

AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD: Before & Beyond 9/11

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Since September 2001 till today, that is, just within five years, the United States has lost much of its good will and probably all of its moral foundations essentially because of its foreign policy, its imperialistic attitude of not listening to its allies and its outright disdain for international law, erosion of its moral grounds and imposition of its own culture and values upon others. Botched diplomacy, imperialistic policies and brutal expression of its power have left legacy of resentment, fear and anxiety especially in the Muslims World. Resultantly the overwhelming emotional sympathy, and spirit of solidarity with the US, which was visible five years ago has largely diminished. This paper intends to look "before and beyond 9/11" by connecting the dots between the complex and changing dynamics that shape attitudes across the Muslim World and, identify the factors that produce extremism and violence. The ultimate purpose of this analysis is to find out how best to "bridge the widening gaps" between US led Western and the Muslim, world. Let us see how William Blum sums up this situation:

"It's not our music or our films or our clothing styles that create anti-American terrorists. It's not or our wealth or our secular government or our so-called democracy that creates insurgents in Iraq. It's what we DO to people all over the world -- all the bombings, the invasions, the occupations, the torture, the breaking down of doors, the humiliation ... How can it be otherwise? Why wouldn't people hate the US government for such things? If some foreign power bombed, invaded and occupied the United States without any valid provocation or legal justification, what would Americans think of that foreign power? Wouldn't they want to resist in any way they could?"¹

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It is by now a cliché that the world changed on 9/11, yet many do not fully understand how much. It is not just the USA that has changed irrevocably rather a potentially bigger change is occurring in Muslim world. 9/11 demonstrated a new kind of violence, jolting Americans with the realization that mere hatred (not the WMD) of the U.S. could become instrument of mass terror. There was a world wide show of support for the United States, even newspapers printed headlines "We are all Americans now"² and intellectuals like Huntington pursued to provoke debate, "Who *are We*".³ The governments and wide segments of the population of the Muslim world expressed horror at the attacks and sympathy for the victims. American embassies overseas received heartfelt expressions of shock and sympathy from governments and public alike. However, the incident also unveiled "an iron curtain of misunderstanding separating America and the Arab-Muslim world"⁴ making Americans aware of the prevailing sentiment in the Arab and Muslim world which viewed the attacks as justifiable reaction to American hegemony especially its Jewish patronage.⁵ It left most Americans puzzled — how can such large segments of the world sympathize with terrorists, lionize Osama bin Laden, and exhibit such hatred of the U.S.? Americans were asking, "Why do they hate us?"⁶ President Bush stated in his nationally televised call to war. His answer was that "they hate our freedoms; our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other."⁷ Of course as the pundits say it could be "*they hate our freedoms*" - which begs the question why not attack other parliamentary democracies - as well as the question why anyone thousands of miles away would be concerned about the structure of American society. However, if they really hate United States, then the Americans must try

to understand those reasons, and glimmer of insight can be traced in the *Holy War*, where Peter Bergen states;

*“In all the tens of thousands words that bin Laden has uttered on the public record there are some significant omissions: he does not rail against the pernicious effects of Hollywood movies, or against Madonna’s midriff, or against the pornography protected by the US Constitution. Nor does he inveigh against the drug and alcohol culture of the West, or its tolerance for homosexuals. Bin Laden cares little about such cultural issues. What he condemns the United States for is simple: its policies in the Middle East. Those are, to recap briefly: the continued American military presence in Arabia, US support for Israel, its continued campaign against Iraq, and its support for regimes such as Egypt, and Saudi Arabia that bin Laden regards as apostates from Islam.”*⁸

Since September 2001, just five years have passed and the United States has lost much of its good will and probably all of its moral foundations. Since then, because of a growing perception, Bush Administration's attitude is one that ‘America always knows best’, doesn't listen to her allies and is perceived by others as increasingly arrogant. Such diplomacy given by Botched has left legacy of resentment, fear and anxiety. Muslims World fears the United States as a threat to the way of life, Europe doesn’t trust any more the U.S. and wants to pull further away, which is visible from the dwindling support for the US led war on terror.⁹ Undoubtedly, Bush has become the lightning rod for anti-American feelings, but the problem is bigger than Bush. American policies and its brutal exercise of power fuel resentment for the U.S. throughout the world. The administration brought those resentments to the surface and intensified unhappiness with the U.S. The overwhelming emotional sympathy, and spirit of solidarity with the US, which was visible five years ago has largely diminished. European public opinion turned against America's way of conducting the "war on terror" -

especially the invasion of Iraq and human rights abuses associated with the *Abu Gharib* prison, Guantanamo Bay and the pictures of the German soldiers playing football with the skulls of the Afghans and disgracing the dead in the most heinous immoral ways. Momentous events since September 11, 2001-Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, the global war on terrorism, the war in Iraq, Israeli aggression in Lebanon, siege of Palestine; virtually converting it into a prisoners camp, US support to dictators against democracy, threatening posture for Iran and Syria-have dramatically altered the political environment of the Muslim world. American strategy of strengthening secular forces and weakening fundamentalist is yielding opposite results. On the other hand, Bin Laden pushes in his statements and interviews - the injustice done to the Palestinians, the cruelty of continued sanctions against Iraq, the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia, the repressive and corrupt nature of US-backed Gulf governments - win a good deal of popular sympathy. During the US backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon (July 2006) a poster at a demonstration in London read: "*We are all Hezbollah now.*"¹⁰ If the Bush's anti Muslim strategy continues then the day is not too far when the more appropriate headline even in the secular camp may flash, "*We are all Muslims now.*"

This paper intends to look "before and beyond 9/11" by connecting the dots between the complex and changing dynamics that shape attitudes across the Muslim World and, identify the factors that produce extremism and violence. The ultimate purpose of this analysis is to find out how best to "bridge the widening gaps" between US led Western and the Muslim, world.

