The Origin of the Domino Theory

There was a historical foundation for the theory in the Second World War. Late in 1938 at the Munich Conference Britain and France had allowed taking the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia\(^6\). Many people believed they will stop it in an easy way, but in fact the opportunity to try to stop Hitler before he became too strong was not taken. Within a period of less than two years Adolf Hitler partitioned what had remained from Czechoslovakia and invaded Poland; overran Denmark, Norway, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France; and started the Battle of Britain. During the Second World War Germany acted in a situation which also could be labeled as the Domino Theory, every time that Germany gained control of another country it easier just to take over the next and almost all of Europe was under German control. (the American foreign policy encyclopedia).

At the end of the Second World War Hitler and his government were eliminated. But Joseph Stalin remained; he had emerged from the Second World War controlling not only the Soviet Union but also much of East Central Europe. This theory had powerful proponents in U.S.A foreign policy circles, including President Dwight Eisenhower,
Johnson, Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan who all employed it various times to rationalize and promote their policy choices in the face of foreign affairs confronting the country. However the official use of this theory was during the Vietnam era. The American Policy makers encouraged the aggressive military intervention around the world. In this regard, the Domino Theory became a powerful geopolitical discourse during the Cold War that is no associated with aggressive policies and the negative legacies of the America’s military intervention in Vietnam during that period. (the American foreign policy encyclopedia)

In fact; the references to the Domino Theory have appeared again including for example the Persian Gulf War (1991-1992),the conflicts and U.S intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990’s and the American led invasions and occupations of both Iraq and Afghanistan. In early 2011, the theory was commonly employed in the Middle East in countries such as Egypt, Libya, and Syria. At the beginning of 1953, when the president Dwight Eisenhower became a president, he appointed John Foster Dulles a Secretary of State and he pushed a very radical version of the Domino Theory, more extreme than had ever before advocated by the previous presidents in the U.S. government. At a meeting of the National Security on March 31, 1953, Dulles listed the strong and most important countries in the Communist Bloc and “he warned that the loss of any one of such positions would produce a chain reaction would cost us the remainder” and those countries are: Japan, Indochina, India, Pakistan, and Iran. (The American foreign policy encyclopedia).

4-3The Extension of the Domino Theory in Asia

The idea that if the Vietnamese fall under the Communist control the rest of the Far East will be sovietized. This idea was originated from the French government officials who argued that if Indochina converted to Communism or even a part of Indochina this
would lead to a loss of huge area. In 1949, French President Vincent Auriol commented a proposal that French attempt to negotiate peace with Ho Chi Minh. He rejected this idea, arguing that to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh “an agent of Moscow” would lead to the loss not only of Indochina but the rest of South East Asia. South East Asia under Soviet control would constitute a barrier between the United States and Europe; the result would be to hand over Europe to Russia.

At the end of Truman Administration, the National Security Council Staff tried to maintain some restraint about statements concerning the dire consequences of Indochina’s fall and they said: ”the fall of Indochina would undoubtedly lead to the fall of other mainland states of South East Asia”. (The American Foreign Policy Encyclopedia). Their fall would bring almost conditions with respect to the Internal security of the Philippines; Malaya and Indochina; and would contribute their probable eventual fall to the Communists. So that; if the Asian countries fall under the Soviet Union control this may also threaten the European countries.

On August 6, 1945, the United States propped an Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima that destroyed the city and half of the population. After two days later the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. At the Conference of Tehran in 1943, the Soviet Union reaffirmed its pledge to enter the war against Japan after the defeat of Germany. The Soviet Union entry into the war in Asia was again confirmed at both the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. On the following days August 9, a Second Atomic Bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Later on Stalin was convinced that the United States and Britain had continued a plan to use the Atomic Bomb to force Japan out of war before the USSR were able to comply with their promise to join the war against Japan and agreements turning over territory held by the Japanese since their victory over Imperial Russia in the Russo Japanese war of 1905.
1-5 The Objective of the Domino Theory during and after the Cold War

In the U.S. history, from 1890’s onwards, had often been concerned with trying to contain the Russian expansionism. Ideological, military, and economic conflict between the United States and the U.S.S.R over communist aggression characterized the Cold War. The Cold War was an unforeseen consequence of the Post Second World War realignment of Europe negotiated among primary victors: the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. The general policy applied by the allies was to contain and occupy the recently liberated countries. As a result, the U.S.S.R or the Communist Soviet Union was able to exert pressure on the governments of eastern European countries, thereby creating a division between East and West.

The Domino Theory was among the possibilities and trials that have been used by the Americans to stop the Communism expansion.

In 1945, the Soviet Union brought most of the Eastern and central of Europe under its influence as a part of the Post Second World War settlement, prompting Winston Churchill to declare in a speech in 1946 at Westminster College in Fulton Missouri that “from Stettie in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent behind that line all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe. Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the population around lie in what we call the soviet sphere” (the American Foreign Policy Encyclopedia).
In 1949, China became a Communist country after Chinese Communist rebels defeated the Nationalist Republic Government in the end of the Civil War (1927-1949). Korea also has fallen under the Soviet control at the end of the Second World War.

The United States recognized that really the Soviet Union was a great power and the soon that destroyed it would protect its interests in the Asian region.

5-1The Korean conflict (1950-1953)

The main focus of the American foreign policy was to put a limit for the spread of Communism. Both powers the United States and the Soviet Union fought each other in indirect way as what happen in the Korean conflict, Korea which had been part of the Japanese empire since 1910, was occupied by Soviet American troops after the Second World War. The Soviet troops occupied the North half while the American troops occupied the Southern half.

A conflict came ahead when the North Korans took decisive military action against the South with the Soviet approval. The United States, with the support of the U.N. came to the aid of the South Korean government

The American leaders considered the fall of Korea in the Soviet Communist's hands a black event in the American history that they should prevented using any tool. Huge Brogan explained how this attitude affected the United States response to the attack on North Korea on Jun 25, 1950:

It was assumed, whether correctly or not may never be known [,] that the North Koreans would never have dared to act without the express authorization, indeed orders, Of Stalin. The Chinese Communists were discounted: they too were supposed to be mere tools of the Kremlin. This was a moment long awaited, long feared. If Stalin were allowed to
succeed, the United States would be shamed for ever. (Quoted Bouaziz 32).

Harry S Truman's response to the attack was the expansion of the Containment Policy to Asia and the guarantee of the American military involvement against the expansion of the Communists in South Korea. The American president Harry S Truman did not confront Communism in just Korea, but also gave military aid to the French in Vietnam and in Taiwan. Both South and North Korean governments considered themselves the legitimate representatives of Korea, and each one worked to get the country under its control. So the war that brook out between the South and North Korea was a Civil War. However, the interference of the Communist forces and the forces of the United Nations made from it an international war.

The importance of South Korea lies in the words of Harry S Truman, after the attack, he went before the security council of the United Nation to ask for military protection to the region, the American president said:

If we let Korea down, the Soviets will keep right on going and swallow up one piece of Asia after another (…) If we were to let Asia go, the Near East would collapse and no telling what would happen in Europe (…) Korea is like the Greece of the Far East. If we are tough enough now, if we stand up to them like we did in Greece three years ago, they won't take any more steps.(Quoted Bouaziz 33)

The American reaction was the American military involvement against the expansion of Communism in Asia. Truman started using the USA Air Force to attack the North Korean spread in South Korea. However, the use of American airpower was insufficient to prevent the South Korea’s collapse, Harry S Truman had to send American ground troops on June 30, 1950 or face Communist control of the entire peninsula.
The United States and the issue of South Korea was a determining the future of its security. If the United States failed in defending South Korea this would mean to the members of the NATO, that America is not able to save its world. The fall of South Korea would result in two things: Japan would remain unaligned in the NATO and Eastern Europe would be neutralized. In this case the power would shift from the U.S.A to the USSR and this shift would lead to the isolation of the United States. So the Americans had no choice but just to prevent the North Koreans from dominating the South of Korea.

5-2 The Domino Theory and the Vietnam War

The revolutionary world wide spread of Communism has always been a great fear to the U.S.A. in the past; America has gone to many wars to psychologically protect its ideology against powerful nations. The Domino Theory was the policy of which was used to after world war two .they used it to justify their intervention in Vietnam .Eisenhower and Dulles used the Domino Theory because of the fear of a Communist dominated government in Vietnam and surrounding countries . Another factor that led to the intervention in Vietnam was the U.S.A economical and political interests over raw materials. The U.S involvement began with supplying the French with military aid .When the Cold War was at a peak between the Unites States and the Soviet Union, and after the victory of stopping South Korea from becoming a Communist state. The Vietnam War was the first incident after the end of the Second World War. Approximately all the U.S presidents speeches were addressing the topic Communism. “While the labeling strategy of the United States evolved over time each of the related administration linked terrorism and Communism as paired threats to America in the region”(winkler17). Winkler here means that Communism is like terrorism and both
threaten the American interests in this region. So if the Communists gained Vietnam under its ideology this will affect the surrounding countries.