U.S. Interventions in the Middle East

Let's explore the history to trace the causes of the hatred prevailing against the USA in every nook and corner of the Muslim world. Nobody wants to hate America because it produces porn, or because it does not cover its women. Rather it is American imperialism which has earned a title of Rogue State from its own citizens like William Blum, Noam Chomsky etc.¹¹

“From 1945 to 2003, the United States attempted to overthrow more than 40 foreign governments, and to crush more than 30 populist-nationalist movements fighting against intolerable regimes. In the process, the US bombed some 25 countries, caused the end of life for several million people, and condemned many millions more to a life of agony and despair.”¹²

Detailed account of US interventions in the Middle East may take volumes and as such stands beyond the scope of this article. Brief summary of the U.S. interventions in the Middle East (attached at the end of the article as Annexure-A) may suffice to illustrate the imperialistic mindset of the U.S. power structure. The annexure however, does not include all of the invasions, bombings, assassinations, coups and other interventions by the U.S. government, (or its allies and its client states), nor does it fully document the U.S.'s economic domination and exploitation of the people of the region and their resources. The US actions in Middle East (contained in the list) have plundered huge economic resources and taken many lives, from the bombing of Lebanon and Libya to the sinking of an Iranian passenger plane and relentless bombing of Iraqi and Afghani people to support their puppet regimes and

massive military aid to Israel despite the devastations it inflicts on Palestinian people.

These interventions have never been executed to protect human rights, or to promote democracy or to help public to get rid of oppressive regimes, or to prevent *Black September*¹³ type events, or force Israel to respect international law, or to allow Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and homeland. Or to protect sovereignty of Lebanon against Israeli onslaught. These interventions have been undertaken to overthrow Syrian¹⁴ (1949) and Iranian (1953- Musadaq)¹⁵ democratically elected governments and backing Shah's oppressive regime for a period of 25 years of torture, killings, and repression, conspiring assassination attempts against anti US leaders of Egypt¹⁶ and Syria¹⁷, supporting coups against popular nationalist government of Lebanon¹⁸ and Iraq who planned to assert out of American control or planned to counter Western oil monopolies.¹⁹ It was the protection of tyrant dictators in the cover of 'ensuring stability of the region' which prompted USA for introduction of Truman Doctrine in 1946 or Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957 because United States regarded preservation of the independence and integrity of Middle East vital to its national interest and world peace.²⁰ Bush senior's New World Order and Bush junior's strategies of preemption are new faces of Eisenhower doctrine or even extension of Monroe doctrine in the Middle East. American intrigues in Iraq – Iran war cost millions of human lives besides billions \$ in financial terms. 1st Gulf war devastated Saddam's Iraq in all respects, lately 12 years sanctions, embargo and no fly zones turned Iraq into ruins, fertile Mesopotamian crescent was turned into a West Saharan type poverty ridden country with mortality rate shooting up every year. The occupation of Iraq in 2003 and continued occupation of holy land since then is not the last nail in the

coffin of the Muslim World. Iraq has suffered more than 655000 fatal losses till November 2006.²¹ Baker- Hamilton study group report terms the situation in Iraq very grave and deteriorating, which has killed over 3000 US soldiers, over 21000 seriously wounded and the war may ultimately cost around 2 trillion US \$. Other Muslims countries especially, Syria, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Turkey are its next targets. Champion of the democratic world is using its all means to maintain and protect the oppressive dictators in Pakistan, Egypt, Jordan, and other parts of the Arabian Peninsula.

Conducting old recipe of divide and rule or pitching Muslims against Muslims by supporting Iraq to counter Iran and then making alliance with Iran and Syria to counter Iraq, illustrates a theme that has been played in Washington for the last 60 years. Iraq as of now has been put through the Shia- Sunni sectarian rift, which is likely to spill over entire Middle East. Each and every intervention had ended up with more military bases to the Pentagon's portfolio, and more fortunes for corporations like Standard Oil and Mobil²² or Halliburton or Bechtel.

Ideological and Cultural Invasions:

America is fearful of resurgent Islam which has marked its successful reemergence in Afghanistan in 1980s. Where, Arab Mujahideen along with their Muslim brethren buried the Communist Empire with skillful combined use of Quran, money and manpower.²³ Quran revitalized the spirit of Jihad; money was used in acquiring weapons and training manpower to convert them into a fighting force. Fearful of this troika, USA unleashed its all evil forces to curtail each of these three. Banning, seizing and freezing of assets of Muslim charity organizations to control the flow of money, secularization of education and westernization of

culture in the name of enlightened moderation, wiping out of human potential under the guise of war against terror are the strategies to separate Quraan, Muslim manpower, and money. All these oppressive and discriminatory moves have alienated the Muslims further from the US, West and their sponsored politico-economic and socio-cultural systems, increasing prospects of Muslim extremists (and radicals) to seize political power. This emerging trend has frightened the USA policy makers, resultantly they have substantially increased their support to oppressive rulers and started opposing the public selection of their representatives in Algeria, Iran, Lebanon, Palestine etc. pumping of funds to secularize the educations, reformations of mosque schools, legislations to further their agenda of “enlightened moderation” are being executed to unprecedented speed. Instead of strengthening democratic forces in countries like Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc, USA is spending millions of dollars on the security of dictators and tyrants²⁴.

The Quest for Oil:

A key element of maintaining U.S. global power has been maintaining its grip on the Persian Gulf and the world's oil supply. There was no such thing as an independent course; *a country was either with the United States or against it*. In 1957 U.S. President Eisenhower and in 1979 President Jimmy Carter designated the Middle East a vital U.S. interest and declared that the U.S. might go to war to ensure the flow of oil. William Blum in his book *Rogue State* quotes Noam Chomsky, “It’s been a leading, driving doctrine of US foreign policy since the 1940s that the vast and unparalleled energy resources of the Gulf region will be effectively dominated by the United States and its clients, and crucially, *that no independent, indigenous force will be permitted to have*

substantial influence on the administration of oil production and price."²⁵ As late as 1939, US oil executives wielded more influence in Baghdad and Riyadh than did US diplomats.²⁶ The main objective of US occupation of Iraq in 2003 was to occupy the oil fields and exercise control over the energy resources of the Muslim World so as to be able to control world oil supply as per own choosing. Similarly US also plans to have full control of the untapped Central Asian oil reserves, as the Arabian oil wells are approaching to the state of total depletion in next decade or so. Therefore, occupation of Afghanistan could help control the oil fields of Central Asian Muslim States on the one hand and contain arrogant Iran and its nuclear ambitions, on the other. Noam Chomsky even goes further and insists that Iranian oil is infect immaterial. It is the successful defiance of Iran that has made life difficult for Bush and his neo-cons hawks. This defiance is a serious threat to U.S. Imperialism.

The US versus the Muslim World at UNO:

"I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism, and I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs in my constituents." Truman.

The U.S. helped through a UN resolution partitioning Palestine into a Zionist state and an Arab state, giving the Zionist authorities control of 54% of the Palestinian land. At that time Jewish settlers were about 1/3 of the population. Created through violent dispossession of Palestinian people, the state of Israel was quickly recognized in 1948 by the United States as Truman bluntly declared, *"I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism, and I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs in my constituents."*²⁷ In 1948 Israel

forced some 800,000 Palestinians (2/3 of the population) to exile in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Gaza, and the West Bank and USA silently endorsed by vetoing condemnation of Israel in Security Council.

For more than half of the century, America has been claiming the leadership of “The Free World”. However, on finding it alone, it resorted to threat and bribery to enlist support of its wars and intrigues in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Gulf, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and North Korea. There are plenty of occasions, when Washington is found standing in opposition to General Assembly resolutions aimed at furthering the cause of humanity and checking the Israeli atrocities and lawlessness. The main victim of these boycotts and vetoes has been the Muslim world, and Israel –a major beneficiary. Since 1972, the leader of the free world and champion of freedom and justice has forty four times vetoed UN Security Council resolutions aimed at protecting the innocent/homeless Palestinians from Israeli state sponsored terrorism.²⁸

Backing Israel:

Since the October War in 1973, Washington has provided Israel with a level of support dwarfing that given to any other state. It has been the largest annual recipient of direct economic and military assistance since 1976, and is the largest recipient in total since World War Two, to the tune of well over \$140 billion (by 2004). Israel receives about \$3 billion in direct assistance each year, roughly one-fifth of the foreign aid budget, and worth about \$500 subsidy a year for every Israeli.²⁹ Moreover, the US has provided Israel with nearly \$3 billion to develop weapons systems, and given it access to such top-drawer weaponry as Blackhawk helicopters and F-16 jets. Finally, the US gives Israel access to intelligence it denies even to its NATO allies and has turned a blind

eye to Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons.³⁰ Its backers normally argue that it is a democracy; weak and surrounded by enemies therefore it deserves unqualified support. However, if viewed objectively, its past and present conduct offers no moral basis for such privileged treatment on following grounds:

- Israel is the strongest military power in the Middle East and had better equipped and better led forces in 1948, in 1956 and in 1967 and 1973. (including its recent invasion of July 2006 Lebanon)
- It is the only nuclear weapon state in the region with far superior conventional forces to those of its neighbours. According to Jane's Military Review, Israeli army is eight times stronger than all the Arab armies combined.
- As far as its enemies are concerned, Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with it, and Saudi Arabia has offered to do so. Syria is under US sanctions, occupied Iraq has been devastated, and Lebanon forces were unable to fire even a single shot on the invading Israeli army in July-August 2006. Hezbollah a non-official militia, did offer a maximum resistance to the invading Israeli forces. Iran is hundreds of miles away and the Palestinians do not have an effective police force, let alone an army that could pose a threat to Israel.
- There are many democracies around the world, but none receives the same lavish support. It may be recalled that under Marshall Plan, the U.S. offered \$ 12.5 billion to England, \$ 15 billion to Japan and \$ 29 billion to Germany.

Due to the blind support of USA, Israel imposed number of wars on its neighbors, annexed territory, violated international law, rejected/ violated

the UN resolutions, refused to implement ICJ verdict, caused atrocities to helpless Palestinian refugees, conspired murders, violated human rights and humanitarian law, and in short humiliated the humanity and felt free to act as it wishes. In 1976, in 1982, and again now in 2006, Israel invaded Lebanon-killing thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians, seizing southern Lebanon and causing destruction and devastation to civil infrastructure including hospitals, food stocks, refugee camps, children, women and even the embassies and UN posts/ representatives. Based on land stolen from the Palestinians, the Israeli state became the American's gendarme in the region, ready to strike out against regimes that stood in the way of U.S. strategic interests.