The president Kennedy was the first to use terrorism as a public justification for American involvement in the Vietnam War. Kennedy related Communism to terrorism and used the term of “Communist Terror”. This threat of Communism should be defeated because the Communists carried social programs that were beginning to succeed and the whole parts of the world will be under the Communist control.

We can conclude that the Domino Theory was the most famous and it is the heart of the Cold War foreign policy around the world. The historian Walter lafaber that:”the domino theory was (and remains) one of the most dangerous ideas to attract Americans” (the American Foreign Policy encyclopedia).

As we mentioned before the Korean conflict and the Vietnam War are the major confrontation between the Unites States and the Soviet Union. The main goal of using the Domino Theory during the Cold War was just to prevent the soviet domination and the United States refused the idea that the world will be lead by two super powers. The only solution of the United States is to work hard in order to decrease the power of the Soviet Union and turned all the Communist states to Capitalist ideology and the United States is the only leader and the super power of the world. Nearly twenty years the U.S policy makers viewed the conflict in Vietnam as an integral part of their broader struggle with Communism. The National Security Council (NSC) expressed in his document that the USSR “animated by a new fanatical faith” and was seeking to impose its absolute authority on the rest of the world.
1-6 The Domino Theory after the Cold War

After forty years, the Domino Theory is appeared again under a new name and with different objectives. The new name is the Democratic Domino Theory unlike the theory during the Cold War.

As we have mentioned before that in 1954 the president Dwight D. Eisenhower described what is known as the Falling Domino Principle. Although, the President Eisenhower articulated his Falling Domino Principle in the context of Communism the basic idea of Domino Effect. Most recently, the idea of Democratic Domino Theory has appeared.

So, according to the Democratic Domino Theory, the increasing or decreasing of democracy in one country would affect the neighboring countries. This idea of spreading democracy in the undemocratic countries would justify the foreign military intervention and the goal of this involvement is promoting democracy in the undemocratic countries.

The Democratic Domino Theory is used to justify the American intervention in the Middle East especially in Iraq. According to George W. Bush, Iraq is the heart and the central country in the Middle East and he established a democratic and free Iraq this would affect the surrounding countries of the Middle East and would produce a whole and global revolution for democratizing the Middle East.

The Domino Theory style works on the changing in one country’s political institution would spread to the neighboring countries and “according to the Democratic Domino Theory, for instance, increases in one nation’s democracy lead to the increase in its neighbor’s democracy, leading to increases in their neighbor’ democracy and so on. The
result is greater democracy” (lesson and dean, 534). So the increase in democracy affects the neighboring countries as well as the decrease of democracy would also infect the neighboring countries and reduce democracy in those countries and deteriorating global democracy.

An investigation made by Peter T. Lesson and Andrea M. Dean about the hypothesis of is really democracy spread? They came out with the fact that democracy spreads as the Democratic Domino Theory. They added that if a foreign military aimed at promoting democracy in undemocratic countries succeeds in democriticizing these nations.

Geography played a great work in the domino theory. However; non geographic domino type are also possible and democracy may spread through other channels. In 2006 Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett identify four mechanisms or channels through which democracy can spread.

The first mechanism is known as “the Tiebout Competition”. It is about the competition between governments because this can help in the increase of democracy i.e. if one country strengthens its democracy by institutionalizing greater constraints on the executive authority and attract business and develop investment and the economy of the country in addition the easy way concerning the movement of the citizens and free investment without any obstacles, the result is the neighboring countries would follow the same policy and similar democracy and the establishment of greater democracy through out this region and the surrounding countries.

The second way of democracy’s spread between geographic neighbors is through “the diffusion of pro-democracy ideas via demonstration effect or what Simmons, Dobbin, and Garret call “learning” (Dean and Lesson, 535). By learning they mean that the
neighboring countries may watch and observe the behavior and activities of the other countries, and if one country employed democracy and they see it as a successful country, the other countries will adapt the same democracy and this is known as” democracy demonstration effect”. So the less democratic countries will learn from the more democratic countries and this enhances the spread of democracy in a greater way.

The third channel in which democracy can spread is through economic communities or zones. The economic communities such as NAFTA and E.U the admission to these communities offer great benefits to the country and their alliances. These benefits may let the other countries to think about joining these communities and increase their level of democracy. In order to be a member of these economic zones require limiting the intervention of the exclusive authority. In this way democracy spread through out the region and the surrounding countries.

The last and the final way of spreading democracy is what Simon, Dobbin, and Garret called “ emulation”. This idea of emulation is about the powerful countries can have a certain influence on the other countries as an example if the United States strengthens its democracy the other states will follow it.

1-7 The U.S Democratic Domino Theory in Promoting Democracy in the Middle East

After the terrorist attack the United States sought to promote democracy in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and this strategy came with invasion of Iraq and the belief that promoting democracy in Iraq would spread to the other countries by the Domino Effect

During the Bush Administration the formal declaration of the Freedom Agenda that came during the Bush Legacy that came on 6 November 2003 the president George W.
Bush announced that:”sixty years of western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make U.S safe because in the long run stability can not be purchased at the expense of liberty. As long as, the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish. It will remain a place of stagnation, resentment, and violence ready for export. And with the spread of weapons that can bring catastrophic harm to our country and to our friends it would be reckless to accept the status”(Hassan,46) the president George W. Bush feels that it is his responsibility to spread democracy in the Middle East and defeat the tyrannical regimes because those tyrants helped the terrorists for their organizations.

This policy of spreading democracy embodies both radical and conservative strands. The radical dimension focuses on the political democracy and through military regime if necessary, and it was targeted to those who opposed American power in the Middle East .concerning the second dimension which is the conservative dimension of the policy. It is a trial to broaden approach the United States from the Middle East. But in fact all these are just justifications used by the United States to argue its intervention in these different parts of the world.

**Conclusion**

The Cold War was a period shaped by a different use of policies practiced by the United States and the Soviet Union. The Domino Theory was one of the important policies that have been used during that era in order to stop the Communism expansion. However, many historians agreed that there is a revival of the Domino Theory but under a new name and objective .the Democratic Domino Theory which is used in promoting democracy in the undemocratic countries in the Middle East .the Iraqi war was the starting point of the Domino Effect in the whole Middle East. At the end of this chapter we conclude that the Domino Theory used for the different objectives. During the epoch
of the Cold War is just to fight the Soviet Union and to prevent the domination of
Communism. After the unipolarity of the world, it is used for promoting democracy and
specially protecting unipolarity of the world, it is used for promoting democracy and
specially protecting the American globalism and the American interests in the region.
The End Notes

1- The cold war:

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union were the world’s strongest nations. They were called superpowers. They had different ideas about economics and government. They fought a war of ideas called the Cold War. For further information:

http://www.eduplace.com/ss/socsci/books/content/ilesson5/ils_gr5a_u8_c17_11.pdf.

2- The Truman Doctrine:

When President Harry S. Truman issued what came to be known as the "Truman Doctrine" in March 1947, he was outlining the basic foreign policy that the United States would use against the Soviet Union and Communism for the next forty-four years. The Doctrine, which had both economic and military elements, pledged support for countries attempting to hold back Soviet-style revolutionary Communism. It symbolized the United States' post-World War II global leadership role. See the website:


3- The Nationalists and the Communists see the background guide on: http://www.gatormun.org/resources/CCW%20Communists.pdf

4- MAO Zedong was born on December 26 in the small village of Shaoshan in the province of Hunan (Southeast China) While Mao spent much of his childhood working on the family farm, he developed a passion for learning during his brief primary education. At the age of sixteen, Mao left Shaoshan and traveled to the city
of Changsha, the provincial capital, where he enrolled in middle school. To see also the revolutionary works of this leader see:


5- The President Dwight Eisenhower: Eisenhower was born on October 14, 1890, in Denison, Texas. In 1945 he was appointed U.S. Army chief of staff. He became the first Supreme Allied Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1951. In 1952 he was elected U.S. president. He served two terms before retiring to Gettysburg in 1961. Eisenhower died on March 28, 1969, at the Walter Reed Army Hospital in Washington, D.C.


6-the Munich Conference: see Munich'sLessonsReconsidered by Robert J. Beck.

http://people.reed.edu/~ahm/Courses/Reed-POL-240-2012S1_IP/Syllabus/EReadings/06.2/06.2.Beck1989Munichs.pdf
Chapter two:

The Representation of the Domino Theory in the Iraqi War of 2003
Introduction

The Domino Theory was revisited when US changed the Iraqi regime through a war declared against Saddam Hussein in 2003. President Walker Bush and neoconservatives considered that the fall of Iraq would lead to the democratic effect in the Middle East. For them, Iraq was to be starting point for a promising lead domino. In this case we may ask this question: was Iraq the first falling domino theory in the Middle East? Was Iraq Regime changed regarded to be an initiative to change other Arab regimes? Regime change in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya is a clear fact for the American secret plan to control the Arab world with an American vision; President Bush administration declared that democracy in Arab countries should be reestablished not just through destroying what it called dictatorial regimes, but also through weakening those countries to facilitate the American domination.

2-1 Background to the United States invasion of Iraq

By the late of 2002, the president George W. Bush took a confrontational position against Saddam Hussein through possessing the weapons of Mass Destruction (W.M.D) programs\(^1\), the US declared that the president Saddam Hussein refused to submit to International Inspections to verify the destruction of those weapons. The Bush administration and the neo-conservatives found that it is necessary to deal with the threat directed from Iraq. The U.S tried to link Iraq to the terrorist attacks of September 11\(^{th}\), 2001 began to perceive Iraq as a greater threat that should be confronted by the administration, but in fact Iraq has no relations with the terrorist organizations, it is just a justification for its intervention in Iraq. By November, the President G.W Bush advised Rumsfeld that he had turned his attention to Iraq and he wanted the Secretary of
State “to review the existing battle plans for Iraq and begin formulating a coercive way to deal with Saddam Hussein.” (qtdWhitaker1 59).

The President George W Bush declared that Iraq is an axis of evil and its possession of WMD is a grater danger to the international peace and security. Iraq considered as a threat to the International Peace and Security. In March 2003, the US initiated a preventive war against Iraq, so as to dismantle it from WMD with a pretext to maintain security and spread democracy. The conflict between the US and Iraq is dated back to Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990, until the Iraqi forces were driven back by the US military coalition operating under the US Resolution(Res 687) in 1991.

Although the US supported Iraq in the Iraq-Iran war in 1980’s, the US always looks for just its interests. When Saddam Hussein launched an invasion of his tiny neighbor Kuwait in 1990 and refused to withdraw from the country despite the US and international demands to leave the country. So, the crisis led to open warfare between both states. At the end of the first Persian Gulf War, the US military expelled the Iraqi military from Kuwait, so as to avoid invading Iraq because of the advisors (James baker, Dick Cheney, Brent Snowcroft, Collin Powel) and Saddam Hussein was left in power.

By the late of 1990’s, Saddam Hussein had rejected International Arms Inspectors and refused to cooperate with them, and this lack of cooperation and honesty revealed after the Iraqi’s dictator son-in-law and the WMD programs. The Director Hussein Kamel defeated in 1950 with evidence that Iraq attempting to reconstitute its WMD programs, this is an accusation of the President George W Bush, but in fact the president Saddam Hussein finally accepted the UN inspectors to enter Iraq and to verify if they have the WMD. However, the President George W Bush still insisted on the foundation of WMD programs was by:” the release of thousands of Iraqi document showing that thousands
of chemicals had been imported on going WMD programs and these illicit materials were unaccounted for.” (qtdWhitaker 160).

Neo-conservatives refused the Bill Clinton containment policy towards Iraq, and they called for a “coercive diplomacy”. In 1998, a group called themselves the Project of New American Country composed of figures such as: Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Richard Armitage, John Bolton, and Paul Wolfowitz, sent Clinton an open letter claimed that: “containment” and “diplomacy” had failed and that removing Saddam Hussein and his regime from power…..needs to become the aim of American Foreign Policy” (qtdWhitaker 161). The United States and Great Britain directed an air strike against Iraq under the coercive diplomacy, Iraq suffered from sanctions for decades. The British-American attacks involved more Cruise Missile strikes than the 1991 Persian Gulf War and hundred of conventional bombing stories directed almost against a hundred suspected WMD production and storage site. Those air strikes crushed most of the Iraqi’s military, government and police facilities to punish and weaken the Iraqi regime, and also this camping crushed most of the Iraq’s remaining WMD capacity.

According to George w bush:

“before 9/11, Saddam Hussein was a problem American might have been able to manage .through the lens of the post 9/11 world, my view changed…I could only imagine the destruction possible if any enemy dictator passed his WMD to terrorists… the stakes were too high to trust a dictator’s world against the weight of evidence and the consensus the world. The lesson of 9/11 was that if we waited for a danger to fully materialize, we would have waited too long .I reached a decision: we would confront the threat from Iraq, one way or another. (Qtd
Whitaker 162).

So, the plan for attacking Iraq called OP plan, required 500,000 US military personnel to be moved to Iraqi, Rumsfeld refused this plan for dealing with Iraq and he contacted GeneralTommy franks and the initiated the plan and completely rewrite the invasion plans to depose Hussein.

The Bush administration tried to politicize the information provided by the intelligence, and the President George W Bush overestimates the threat of the Iraq’s possession of the WMD. This view was reinforced by a series of New York Times articles by Judith Miller based on interviews with an Iraqi defector with alleged knowledge about Iraq’s WMD programs, these articles detailed Hussein’s secret biological, chemical, and nuclear programs in the country. During 2002 State of the Union address Iraq was clearly identified in the crosshairs of the US as part of the so called “evil of axis”.

The President George W Bush claimed that:

“Continues to flaunt its hostility towards America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax and nerve gas and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of own citizens, leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspection then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime has something to hide from the civilized world. States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could
attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic …the United States of American will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us the world’s most destructive weapons. (Qtd. Whitaker 163)

The CIA intelligence on Iraq did not possess definitive proof that Iraq has a large stock of WMD and storing relations with al-Qaida but the National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) claimed that probably Iraq had a small stock pile of chemicals and they were looking and working on the production of more and developing these programs.

Dick Cheney linked Iraq to terrorism and asserted that:

“Is not possible when dictators obtain weapons of mass destruction and are prepared to share them with terrorists who intend to conflict catastrophic casualties on the United States….simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction….he is amassing them to use, against our allies, against us…time is not on our side”. (Qtd Whitaker 164).

Later on Rumsfeld analyzed this view and pointed out that it is really Iraq has an active program, there is no doubt about it, and this view supported by the NIE. According to them:” Baghdad has chemical and biological weapons including Mustard, Sarin, Cyclosarin, and VX…” (Woodward 197). Another document was sent to the White House turning facts about Saddam Hussein WMD programs and his close relation with the terrorist organizations. After the Iraq invasion, it was proved that Iraq had no relation to terrorism or possessing WMD.
By the fall of 2002, Cheney, for example was the leading proponent of an effort to begin preparing 20 millions doses of small pox vaccine and planned to spend $6 million on “Project Bioshield” to prepare the country to defend itself against biological weapons. Top National Security Agency (NSA) officials claimed that the US would probably need to initiate before March 2003. The Prince of Saudi Arabia Bandar told the US officials that the Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak had confirmed that Iraq had mobile chemical weapons. After the invasion of Iraq, they failed to find the WMD stock piles in Iraq.

The President George W Bush still insisted on the foundation of the WMD in Iraq and at the Cabinet Room before the Congressional vote Bush told legislators” Saddam Hussein is a terrible guy who is teaming up with Al Qaeda ….It is clear he has weapons of mass destruction –anthrax, VX; he still needs plutonium and he has not been shy about trying to find it. Time frame would be six months’ after this to produce a nuke. ….The Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemicals weapons…and according to the British government, (Hussein), could launch a biological or chemical attack in as little as 45 minutes”. (Woodward 188-190). So, according to George W Bush, if they did not fight Saddam Hussein, he will be a great power in which he can not be defeated. Iraq is a regional power in addition to that it is a small, a weak country. So, we can conclude that the Americans have interests in Iraq and they are trying to fulfill these interests. The President George W Bush gave a speech at the UN in September 2002, he said:

“….the regime will have new power to bully, dominate and conquer its neighbors, condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear….With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our own options to confront that regime will narrow. And if emboldened regime were to supply these weapons to terrorist allies, then the attacks of September 11th would be a prelude
to far greater horrors. If we meet our responsibilities, if we overcome this danger, we can arrive at a very different future. The people of Iraq can shake of their captivity. They can one join a democratic Afghanistan and democratic Palestine, inspiring reforms throughout the Muslim world. These nations can show by their examples…”

(qtdWhitaker 166).

George W Bush administration was so enthusiastic about post-war in Iraq because the administration believed that efforts the country and transfer authority and to a friendly new democratic Iraqi government would be relatively easy, but Collin Powel warned Bush about the difficulties for establishing democratic Iraq but this warnings were rejected by the President George Bush. The United States did not seriously prepare plans for the aftermath of the war until the late 2002. The State Department experts were working for a months on the future of Iraq, but this issue has been excluded because of disputes between the state and the experts in Defense State Department, so the possibility of the United States winning the war and losing peace is real and serious specifically advised against disbanding the Iraqi army or attempting to engage in a “De-baathification” because both would destabilize the country, and the result is the US failure to maintain security in Iraq after the war.