It is a strange irony that Madeleine Albright (the then U.S Secretary of State) in her interview on NBC's Meet the Press declared in a cold and deliberate tone that "Palestinian rock throwers have placed Israel under siege." and the Israeli army is defending itself"³¹ Some one could have reminded Madam Albright that Israel has dispossessed Palestinians from a land that they inhabited for more than 1300 years and are committing atrocities against the Palestinians with total impunity, and yet you maintain "Israel is besieged."

- It is Israel that is the belligerent occupant of Palestine.
- It is Israel that is confiscating Palestinian land and importing Jewish settlers to set up illegal armed settlements in the heart of Palestinian territory
- These are Israeli tanks and armored vehicles that have encircled Palestinian villages, camps, and cities and not the other way around.

- Israeli gun ships are firing missiles at Palestinian protesters and destroying their homes.
- The homes that are being demolished are Palestinian homes and not the other way around.
- The armed soldiers and Special Forces at checkpoints throughout Palestine are Israeli.

Every day, Israeli security forces in the West Bank and Gaza violate articles of the Geneva Convention on Humanitarian Law, an agreement that governs wartime rules of engagement and to which Israel is a member. Palestinian homes and agriculture fields are routinely demolished to make way for illegal Israeli settlements. Israeli soldiers also regularly arrest and detain-often for years-Palestinians without due process of law. According to Amnesty International, Israel is the only country in the world that legalizes torture. Every night news broadcasts around the world show the routine abuses committed by Israeli security forces. The US often criticizes other nations for poor human rights records, and yet Israel is rarely included in such criticism. The US's support for the Israel in the face of these crimes discredits the US's claim to be "an honest broker of peace" and contributes to the instability of US-Middle East relations. Until the US stops lending its weight to Israel through biased attitude, a truly just peace will remain elusive. United Nations including Security Council has passed more than 65 resolution criticizing/ condemning Israel on its acts committed in violation of international law and against the international peace.³²

Implications of Post 9/11:

The architects of the "war on terrorism" -- now the "long war against Islamic extremism" -- can point to a number of achievements since 9/11 (outlined below). However, a comprehensive assessment of their efforts shows them to be mostly "pyrrhic" in character. Measured in the coin of long-term security and stability, post-9/11 policy has cost more than it has gained.

- With the removal of Berlin Wall and demise of the Soviet Union many people might have thought: "Well it is a safer world today." But thanks to the vaulting ambitions of U.S. Imperialism the world now faces threats of varying dimensions and magnitudes; asymmetric threats that are not contained by geography or political borders on one hand and an imperial lust having forces deployed in more than 120 countries of the world on the other.³³
- Islam is being tarnished as a violent religion and Muslims as irrational, intolerant, conservatives terrorists and fundamentalists wishing to revive pre-medieval ways of life. Misconceptions about Islam being a violent religion, have increased manifolds. Islam, but not the individuals, have been blamed for 7/7, Madrid bombing, Bali blasts, and air plot etc. Whereas, when the well-known Oklahoma incident was carried out by a Christian American (who was driven by personal interests) neither Christianity nor America were accused of a religious attack because a Christian masterminded it.
- Over the past five years, George W. Bush and his administration have done more than any other president to ostracize the United States and bring its honorable name into disrepute throughout the world. In the

blink of an eye, he squandered all of the worldwide support and sympathy the United States gravitated after 9/11. The U.S. is now prone to resolve international conflicts through the use of military force or threat to use military force without waiting for diplomatic pay offs or giving chance to international law to prevail. His war of choice in Iraq has cost thousands of American lives and billions of dollars. His secret, unchecked detention centers in unknown locations and his Guantanamo prison hold people in perpetuity, without any sense of the rule of law or due process upon which the United States of America was founded. 9/11 was a crime — a crime against humanity — but doesn't offer justification for violation of international law.

- International peace has become the main casualty of American unilateralism , foreign occupations or military actions are to be backed by coalition of like-minded governments or collusion of willings when required to protect American interests and those of its allies. A dangerous concept of “*either with us or against us*”³⁴ is introduced in international communications. The role of the United Nations has been considerably reduced, International law, treaties and obligations that constrain the ability of the administration to act in a decisive manner wherever and whenever it chooses are to be ignored and have shown its resolve “not to hesitate to act alone”.³⁵ According to Lee Feinstein, a senior fellow for U.S. foreign affairs and international law at the Council on Foreign Relations, “We used to say in the Clinton administration, when it came to the use of force, ‘*With others when we can, alone when we must.*’ This administration puts it the other way around: ‘*alone when we can, with others when we must.*’”³⁶

- The number of lives lost on 9/11 are listed as 2973. Whereas, in return, as of this writing (2nd October 2006) 2972 soldiers from coalition forces including 2736 Americans have been sent to their deaths and 19910 seriously wounded in Iraq³⁷ (354 contractors of American origin are in addition to this body count)³⁸ . The Iraq Body Count research group based in Britain has calculated 50,000 civilian deaths³⁹. Besides, the operation enduring Freedom in Afghanistan has on its credit 490 military deaths and 901 seriously wounded from US predominant coalition forces.⁴⁰ Whereas, another private US-Iraqi study group concluded that as many as “655,000 Iraqis have died since hostilities began in Iraq in March 2003. According to the researchers, the overall rate of mortality in Iraq since March 2003 is 13.3 death per 1000 persons per year compared to 5.5 deaths per 1000 persons per year prior to March 2003.⁴¹

- You do things just because you think there *might* be a problem rather than because you believe that *there is* a problem. So, President Bush went after Saddam Hussein because he thought there was the possibility of weapons of mass destruction. No actual proof was required, but the fact that it *might* be the case was enough to go to war.