In December 2002, the retired army L. Gen Jay Gardner was approached about a forming agency tasked with dealing the stabilization of post war Iraq and the transfer of power to Iraq government. The President set up the Office of Reconstitution and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) within the Defense Department brought in Gardner to head up the team in the months before the invasion. Gardner decided to focus on humanitarian assistance and to decide remnants of Iraq’s army, police force and bureaucracy to stabilize the country, but was relieved of his duties. By May 2003, Gardner was replaced by L. Paul (Jerry) Bermer III, the head of a new entity called the
Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) to see the rebuilding of Iraq and the transition to
democracy. The CPA was unprepared and had too few months it had a little credibility
with the Iraqi people and even the US military personnel who regularly claimed the
acronym “can produce anything”. Many obstacles faced the CPA in order to complete
its mission as the social difficulties. Bremer began his time heading CPA; he officially
disbanded the remnants of the Iraqi military and decided to purge all former Baath Party
members from Iraq’s police and bureaucracy. In a policy called “de-baathification”, this
act destroyed the remnants of the Iraqi police, armed services, and alienated several
thousands of young men and civil servants who could be used to stabilize the country.
Bremer also decided to announce that the CPA would control Iraq because there would
be no Iraq government in the near future, and this is the way of controlling Iraq.

By the late 2003, it was apparent that the situation failed to conform with prewar
expectations since WMD had not been recovered. The US military forces were
unprepared to deal with the deteriorating crisis. The coalition’s lack of military
preparedness was the result of General Frank’s and Rumsfeld’s invasion plan to use
economic force to defeat the Iraqi military and largely assumed a best case scenario
after the conflict that would enable them to transfer power quickly to a friendly Iraqi
government by the fall of 2003. Initially, they sent 145,000 and few hundred armored
vehicles in the entire invading ground force facing degraded Iraqi military tanks as well
as Iraqi paramilitary forces. In order to avoid forecasting the attack to Hussein and the
world, they slowly moved small forces piecemeal to the region and removed assets such
as military police companies and police trainers.

The General Frank changed the plan and ordered the coalition ground forces to enter
Iraq before the beginning of the air campaign against the Iraqi forces. As the coalition
pushed into the country much of the Iraqi military simply disintegrated as its troops
deserted and returned to their homes because the number, composition, and rules for the coalition were not inadequate for this invasion in a country with a different language and culture. The US forces continued to be eliminated by the Pentagon right up until the invasion and even after the attack had began and after the American invasion, Iraq witnessed a state of chaos and disorder.

During the war, this small US led invading force preserved the remaining Iraqi military units into the north of the country but they were unable to protect Iraq’s people, its infrastructure, its cultural heritage sites, its borders, and the huge caches of weapons and minorities depressed in the country. The fear that the latter sites contained WMD meant that they were largely avoided and remained unguarded, leaving huge supplies of weapons that were looted by insurgents and later used against the coalition forces and the Iraqi citizens. The US military started by degrading the infrastructure of Iraq and all its museums were destroyed. There were no Iraqi military forces were so weak to provide protection and to prevent the US military from moving across the country and its borders.

The US military was materially and psychologically unprepared to occupy Iraq in 2003. As noted, the forces present in the ground were too small; there were no little prewar planning for the occupation and the US military forces expected to return home by the fall of the President Saddam Hussein. According to Anthony Zinni, aslate as fall 2003,”there (was) no strategy or mechanism of putting the pieces (of post invasion Iraq) together… (The United States was) in danger of failing” (quoted Whitaker 171). The US commanders were still committed to the original draw-down plans and failed to impose a consistent occupation policy across the country. Some sought to build a close relationship with local Iraqi leaders and win the hearts and the minds while others kept
their distance and focused on force security, and patrols demonstrate their presence strength to the locals.

There were many documented cases of crimes by the United States towards Iraqi citizens. In April 2004, the Abu Ghraib involving the abuses of prisoners by American troops at the prison was broadcast to the world on 60 Minutes 2 further delegitimating the occupation to mush of the world. Troops and commanders were replaced by military leaders to confront the growing insurgency. The International Community was always hesitated to provide massive assistance to the coalition because of the way in which the bush administration allegedly ignored world opinion bout the war. In summer 2003, the insurgents had staged attacks against Jordanian embassy, the International Red Cross and the UN head quarters in Iraq, killing the chief of the UN mission. After the attack of this organization, many other organizations began to withdraw from the country as the World Bank, the international Monetary fund,Oxfam, and also the American allies such as Spain, Hungarian, and Dutch etc who were promised relatively light peace keeping duties before the war began to withdraw their forces as the year progressed and the situation failed to improve.(qtd Whitaker 172).

Throughout this deteriorating violence, the US and British military had continued their efforts to stabilize the country and the CPA had slowly helped Iraqi representatives to produce a constitution for the country.In June 2004, authority was transferred to the New Iraqi Interim Government and its new Prime Minister AyadAllawi and Bremer departed the country. At the same time, the US military finally initiated an official “counter insurgency” strategy, this increase its training of Iraqi army and security forces and tried to wrestle back areas from the control of various insurgent groups in different areas of the country. The US military fought Al Sadr’s Medhi militia for control of Najaf and also controlled Fallujah in November using massive fire power. In late 2004,
a meeting between Colin Powel told Bush and Tony Blair at the White House that they
donot have enough troops, so they could not control the whole country. By late 2005,
there were more US forces in Iraq, then when the Iraqi Interim Government installed the
previous year, the number of the attacks increased in comparison 2004 (25000 in 2004
to over 34000).

The Iraqis risked exercising their right to vote in parliamentary election in January, a
vote on the constitution in fall, others refused to participate and boycotted the elections
while the insurgency tried to terrorize the public and continue their assault on the
coalition. By the end of 2005, some experts described the situation in Iraq as the “Civil
War”. A CIA report claimed that the country had become the world’s biggest training
ground for terrorist and there were more violent extremists in the country in 2005 than
in 2003. In 2006, the President Bush decided to increase the number of troops in Iraq to
promote a clear strategy and this strategy known as “Surge”. This announcement of
increasing troops made the American people in a televised broadcast in January 2007.
The President Bush policy was not accepted by the newly elected democratic majority
in both houses of the US Congress which passed non-binding resolution “is-approving
of Bush’s decision. By late 2008, the violence had declined to its lowest levels since
2003; the Iraqi legislature began to pass legislation on difficult issues as increasing
security and made political compromises. The Iraqi forces asserted greater
responsibilities for the security of the country. By the end of Bush’s presidency, the
Iraqi government and the USA reached an agreement to extract US forces from Iraq by
the end of 2011.During the presidency of Barrack Obama in early 2009, he solidified
further deals with Iraq leaders to pull out US troops from urban areas. By mid of 2009,
the President Obama reduced the troops levels and then remove all US troops from the
country on December 31,2011 and the US forces would remain to aid with the
transition. Those military personnel who will remain considered as advisors and assistant for the Iraqi military and security forces. By 2009, Iraq was finally approaching the levels of stability and political progress.

2-2 The Geopolitics of the Bush Administration toward Iraq

In President Bush’s speeches, such as 2002 and 2003 State of the Union addresses that Saddam Hussein as a dangerous, dishonest and aggressive tyrant. For the President Bush, Saddam Hussein possession to WMD is a great threat to the US as well as the world’s security. He claimed that the US had opportunity to rid Iraq of repressive and murderous dictator who had tormented his people and promote the universal American values “freedom “and” liberty” in the region and replacing Saddam Hussein’s regime with stable democracy. And the President Bush argued that stable democracy in Iraq would possible has a transformative affect on the Middle East (Democratic Domino Theory). This is just a justification to justify their intervention in Iraq, and they are claiming that they wish the better for the Arab countries. The united states wherever feels that their interests are threatened, they find excuses and go their under a justifications of bettering these places.

“The dangers of our time should be confronted actively and forcefully, before we see them in our skies and our cities…in Iraq, a dictator is building and hiding weapons that would enable him to dominate the Middle East and intimidate the civilized world…this same tyrant has close ties to terrorist organizations, and could supply them with the terrible means to strike this country”.(Qt Whitaker 176).

Later in a speech Bush claimed that:
“Acting against the danger (of Iraq) will also contribute greatly to the long term safety and stability of our world... A liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region, by bringing hope and progress into the lives of million. America’s interests in security, and America’s belief in liberty, both lead in the same direction; to a free and peaceful Iraq”. (Qtd Whitaker 176).

At the beginning of the war in March 2003, Bush made a televised address to the American citizens and he said:

“my follow citizens; at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operation to disarm Iraq, to free its people and defend the world from grave danger...to all the men and the women if the united states armed forces now in the Middle East, the peace of the troubled and the hopes of an oppressed people now depended on you...my follow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass trough this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail”. (qtdWhitaker 176).

In the so called “mission accomplished “speech abroad the USS Abraham Lincoln at the end of conventional combat operations, Bush reinforced the notion that the appeal western style freedom was universal and that Iraq was part of the overall war against terror necessary to protect the united states:

”in the images of celebrating Iraqis, we have also seen the ageless appeal of human freedom. Decades of lies and intimidation could not make the Iraqi people love their oppressors or desire their own enslavement. Men
and women in every culture need liberty like they need food, and water, and air. Everywhere that freedom arrives, humanity rejoices. And everywhere that freedom stirs, let tyrants fear…the liberation of Iraq is crucial advance in the campaign against terror. We have removed and ally of Al-Qaeda, and cut of a source of terrorist funding. And this much is certain: No terrorist network will gain weapons of mass destruction from the Iraqi regime, because the regime is no more”. (qtdWhitaker 177).

The Bush Administration still insisted that there is a contact between the President Saddam Hussein and the terrorist organizations, and the possession of WMD. They were trying to corrupt the image of the Iraq president in the eyes of his citizens.

In 2005, Bush announced that the country had reduced the threat of terrorist sponsoring regimes seeking to acquire WMD by demonstrating that their actions would have consequences. The promotion of eternal principles such as liberal democracy and this would make the world a harmonious place. The President was in contact with the leader of Al Qaeda Abu Musab Al Zarquaoui’s declaration on the “evil principle of democracy”. Our generational commitment to the advance of freedom, especially in the Middle East and he said:

“Is now tested and honored in Iraq. That country is vital front in the war on terror, which is why the terrorists have chosen to make a stand there. Our men and women in uniform are fighting terrorist in Iraq so we do not have to face them here at home. The victory of freedom in Iraq will strengthened anew ally in the war on terror, inspiring democratic reformers from Damascus to Tehran, bring more hope and progress to a
troubled region, and thereby lift a terrible threat from the lives of our children and grand children” (CNN politics).

After the failure to discover WMD and to reveal the contact with Al Qaeda, the President and the members of the administration still rely on these justifications and also shifted to create democracy in Iraq for the promotion of freedom and peace in the region and prevent the expansion of the terrorists. The President George W Bush stated that:

“The consequences of failure (Iraq) are clear. Radical Islamic extremist would grow in strength and gain new recruits. They would be in a better position to topple moderate governments, create chaos in the region, and use oil revenues to find their ambitions. Iran would be emboldened in its pursuit of nuclear weapons. Our enemies would have a safe haven from which to plan and launch attacks on the American people. On September the 11th, 2001, we saw what a refuge for extremists on the other side of the world could bring to the streets of our cities. For the safety of our people, America must succeed in Iraq.…The challenge playing out across the broader of the Middle East is more than a military conflict. It is a decisive ideological struggle of our time. On one side are those who believe in freedom and moderation. On the other side extremists who kill the innocent and have declared their intention to destroy our way to life. In the long run, the most realistic way to protect the American people is to provide a hopeful alternative to the hateful ideology of the enemy byadvancing liberty across a troubled region. It is on the interests of the United States to stand with the brave men and women who are risking their lives to claim their freedom – and help them as they work to raise
up just and hopeful societies across the middle east.(qtd Whitaker 178). Bush still makes the contention that Saddam’s WMD would likely have been transferred to terrorist enemies of the US and he said that:

“… With Saddam Hussein ruling Iraq. He would still threatening his neighbors, sponsoring terror, and piling bodies in mass graves…the (pre-war) sanctions, already falling apart, almost certainly would crumbled. Saddam still had the infrastructure and know how to make WMD. And as a final weapons inspections report….concluded,”Saddam wanted to recreate Iraq’s WMD capability…after sanctions were removed and Iraq’s economy stabilized”. Saddam would have turned to Sunni terrorists groups like Al Qaeda …. The chance of biological, chemical, or nuclear weapon, falling into the hands of terrorists would have increased”.(Qtd Whitaker 178).

According to the American point of view, the Domino Theory helped to shape the geopolitics of Iraq for the spread of democracy to the Middle East and this enhanced by friendly democratic Iraq. And by democriticizing Iraq this would affect the neighboring countries, because almost of the Middle East countries suffered from lack of democracy and the dictatorial regimes. Using the Domino Effect Principle would enhance the increase of democracy in one country and the other countries will follow the same path. However; the hidden objective for the invasion of Iraq is just for the raw materials especially oil, the protection of its ally Israel, and to transfer this chaos and disorder to the other countries. Iraq now is characterized by a state of chaos and disorder which democracy they are speaking about.
2-3 The Representation of the Domino Theory in the Iraqi War of 2003

The President George W. Bush relied on the Domino Theory as a primary geopolitical rationalization for the invasion and occupation of Iraq. The Domino Theory is used again under a new name after a long time from using it in the Vietnam War. The President George W. Bush and the US policy makers uttered the term of the “Domino Theory” in their speeches but the Domino Theory of 21st century may be well nuclear because they claimed that Iraq produced it so, the neighboring countries are doing the same thing. The secretary of defense refused to call this strategy as “the Domino Theory” because he claimed that “I would repeat what I’ve said think any comparison to that primed and that long, long conflict with enormous numbers of your people killed is not relevant. It just isn’t on the make.” (qtdwhitakers181).

Another official responded to a question about whether or not “bringing democracy to that nation (Iraq) would have a” Domino Effect “on the Middle East by saying “I wouldn’t call it a Domino Theory. Which suggests automaticity …there will be difficulty and work, in the spread of democracy in the region… (But)if Iraq were a democracy … (it) would have a very positive impact”. (US Department of State 2003). The Secretary of State Colin Powell refused to call it the Domino Theory and he rejected this idea because he said the USA will not go over other areas in the Middle East, they are just helping Iraq to get rid of terrible dictator. There is disagreement between the Department of Defense and the White House about the war. Some at state chose to express their doubts by interpreting Bush’s case for the war in Iraq as the Domino Theory.
The President George W Bush invaded Iraq under the justification of spreading democracy in Iraq and his speech to the AEI on February 26th, 2003:” as liberated Iraq can show the power of freedom to transform that vital region (the Middle East), by bringing hope and progress into the lives of millions”. (qtd Whitaker 182). The republican columnist, Dick Morris had written an article called “and now the dominos begin to fall”, he wrote that now is the Reverse Domino Theory. The Domino Theory is invoked to support aggressive American military policies. The Professor Tony Judt wrote an article in New York Times and he said that:” the Bush administration goals far exceed the internationally acknowledged need to dismantle Saddam Hussein’s arsenal. The Domino Theory is back, this time is reverse. First we remark Iraq in our own image, and then others in the (Middle East) will follow”. (qtdWhitaker 183-184).

Approximately all the Americans believe that there is a reverse of the Domino Theory but with a different objective and its goal is to spread democracy starting by Iraq and the other neighboring countries will follow automatically (according to the American point of view).

Iraq is the first domino, by the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime the President George W Bush and the US officials do not directly address the reapplication of the Domino Theory in the Iraqi war of 2003. Unlike the Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson each one of them justified the American intervention in South East Asia by expounding the “Domino Theory”. After a long time, a similar Domino Theory appeared, but this time its democracy not communism that is spreading. According to Bush administration establishing democracy in Iraq will force the rest to follow the same way.”Bush’s domino theory”, heralded the title of January 2003 report in the Christian Science Monitor before going to say, “ the Bush administrations hawks hope the fall(of Hussein)….would be the first domino to tip other autocratic states in the
region toward democracy…. The administration may be soft-pedaling this new domino theory and simply waiting to showcase a democratic postwar Iraq as a model for its neighbors”. (Bush’s domino theory 2003). In the American news papers, news, journals, and media describe the strategy used in the Iraqi War is the Domino Theory and the main focus is the spread of democracy in Iraq would affect all the neighboring countries in the Middle East.

The President George W Bush has argued that invading Iraq for different reasons. The first reason is the Saddam’s possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), so Bush feels that it is his responsibility to destroy these weapons because it is considered as a threat to the US and the whole world. The second reason is the threat Saddam posed to the Middle East, he claimed that Saddam would invade all the Middle East a country after the other and no one could stop him just the United States. The third reason is the close relationship between Saddam and Al Qaeda; they asserted that there is a connection between Saddam and terrorism. As a fourth reason is the harsh treatment of Saddam to his citizens. The President George W Bush thinks more on the situation of the Iraqi people than Saddam. As a last reason is a big lack of democracy in Iraq because of the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein. They invade Iraq to destroy WMD, fighting terrorism, ameliorate the situation of the Iraqi people, and spread democracy in Iraq. In fact, the real reasons behind this invasion are not what George W Bush mentioned, but the US has certain goals and they want to achieve them through this invasion. All these reasons are just a way of overestimating the threat of Iraq. There is no existence of the relationship between Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda.