- The emphasis placed on promoting "freedom" as people are thought to be less likely to become terrorists if they are participating members of societies that provide them with political and economic opportunities to live. But this freedom is required only in those countries where US planted / backed dictators are not operating. A more democratic Iraq has become a more violent Iraq.

- All efforts are taken to secularize the education systems and enlighten the culture of Muslim world, as existing environments of

Muslim societies are perceived to be the breeding grounds for terrorists and conducive to radicalization. Unfortunately, while drawing such conclusion, they ignored the fact that supposedly perpetrators of 9/11 or 7/7 were product of Western education systems and nurtured in enlightened culture.

- However, elections bringing Hamas in Palestine, or Hezbollah in Lebanon, or Mahmood Aghmdinijad in Iran are unacceptable and supporters of such groups are punishable.
- The war for American interest has been designated as global and claims the right to arrest anybody any place in the world as an enemy combatant based simply on a unilateral assertion that it has intelligence linking that person to some terrorism effort. Furthermore, US administration feels no need to bring a suspect before a judge.
- It has used torture and other unlawful coercion extensively. The administration reserves the right to use coercive interrogation in so far as the CIA might hold detainees in the future outside of military custody.

Since 9/11, many governments have tried to exploit the war on terror to quell their own people or freedom movements and the Bush administration approached it to justify their own misconduct irrespective of having any arguable connection to terrorism. When a government as influential as the United States offers an excuse to ignore human rights in the name of some larger goal, unscrupulous governments around the world have been quick to exploit that fact. Human Rights Watch in its 532-pag annual report documented that in 2005 torture and mistreatment have been a deliberate part of the Bush administration's counterterrorism strategy, undermining the global defense of human rights. ⁴²Since the

abusive interrogation has been a conscious policy choice by senior U.S. government officials therefore, it has hampered Washington's ability to pressure other states into respecting international law. Many countries – Uzbekistan, Russia and China among them – used the “war on terrorism” to attack their political opponents, branding them as “Islamic terrorists.”⁴³

- Russia justifies its oppression of Chechnya in Bush terms.
- Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe cited his crackdown on democratic opposition as part of a fight against terrorism.
- The government of Uzbekistan massacred hundreds of demonstrators in Andijan
- The Egyptian government justified torture because Bush did it.
- China justifies its repression in terms of the war on terror of the Uighur people who are seeking autonomy in Xinjiang province.
- Israel claims to be justified in invading Lebanon or destroy Palestine, or threaten Syria and Iran for preemptive strikes.
- India holds license to unleash its brutal state terrorism upon Kashmiries, so on and so forth.

The potentials for new and broader confrontations are growing as a direct consequence of war on terrorism. This, because significant portions of the Muslim world have come to view US efforts as constituting a "war on Islam"--and also because potential US adversaries outside the Muslim world (notably China and Russia) have begun to organize themselves to resist perceived US "hegemonism". In early this year *Sunday Times*, referring to a report from the British Joint Intelligence Committee, concluded that the Iraq war "has reinforced the determination of terrorists who were already committed to attacking the West and motivated others

who were not."⁴⁴ One of the principals in the failed 21 July 2007 London bombing attempt, Hussain, reported that the group was motivated to act by video scenes of carnage in Iraq.⁴⁵ Most explicit was the rationale offered by Shehzad Tanweer, one of the 7 July 2005 London bombers, in a video aired by Aljazeera in 2006:⁴⁶

For the non-Muslims in Britain, you may wonder what you have done to deserve this... Your government has openly supported the genocide of more than 150,000 innocent Muslims in Fallujah... What you have witnessed now is only the beginning of a series of attacks which will intensify and continue to until you pull all your troops out of Afghanistan and Iraq... You will never experience peace until our children in Palestine, our mothers and sisters in Kashmir, and our brothers in Afghanistan and Iraq feel peace.

While the potential for broader confrontation increases, America's capacities to win or manage these confrontations are diminishing. This is due to a gradual erosion of US military capabilities, the deleterious economic and fiscal effects of today's wars, and the alienation of allied states and publics.

- Undaunted and unapologetic, the Bush administration continues to argue the virtues of staying the course. But, in light of our experience so far, this more and more tests the patience, credulity, fiscal sobriety, and risk tolerance of the American public.

BALANCE SHEET –BEYOND 9/11

Al Qaeda: Still in the game:

Despite the deaths/ arrests of the thousands of the members/ supporters of Al Qaeda, especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the organization continues to function in a more decentralized form. Bin-Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri continue to provide guidance and encouragement to their followers, through video and audio recordings. Since 11 September 2001, Al Qaeda has allegedly directed, financed, or played an important role in London, Pakistan, Madrid, Saudia, Bali, Egypt and Iraq etc. The jihadists continue to communicate, recruit, train and prepare operations. The term al-Qaeda itself has transcended the historic organization to become a global ideology discussed on thousands of Web sites that didn't exist four years ago

Iraq and Afghanistan: Splendid disasters:

US operations successfully toppled the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Saddam regime in Iraq. In these countries, the US is now entrenched and the so-called “democratically” elected governments are virtually controlled by USA with US military having free hand to destroy, devastate, humiliate and intrigue as and when it feel like. In spite of loud claims of G.W. Bush and his mission, security and stability are absent in both these countries, economic development has stalled, and conservative Islamic forces dominate the political scene. Few eye openers to unveil the mosaic are as follow:

- The insurgency in Iraq is now conducting attacks at a higher rate than ever before. In Afghanistan, there has been a dramatic resurgence of Taliban activity, with the incidence of attacks up 74 percent from last year and the fatality rate up 140 percent.⁴⁷

- Afghanistan is a "ten block democracy" where the writ of the central government barely extends beyond the capital before ceding to warlord rule. The country has become, once again, the world's leading producer of opium poppy, now providing approximately 92 percent of the world supply. Production is higher today than ever before -- 59 percent higher than last year.⁴⁸
- Iraq is characterized by anarchy in governance, national fragmentation, and civil strife. Death squads operate inside the security services and the penal system does not meet minimum human rights standards. The Iraqi central government is fragmented and has no capacity to enforce its writ. Postwar reconstruction has stalled with low levels of achievement outside the "green zone".
- Democratic Iraq, which was viewed as pivotal to democratic transition in the region, has instead associated democratization with foreign occupation, chaotic violence, and economic stagnation.

Increased terrorism:

Despite, inhuman war on terrorism being conducted without any law or rules, the overall, terrorist activity and violence has grown worse since 9/11 and there is no sign that this trend is abating. This much is evident from a review of the terrorism incident database maintained by the Rand Corporation for the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT), which is funded by the US Department of Homeland Security. Surveying incidents for the period January 1998 through 11 August 2006 shows that:

- The rate of terrorism fatalities for the 59-month period following 9/11 is 250 percent.

- The rate of terrorist incidents for the post-9/11 period is 268 percent that of the period prior to and including 9/11. However, a fair portion of the increased activity is related to the war in Iraq
- Finally, it is worth noting, that if we divide the post-9/11 period into two equal halves, the number of terrorism fatalities is greater in the second half than in the first -- even when Iraq is excluded: 4772 fatalities in the first half versus 5177 in the second. There is no evidence here that the post-9/11 surge in terrorism fatalities is abating.

Table: 1 Terrorist Attack Incidents and Fatalities, 01/01/98 to 08/11/2006⁴⁹

	01/01/98 – 09/11/2001	09/12/2001– 08/11/2006
Fatalities per month	176	444
(minus 9/11 attacks)	109	
(minus Iraq)		195.5
Incidents per month	106	284
(minus 9/11 attacks)	105.9	
(minus Iraq)		186.5

Source: *MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base* (Oklahoma City, OK: National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, 2006).

Political Advance of Islamic Fundamentalism:

“Beliefs when under fire tend to spread”

Opposite to the America's post-9/11 wars against Islamic fundamentalism, and secularization efforts, the Islamic revivalism or radical Islam have increased its political influence in most of the Muslim World as well as Muslim diaspora. Like minded Islamic parties have advanced their positions in Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, the Palestinian territories, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Lebanon. In Somalia, the Supreme Islamic Courts Council has become the predominant force in the country, in Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, rose to presidential office in a campaign explicitly challenging US policy. In Lebanon, the influence and popularity of Hizbullah grew substantially during the post- July 2006 Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Costs to the United States:

“But these men [American leaders] are perhaps not so much immoral as they are amoral. It's not that they take pleasure in causing so much death and suffering. It's that they just don't care ... the same that could be said about a sociopath. As long as the death and suffering advance the agenda of the empire, as long as the right people and the right corporations gain wealth and power and privilege and prestige, as long as the death and suffering aren't happening to them or people close to them ... then they just don't care about it happening to other people, including the American soldiers whom they throw into wars and who come home - the ones who make it back alive - with Agent Orange or Gulf War Syndrome eating away at their bodies. American leaders would not be in the positions they hold if they were bothered by such things.”⁵⁰

Human cost: As stated earlier, the number of lives lost on 9/11 is listed as over 3000. Whereas, in return, as of this writing (2nd October2006) 2972 soldiers from coalition forces including 2736 Americans have been sent to their deaths and 19910 seriously wounded in Iraq⁵¹ (354

contractors of American origin are in addition to this body count).⁵² Besides, the operation enduring Freedom in Afghanistan has on its credit 490 military deaths and 901 seriously wounded from US predominant coalition forces.⁵³ On the other side, the reported civilian deaths since the Iraq occupation have reached to 48639.⁵⁴ According to CNN count; There have been 2,985 coalition deaths, 2,752 Americans, two Australians, 118 Britons, 13 Bulgarians, six Danes, two Dutch, two Estonians, one Fijian, one Hungarian, 32 Italians, one Kazakh, one Latvian, 17 Poles, two Romanians, two Salvadoran, three Slovaks, 11 Spaniards, two Thai and 18 Ukrainians in the war in Iraq as of October 11, 2006.⁵⁵ At least 20,687 U.S. troops have been wounded in action, according to the Pentagon. The Iraq Body Count research group based in Britain has calculated 50,000 civilian deaths⁵⁶. Whereas, another private US-Iraqi study group concluded that as many as 655,000 Iraqis have died since hostilities began in Iraq in March 2003 and the overall rate of mortality in Iraq since March 2003 has rocketed up to 13.3 death per 1000 persons per year compared to 5.5 deaths per 1000 persons per year prior to March 2003.⁵⁷

The operation enduring Freedom in Afghanistan has on its credit 490 military deaths and 901 seriously wounded from US predominant coalition forces.⁵⁸

Financial Costs and their Impact on the Economy:

The monetary cost of operations Iraqi Freedom and Enduring Freedom to the end of FY 2006 has exceeded \$400 billion with additional cost accruing at a rate of approximately \$10 billion per month. The broader fiscal context of this expenditure is defined by US federal budget deficits in the range of \$400 billion per annum and a gross national debt of \$8.5

trillion -- of which \$2.5 trillion accumulated during the past five years.⁵⁹ Whereas, recently published, Baker- Hamilton study group report reveals that in Iraq America has spent around \$500 billion and the ultimate cost of this war might be around 2 trillion dollars.⁶⁰ The assessment is confirmed by the Nobel laureate economist Joseph Stiglitz, when in one of his analysis he concludes that the total costs of the Iraq war alone may accumulate to between \$1 trillion and \$2.2 trillion -on the assumption of a gradual troop drawdown between 2006 and 2010.⁶¹

Effects on the Armed Services:

Today the United States maintains approximately 320,000 active-component military personnel overseas -- either stationed or operationally deployed; in addition, there are more than 60,000 Guard and Reserve personnel abroad. Similar or higher numbers of troops were overseas for most of the past four years. Of the total, more than 220,000 are operationally deployed in or around Iraq, Afghanistan, and other foreign territories.⁶² Not since the Vietnam era has the United States had such a large portion of its active-component armed forces at work overseas or deployed in operations as today. A high rate of operational tempo maintained over long periods has adversely affected training, morale, and discipline and problems in personnel retention and recruitment.⁶³

Morale:

Polls of soldiers deployed overseas indicate the extent of current morale problems.⁶⁴ The second US Army Mental Health Advisory Team Report, released in January 2005, showed 54 percent of operationally-deployed personnel reporting that their units had low to very low morale.⁶⁵ The suicides rate among deployed personnel during 2003 was 18.8 per

100,000 troops serving in operations Enduring Freedom and Iraqi Freedom.⁶⁶

Maintenance of equipment Cost:

By early 2005, the Army had rotated 40 percent of its equipment through Iraq and Afghanistan.⁶⁷ More recently, the Marine Corps estimated that 40 percent of its ground equipment and 20 percent of its air assets were being used to support current operations.⁶⁸ The hot and sandy environment of Iraq has a telling stress on this equipment and eating quickly the service life.⁶⁹ According to estimates of the Congressional Budget Office, the accrued unmet equipment reset costs for the services was between \$13.2 billion and \$18.4 billion.⁷⁰ On 27 June 2006, Army Chief of Staff General Peter Schoomaker told lawmakers that the Army alone will require between \$12 billion and \$13 billion for a minimum of two to three years beyond the end of the conflict.^{71, 72}

CONCLUSION:

Relations between the United States and the Muslim World are deteriorating with the passing of every moment. It is not the 9/11 which lit the fire; rather it is the imperialistic approach whose roots are as old as early 20th century. The cause is not the religion or cultural fault lines but economic one further reinforced by ambitions for global Imperialism. It is the Black gold of the Middle East and Central Asia which is luring America from American peninsula to Arabian Peninsula. The absolute power has made the US absolute arrogant. If the prevailing situation is allowed to grow unchecked then the results are likely to be devastating. Therefore, there is urgent need for initiation of dialogue between civilizations, accommodations of others views, showing restraints and demonstrating tolerance.

As found in numerous polls, popular support outside the United States for the US-led "war on terrorism" has fallen precipitously since 2002 -- as have positive sentiments toward the United States generally. This is true not only in most Muslim nations polled, but also among many of America's key allies in Europe. Majorities or pluralities see the Iraq war as contributing to the problem of terrorism and, in many countries, now see the United States as having a mostly negative influence on world affairs. In many Arab and Muslim states, majorities commonly feel that the United States may actually pose a military threat to their homelands. Such perceptions might be expected of populations in Syria and Iran -- but it is true as well for citizens of Indonesia, Pakistan, Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon.

There is a need that American Administration realizes that democracy through regime change with the help of military occupation, and operations aiming to suppress insurgencies that enjoy significant popular support are always counter productive. Excessive brutalities, continuous occupations, and loss of freedom and national identity arouse strong nationalistic reactions.

America has to understand that 'injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.' There can be no peace if the concerns, fears and problems of the people involved are not addressed. .Palestinians have endured, for over three decades now, the injustice of the longest military occupation in the world. Waiting simply means more death and destruction of besieged Palestinians living under the constant threat of collective punishments, military roadblocks, curfews and house demolitions. Israel's assassination of freedom fighters becomes "targeted killings". Israeli tanks going on the rampage in Bethlehem becomes a "reaction to Palestinian violence". If the US can strongly lead efforts for the

implementation of UN resolutions and peace in Kuwait, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Afghanistan then why can't it assume the same role in Palestine too? The real answer to this anarchy and disorder is seeking peace through guaranteeing honour, respect and justice for every nation and group, may that be small, large, weak or strong, rich or poor, and developing or developed. I don't believe our world has faced a more precarious time than we face today in the global war on terror. It recalls me the words stated so eloquently by the 35th President of America, most appropriate for America himself to consider.