The American intervention in Iraq was declared to be for the sake of maintaining democracy in Middle East. Democracy promotion programs are part of a larger four steps plan for the entire Middle East announced by Washington in 2003. The first of
these steps was the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The second was the Middle East partnership to build a civil society in the region. The third was the region’s further integration into the global economy through liberalization and structural adjustment. And the fourth was preventing the rise of any regional military challenge to the emerging US transnational domination. The main objective of all of these steps is to force the regions integration into global Capitalism and facilitate American domination. America doesn’t care about the situation of the other countries but just caring just about its interests in these regions.

2-4 Democracy Promotion and the Bush Legacy

The promotion of democracy in the Middle East and North Africa began with the invasion of Iraq and the belief that a positive Domino would spread through the region. Bush argued that Middle East is a place in which democracy does not exist, sixty years of western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe because in the long run, stability can not be purchased at the expanse of liberty. As long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation, resentment, and violence. The terrorist attack were perceived by the Bush administration as being to bring down the whole fabric of American society, incubational terrorism was portrayed as an existential threat to the united states that must be met with all the resources the US has its disposal. (Hassan 68). The idea expressed here just promoting Freedom and Democracy in the Middle East is the task of the United States to fulfill such a job. The American officials claimed that by promoting democracy in Iraq would provide other interests and enhance free trade integration with larger interdependent markets. All in the hope of generating gradual and stable transformation into “market democracies”, the main focus of the
Freedom Agenda during the Bush administration on 6 November 2003, was changed from the focus on elections to the emphasis on open markets and free trade. The Freedom agenda was first perusing an economics of issues first and by focusing on economy it is gradual modernizations process, and this gives rise to democracy. The president Bush himself expressed that if they could establish democracy in Iraq this would lead reformation and the spread of democracy in the Arab world and with newly democratic Iraq serving as a model for other countries in the region. They claimed that all the Arab countries suffer from lack of democracy such as Bahrain, Yemen, Egypt, Syria, and Tunisia.

The Arab Spring appears to vindicate the Bush’s Freedom Agenda and suggests that the President Obama will follow the same path. The US democracy in the region of the Middle East is related with other interests. This promoting of democracy in the Middle East led to the Arab Spring and the Arab countries began to follow the strategy of the falling dominos. Iraq was the first domino, and all the countries protested against the dictatorial regimes and the lack of democracy and they want to change the rule of government. Really there is no American intervention in Tunisia, Libya, and Syria but all these are the results of the American hidden plan.

The second falling domino is Tunisia, Tunisia before experienced a series of conflicts over the past three years and the most notable is of Gafsa in 2008, where protests continued for many months. The first protests that occurred in Tunisia on December 18th, 2010 in SidiBouzid following Mohamed Bouaziz’s self-immolation in protest of police corruption and ill treatment. A series of increasingly violent street demonstrations through December 2010, ultimately led to the ousting of longtime President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali on January 14th, 2011. There are major reasons that led to these demonstrations. High unemployment, food inflation, corruption, lack of
freedom of speech, other forms of political freedom, and poor living conditions. Many deaths and injuries resulted from the police’s actions and security forces. The President Ben Ali fled into Saudi Arabia and ending hi 23 years in power. A state of emergency was declared. On January, the Prime Minister Mohamed Ghanouchinewed the government by removing all the former RCD members. Later Ghanouchi resigned on February 27th and BejiCaid El Sebsi became the Prime Minister. On October, citizens in the 1ST post-revolution election to elect representatives to a 217 member’s constituent assembly that would be responsible for the new constitution.( Willis 8)

Egypt was the following falling domino. The Egyptian people inspired by the Tunisians. El Baradei warned of Tunisian style explosion in Egypt the protests in Egypt began on January 25.2011 and ran for 18 days. The Egyptian government attempted to eliminate the nation’s internet success in order to inhabit the protesters ability to organize through social media. Those ands protests on the streets of Egypt’s major cities. The president Hosni Mubarak ceded all the power on the hands of his Vice President Omar Suleiman but soon Mubarak announced that he would remain as a President until the end of his term. However, protests continued the veat day, and Suleiman quickly announced that Mubarak had resigned from the presidency and transferred power to the armed forces of Egypt. Hosni Mubarak and his former minister Habib Al- Adli were connected to life in prison on the basis of their failure to stop the killings during in the 6 days of the 2011 Egyptians revelries, his successor, Mohammed Mursi was sworn in as Egypt’s first democratically elected President before the judges at the sperm constitutional cont. Fresh protests emptied in Egypt on November 22. 2012. (Ramadan 13).

The protests in Libya began on February 15.2011 by February18 the opposition controlled most of Benghazi. The government dispatched elite to recapture it by February 20; protests had spread to the capital Tripoli, leading a television address by
Saif al-Islam Gaddafi, who warned the protesters that their country could descend into Civil War. France, the United States, and the United Kingdom entered in Libya with bombing campaign against pro Kaddafi forces. Coalition of 27 states from Europe and the Middle East soon found the intervention. (Joshi 16)

Yemen was another domino like the rest of the world, the Yemenis also protested against their president of 33 years, Ali Abdullah Saleh and the protestors wounded in an attack on his presidential place. The authority was nominally transferred to the vice president, AbdrabboManssourHadi. The UK and US have been working to try and negotiate a conclusive transfer of power. Yemen is considered as the poorest country in the Middle East, the failing of economy, high unemployment rates, mass poverty and hunger. Living conditions are getting worse day by day, and a full water and food crisis exacerbated by the current political situation but with much deeper structural causes-threatens to induce a nation wide humanitarian disaster.(Nevens 24)

The revolution in Bahrain has received less attention in the media spotlight, not like Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. Bahrain also classified as another falling domino after Yemen. The Bahrain people are also looking for democracy and ameliorate their living conditions. (Kinnimont 32).

Basher Al Assad’s personal popularity since 2000 had also allowed the regime to limit the scope of internal reforms and reserve the power of the services over society. The Chinese model of new-liberal economic shift with no political reforms was adapted in 2005. Syria remains a developing country with a weak economy and poor results in sections such as housing, education, and unemployment.(Daoudy20). Most of the Arab countries fall in the American plan which is creating a chaotic and disordered place in order to facilitate its domination and benefiting from the resources of these countries.
Conclusion

Manny historians agree that there is a revival of the Domino Theory in Iraqi war of 2003. President George W Bush declared that if he can democratize Iraq the whole Middle East will follow the same way. It is the domino theory principal effect. The last events of that are happened in the Middle East and what is known as the” Arab spring”, Iraq was the starting point of the American plan in the Middle East.

Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria are the following falling dominos. These revolutions because of the lack of democracy and the spread of corruption and the dictatorial regimes by the Arab leaders who were governing from long time, so when you analyze we conclude that Iraq was the beginning of the Arab spring and it was the first dominos. America intervened in Iraq in a direct way, however; in the other Arab countries there is no a direct intervention. It is a hidden plan and behind the desire to dominate the whole world and put it under its control.
The End Notes

1- The WMD:

The chief threat to the security of the U.S. is no longer a rival superpower. Today, America is immediately threatened by terrorist groups, especially if they seek to use nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons against our nation. Preventing the proliferation of these deadly weapons and their delivery systems, and reducing the number of those already in existence, is therefore a top priority for the Department. The Department is also seeking to bolster the international arms control regimes that counter weapons of mass destruction (WMD), including by pressing for rigorous compliance with their requirements. The security of the U.S. depends upon the vigilance and skill with which the U.S. Government protects its citizens against this dire threat. The Department is a key leader in this struggle. See http://www.state.gov/t/isn/wmd/.

2- The Persian Gulf War:

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein ordered the invasion and occupation of neighboring Kuwait in early August 1990. Alarmed by these actions, fellow Arab powers such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt called on the United States and other Western nations to intervene. Hussein defied United Nations Security Council demands to withdraw from Kuwait by mid-January 1991 and the Persian Gulf War began with a massive U.S.-led air offensive known as Operation Desert Storm. After 42 days of relentless attacks by the allied coalition in the air and on the ground, U.S. President George H.W. Bush declared a cease-fire on February 28; by that time, most Iraqi forces in Kuwait had either surrendered or fled. Though the Persian Gulf War was initially considered an unqualified success for the international coalition, simmering conflict in the troubled region led to a second Gulf War—known as the Iraq War—that began in 2003. See http://www.history.com/topics/persian-gulf-war.
3- The Containment Policy:

President Truman had already applied the principles of containment to Latin America. The Rio Pact, signed in September 1947, provided that “an armed attack by any State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and, consequently, each one of the said Contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack.” Collective security was invoked again in the North Atlantic Treaty. Signed in Washington in April 1949, it created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Rio Pact and the NATO Alliance formally marked the end of George Washington’s policy of no entangling alliances. Economic assistance and collective defense agreements became the bulwark of Western containment policy. http://history.state.gov/departmthistory/short-history/containmentandcoldwar.
Conclusion

From about the middle of 1940s until 1991, American Foreign Policy was dominated by the Cold War. This period was characterized by its significant interventional military presence and greater diplomatic involvement in the world. Both, the United States and the Soviet Union seeking for world domination and they were fighting each other in order to contain more countries under their control.

The United States defined a new policy called the Domino Theory to oppose the spread of Communism in the world. This was the main objective of the theory during the Cold War, preventing the spread of Communism was the main objective of the theory. After the end of the Cold War and the unipolarity of the world, the Domino Theory came to exist under a new name which is the Democratic Domino Theory it’s main objective is to spread democracy. This is a revival of the Domino Theory within the Iraqi War of 2003. American president George W Bush and officials saw the Middle East is suffering from a big lack of democracy. So, they invade Iraq in order to counter Saddam Hussein and his Weapons of Mass Destruction, all these should be defeated. As a result, Iraq is the key to democriticize the whole Middle East. This is the American perspective. The Domino Theory is used justfor justifying for the American Military Intervention in Iraq. The US can make everything in order to protect its interests. The Arab spring, it is right that there is no intervention from the Americans but it is the result of a secret plan made by the US officials in order to facilitate its domination and protect American interests and globalism.
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APPENDICES:
RESOLUTION 687 (1991)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 2981st meeting,
on 3 April 1991

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 660 (1990) of 2 August 1990, 661 (1990) of 6 August 1990,
1990 and 686 (1991) of 2 March 1991,Welcoming the restoration to Kuwait of its
sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the return of its legitimate
Government, Affirming the commitment of all Member States to the sovereignty,
territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait and Iraq, and noting the
intention expressed by the Member States cooperating with Kuwait under paragraph 2
of resolution 678 (1990) to bring their military presence in Iraq to an end as soon as
possible consistent with paragraph 8 of resolution 686 (1991), Reaffirming the need to
be assured of Iraq's peaceful intentions in the light of its unlawful invasion and
occupation of Kuwait.

Taking note of the letter sent by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq on 27
February 1991 and those sent pursuant to resolution 686 (1991),

Noting that Iraq and Kuwait, as independent sovereign States, signed at Baghdad on 4
October 1963 "Agreed Minutes Between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq
Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters",
thereby recognizing formally the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait and the
allocation of islands, which were registered with the United Nations in accordance
with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations and in which Iraq recognized
the independence and complete sovereignty of the State of Kuwait within its borders
as specified and accepted in the letter of the Prime Minister of Iraq dated 21 July
1932, and as accepted by the Ruler of Kuwait in his letter dated 10 August 1932,
Conscious of the need for demarcation of the said boundary,
Conscious also of the statements by Iraq threatening to use weapons in violation of its
obligations under the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of
Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare,
signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and of its prior use of chemical weapons and
affirming that grave consequences would follow any further use by Iraq of such
weapons.
Recalling that Iraq has subscribed to the Declaration adopted by all States
participating in the Conference of States Parties to the 1925 Geneva Protocol and
Other Interested States, held in Paris from 7 to 11 January 1989, establishing the
objective of universal elimination of chemical and biological weapons,
Recalling also that Iraq has signed the Convention on the Prohibition of the
Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin
Weapons and on Their Destruction, of 10 April 1972,
Noting the importance of Iraq ratifying this Convention,
Noting moreover the importance of all States adhering to this Convention and
encouraging its forthcoming Review Conference to reinforce the authority, efficiency
and universal scope of the convention,
Stressing the importance of an early conclusion by the Conference on Disarmament of
its work on a Convention on the Universal Prohibition of Chemical Weapons and of
universal adherence thereto,
Aware of the use by Iraq of ballistic missiles in unprovoked attacks and therefore of the need to take specific measures in regard to such missiles located in Iraq,

Concerned by the reports in the hands of Member States that Iraq has attempted to acquire materials for a nuclear-weapons programme contrary to its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968,

Recalling the objective of the establishment of a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the region of the Middle East,

Conscious of the threat that all weapons of mass destruction pose to peace and security in the area and of the need to work towards the establishment in the Middle East of a zone free of such weapons,

Conscious also of the objective of achieving balanced and comprehensive control of armaments in the region,

Conscious further of the importance of achieving the objectives noted above using all available means, including a dialogue among the States of the region,

Noting that resolution 686 (1991) marked the lifting of the measures imposed by resolution 661 (1990) in so far as they applied to Kuwait,

Noting that despite the progress being made in fulfilling the obligations of resolution 686 (1991), many Kuwaiti and third country nationals are still not accounted for and property remains unreturned,

Recalling the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, opened for signature at New York on 18 December 1979, which categorizes all acts of taking hostages as manifestations of international terrorism,

Deploring threats made by Iraq during the recent conflict to make use of terrorism against targets outside Iraq and the taking of hostages by Iraq,
Taking note with grave concern of the reports of the Secretary-General of 20 March 1991 and 28 March 1991, and conscious of the necessity to meet urgently the humanitarian needs in Kuwait and Iraq,

Bearing in mind its objective of restoring international peace and security in the area as set out in recent resolutions of the Security Council,

Conscious of the need to take the following measures acting under Chapter VII of the Charter,

1. Affirms all thirteen resolutions noted above, except as expressly changed below to achieve the goals of this resolution, including a formal cease-fire;

   A

2. Demands that Iraq and Kuwait respect the inviolability of the international boundary and the allocation of islands set out in the "Agreed Minutes Between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters", signed by them in the exercise of their sovereignty at Baghdad on 4 October 1963 and registered with the United Nations and published by the United Nations in document 7063, United Nations, Treaty Series, 1964;

3. Calls upon the Secretary-General to lend his assistance to make arrangements with Iraq and Kuwait to demarcate the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, drawing on appropriate material, including the map transmitted by Security Council document S/22412 and to report back to the Security Council within one month;

4. Decides to guarantee the inviolability of the above-mentioned international boundary and to take as appropriate all necessary measures to that end in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

   B
5. Requests the Secretary-General, after consulting with Iraq and Kuwait, to submit within three days to the Security Council for its approval a plan for the immediate deployment of a United Nations observer unit to monitor the Khor Abdullah and a demilitarized zone, which is hereby established, extending ten kilometres into Iraq and five kilometres into Kuwait from the boundary referred to in the "Agreed Minutes Between the State of Kuwait and the Republic of Iraq Regarding the Restoration of Friendly Relations, Recognition and Related Matters" of 4 October 1963; to deter violations of the boundary through its presence in and surveillance of the demilitarized zone; to observe any hostile or potentially hostile action mounted from the territory of one State to the other; and for the Secretary-General to report regularly to the Security Council on the operations of the unit, and immediately if there are serious violations of the zone or potential threats to peace;

6. Notes that as soon as the Secretary-General notifies the Security Council of the completion of the deployment of the United Nations observer unit, the conditions will be established for the Member States cooperating with Kuwait in accordance with resolution 678 (1990) to bring their military presence in Iraq to an end consistent with resolution 686 (1991);

C

7. Invites Iraq to reaffirm unconditionally its obligations under the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and to ratify the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, of 10 April 1972;
8. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally accept the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless, under international supervision, of:

(a) All chemical and biological weapons and all stocks of agents and all related subsystems and components and all research, development, support and manufacturing facilities;

(b) All ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres and related major parts, and repair and production facilities;

9. Decides, for the implementation of paragraph 8 above, the following:

(a) Iraq shall submit to the Secretary-General, within fifteen days of the adoption of the present resolution, a declaration of the locations, amounts and types of all items specified in paragraph 8 and agree to urgent, on-site inspection as specified below;

(b) The Secretary-General, in consultation with the appropriate Governments and, where appropriate, with the Director-General of the World Health Organization, within forty-five days of the passage of the present resolution, shall develop, and submit to the Council for approval, a plan calling for the completion of the following acts within forty-five days of such approval:

(i) The forming of a Special Commission, which shall carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's biological, chemical and missile capabilities, based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the Special Commission itself;

(ii) The yielding by Iraq of possession to the Special Commission for destruction, removal or rendering harmless, taking into account the requirements of public safety, of all items specified under paragraph 8 (a) above, including items at the additional locations designated by the Special Commission under paragraph 9 (b) (i) above and
the destruction by Iraq, under the supervision of the Special Commission, of all its missile capabilities, including launchers, as specified under paragraph 8 (b) above;

(iii) The provision by the Special Commission of the assistance and cooperation to the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency required in paragraphs 12 and 13 below;

10. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally undertake not to use, develop, construct or acquire any of the items specified in paragraphs 8 and 9 above and requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Commission, to develop a plan for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with this paragraph, to be submitted to the Security Council for approval within one hundred and twenty days of the passage of this resolution;

11. Invites Iraq to reaffirm unconditionally its obligations under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968;

12. Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally agree not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapons-usable material or any subsystems or components or any research, development, support or manufacturing facilities related to the above; to submit to the Secretary-General and the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency within fifteen days of the adoption of the present resolution a declaration of the locations, amounts, and types of all items specified above; to place all of its nuclear-weapons-usable materials under the exclusive control, for custody and removal, of the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the assistance and cooperation of the Special Commission as provided for in the plan of the Secretary-General discussed in paragraph 9 (b) above; to accept, in accordance with the arrangements provided for in paragraph 13 below, urgent on-site inspection and the destruction, removal or rendering harmless as appropriate of all items specified above;
and to accept the plan discussed in paragraph 13 below for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of its compliance with these undertakings;

13. Requests the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, through the Secretary-General, with the assistance and cooperation of the Special Commission as provided for in the plan of the Secretary-General in paragraph 9 (b) above, to carry out immediate on-site inspection of Iraq's nuclear capabilities based on Iraq's declarations and the designation of any additional locations by the Special Commission; to develop a plan for submission to the Security Council within forty-five days calling for the destruction, removal, or rendering harmless as appropriate of all items listed in paragraph 12 above; to carry out the plan within forty-five days following approval by the Security Council; and to develop a plan, taking into account the rights and obligations of Iraq under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1 July 1968, for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with paragraph 12 above, including an inventory of all nuclear material in Iraq subject to the Agency's verification and inspections to confirm that Agency safeguards cover all relevant nuclear activities in Iraq, to be submitted to the Security Council for approval within one hundred and twenty days of the passage of the present resolution;

14. Takes note that the actions to be taken by Iraq in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the present resolution represent steps towards the goal of establishing in the Middle East a zone free from weapons of mass destruction and all missiles for their delivery and the objective of a global ban on chemical weapons;

D

15. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the steps taken to facilitate the return of all Kuwaiti property seized by Iraq, including a list of
any property that Kuwait claims has not been returned or which has not been returned intact;

E

16. Reaffirms that Iraq, without prejudice to the debts and obligations of Iraq arising prior to 2 August 1990, which will be addressed through the normal mechanisms, is liable under international law for any direct loss, damage, including environmental damage and the depletion of natural resources, or injury to foreign Governments, nationals and corporations, as a result of Iraq's unlawful invasion and occupation of Kuwait;

17. Decides that all Iraqi statements made since 2 August 1990 repudiating its foreign debt are null and void, and demands that Iraq adhere scrupulously to all of its obligations concerning servicing and repayment of its foreign debt;

18. Decides also to create a fund to pay compensation for claims that fall within paragraph 16 above and to establish a Commission that will administer the fund;

19. Directs the Secretary-General to develop and present to the Security Council for decision, no later than thirty days following the adoption of the present resolution, recommendations for the fund to meet the requirement for the payment of claims established in accordance with paragraph 18 above and for a programme to implement the decisions in paragraphs 16, 17 and 18 above, including: administration of the fund; mechanisms for determining the appropriate level of Iraq's contribution to the fund based on a percentage of the value of the exports of petroleum and petroleum products from Iraq not to exceed a figure to be suggested to the Council by the Secretary-General, taking into account the requirements of the people of Iraq, Iraq's payment capacity as assessed in conjunction with the international financial institutions taking into consideration external debt service, and the needs of the Iraqi
economy; arrangements for ensuring that payments are made to the fund; the process by which funds will be allocated and claims paid; appropriate procedures for evaluating losses, listing claims and verifying their validity and resolving disputed claims in respect of Iraq's liability as specified in paragraph 16 above; and the composition of the Commission designated above;

F

20. Decides, effective immediately, that the prohibitions against the sale or supply to Iraq of commodities or products, other than medicine and health supplies, and prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall not apply to foodstuffs notified to the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait or, with the approval of that Committee, under the simplified and accelerated "no-objection" procedure, to materials and supplies for essential civilian needs as identified in the report of the Secretary-General dated 20 March 1991, and in any further findings of humanitarian need by the Committee;

21. Decides that the Security Council shall review the provisions of paragraph 20 above every sixty days in the light of the policies and practices of the Government of Iraq, including the implementation of all relevant resolutions of the Security Council, for the purpose of determining whether to reduce or lift the prohibitions referred to therein;

22. Decides that upon the approval by the Security Council of the programme called for in paragraph 19 above and upon Council agreement that Iraq has completed all actions contemplated in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 above, the prohibitions against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq and the
prohibitions against financial transactions related thereto contained in resolution 661 (1990) shall have no further force or effect;

23. Decides that, pending action by the Security Council under paragraph 22 above, the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) shall be empowered to approve, when required to assure adequate financial resources on the part of Iraq to carry out the activities under paragraph 20 above, exceptions to the prohibition against the import of commodities and products originating in Iraq;

24. Decides that, in accordance with resolution 661 (1990) and subsequent related resolutions and until a further decision is taken by the Security Council, all States shall continue to prevent the sale or supply, or the promotion or facilitation of such sale or supply, to Iraq by their nationals, or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of:

(a) Arms and related materiel of all types, specifically including the sale or transfer through other means of all forms of conventional military equipment, including for paramilitary forces, and spare parts and components and their means of production, for such equipment;

(b) Items specified and defined in paragraphs 8 and 12 above not otherwise covered above;

(c) Technology under licensing or other transfer arrangements used in the production, utilization or stockpiling of items specified in subparagraphs (a) and (b) above;

(d) Personnel or materials for training or technical support services relating to the design, development, manufacture, use, maintenance or support of items specified in subparagraphs (a) and (b) above;
25. Calls upon all States and international organizations to act strictly in accordance with paragraph 24 above, notwithstanding the existence of any contracts, agreements, licences or any other arrangements;

26. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with appropriate Governments, to develop within sixty days, for the approval of the Security Council, guidelines to facilitate full international implementation of paragraphs 24 and 25 above and paragraph 27 below, and to make them available to all States and to establish a procedure for updating these guidelines periodically;

27. Calls upon all States to maintain such national controls and procedures and to take such other actions consistent with the guidelines to be established by the Security Council under paragraph 26 above as may be necessary to ensure compliance with the terms of paragraph 24 above, and calls upon international organizations to take all appropriate steps to assist in ensuring such full compliance;

28. Agrees to review its decisions in paragraphs 22, 23, 24 and 25 above, except for the items specified and defined in paragraphs 8 and 12 above, on a regular basis and in any case one hundred and twenty days following passage of the present resolution, taking into account Iraq's compliance with the resolution and general progress towards the control of armaments in the region;

29. Decides that all States, including Iraq, shall take the necessary measures to ensure that no claim shall lie at the instance of the Government of Iraq, or of any person or body in Iraq, or of any person claiming through or for the benefit of any such person or body, in connection with any contract or other transaction where its performance was affected by reason of the measures taken by the Security Council in resolution 661 (1990) and related resolutions;
30. Decides that, in furtherance of its commitment to facilitate the repatriation of all
Kuwaiti and third country nationals, Iraq shall extend all necessary cooperation to the
International Committee of the Red Cross, providing lists of such persons, facilitating
the access of the International Committee of the Red Cross to all such persons
wherever located or detained and facilitating the search by the International
Committee of the Red Cross for those Kuwaiti and third country nationals still
unaccounted for;

31. Invites the International Committee of the Red Cross to keep the Secretary-
General apprised as appropriate of all activities undertaken in connection with
facilitating the repatriation or return of all Kuwaiti and third country nationals or their
remains present in Iraq on or after 2 August 1990;

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32. Requires Iraq to inform the Security Council that it will not commit or support any
act of international terrorism or allow any organization directed towards commission
of such acts to operate within its territory and to condemn unequivocally and
renounce all acts, methods and practices of terrorism;

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33. Declares that, upon official notification by Iraq to the Secretary-General and to the
Security Council of its acceptance of the provisions above, a formal cease-fire is
effective between Iraq and Kuwait and the Member States cooperating with Kuwait in
accordance with resolution 678 (1990);

34. Decides to remain seized of the matter and to take such further steps as may be
required for the implementation of the present resolution and to secure peace and