*"Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children - not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women - not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."*⁷³

Annexure "A"

US INTERVENTIONS AT A GLANCE

Year / Period	Country	Brief Summary of Interventions
1920	Iraq	American oil companies; Standard Oil and Mobil obtain shares of the Iraq Petroleum Company with the signing of "Red Line Agreement" with Britain that Middle Eastern oil will not be developed by any single power.
1932-38	Middle East	Oil is discovered in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and U.S. oil companies obtain concessions.
1944	Middle East	President Roosevelt tells the British Ambassador, "Persian oil is yours. We share the oil of Iraq and Kuwait. As for Saudi Arabian oil, it's ours." Anglo-American Petroleum Agreement is signed, splitting Middle Eastern oil between the U.S. and Britain.
1947	Palestine	The U.S. helps through a UN resolution partitioning Palestine into a Zionist state and an Arab state, giving the 33 % Zionist population control of 54% of the Palestinians land.
1947	Palestine	The U.S. quickly recognizes Israel as Truman bluntly declared, "I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism, and I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs in my constituents."
1948	Palestine	Israel forces some 800,000 Palestinians (2/3of the population) to exile in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Gaza, and the West Bank. USA keeps silence on this inhuman act, rather provides economic, military and political support to Israel.
1949	Syria	Truman Administration backs military coup to overthrow elected government of Syria and establishes a military dictatorship under Colonel Za'im.
1953	Iran	Joint US- British operation murders nascent democracy in Iran by overthrowing Prime Minister Mossadeq who nationalized British holdings in Iran's oilfields, withdrew U.S petroleum concessions and established a state- owned National Iranian Oil Company.

1953	Iran	Restoring Shah of Iran to power and backing his 25 years of torture, killings, and repression. While restoring US and Britain ownership over Iranian oil, each getting 40 percent, Royal Dutch Shell received 14 percent, with the remaining 6 percent going to the French.
1956	Egypt	U.S. withdraws promised funding for Aswan Dam, Egypt's main development project
1957	Middle East	US Congress approves Eisenhower Doctrine, that "the United States regards preservation of the independence and integrity of Middle East vital to its national interest and world peace.
1957	Jordan	To protect king's rule against popular uprising, U.S. rushes its 6th fleet to Mediterranean. Later that year, the CIA begins making secret payments of millions a year to Jordan's King Hussein
1957	Syria	To press nationalist government of Syria government's more nationalist and pro-Soviet policies, the U.S. sends Sixth Fleet to eastern Mediterranean and rushes arms to allies Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey and Saudi Arabia; and. encourages Turkey to mass 50,000 troops on Syria's northern border.
1958	Lebanon	To save CIA backed president and suppress anti-U.S. rioting in Lebanon, U.S. dispatches 70 naval vessels, hundreds of aircraft and 14,000 Marines to Lebanon to preserve <i>stability</i> .
1957-58	Egypt, Syria	USA attempts at least eight separate conspiracies to overthrow Egyptian and Syrian governments, to assassinate Nasser, and/or prevent the expected merger of the two countries.
1960	Iraq	USA funded Kurdish rebels to assassinate Iraq's leader, Abdul Karim Qassim, who planned to counter the power of Western oil monopolies.
1963	Iraq	CIA and Britain supported a coup by the Ba'ath party (soon to be headed by Saddam Hussein) to overthrow the nationalist regime of Qassim.
1967	Middle	With U.S. weapons and support, Israeli military launches the so-called "Six Day War," seizing the

	East	remaining 23 percent of historic Palestine--the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem--along with Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and Syria's Golan Heights.
1970	Palestinian Refugees in Jordan	Massacre of "Black September" by Jordanian troops was fully backed by U.S. U.S. deploys the aircraft carrier Independence and six destroyers off the coast of Lebanon and readies troops in Turkey to support the assault. The U.S. threatens to use nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union if it intervenes. 5000 Palestinians were killed and 20,000 wounded.
1973		<p>USA went all out to support Israel against Arabs in 1973 War:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rushes \$2.2 billion in emergency military aid to Israel • Placed her forces on alert and moved them into the region. • Provided real time intelligence about Egyptian dispositions and existing gaps to encircle Egyptian's army. • In order to forestall Soviet Union's efforts of preventing destruction of Egypt's 3rd Army by Israel, USA threatened to use nuclear forces.
1972-76	Iraq, Iran	U.S. supports Kurdish rebels in Iraq in order to strengthen Iran and weaken the then pro-Soviet Iraqi regime. When Iran and Iraq cut a deal and the Iraqi government kills many Kurdish people, the U.S. stands by with zero help.
1978	Iran	<p>USA continued support to the hated Shah against Iranian revolution and urges him to act forcefully against the masses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some 400 Iranians were burned to death in the Rex Theater in Abadan after police chain and lock the exit doors. • On September 8, 10,000 anti-Shah demonstrators are massacred at Teheran's Jaleh Square. • The notorious Iranian security service, SAVAK, murderer of hundred thousands of Iranians, was created under the guidance of CIA and Israel in 1950.

1979	Afghan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Soviet troops invade Afghanistan--which was considered a "buffer state" between the Soviet Union to the north and the strategically important states of Iran and Pakistan to the south. Believing that "a successful take over of Afghanistan would give the Soviets a deep penetration between Iran and Pakistan and pose a threat to the rich oil fields of the Persian Gulf areas" • U.S. begins arming and organizing Islamic fundamentalist "Mujahideen" in Afghanistan in order to bleed USSR. Once USSR got disintegrated, USA left war torn Afghanistan in state of civil war and rendered no help for reconstruction of it. <p>More than one million Afghani people were killed and one-third of the population fled into refugee camps. Tens of thousands of Soviet soldiers died in the war. Twenty years later, the fighting in Afghanistan has still not ended.</p>
1980	Middle East	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Carter Doctrine declared the Persian Gulf to be a "vital" US interest and that any attempt by an outside power to seize it would be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.⁷⁴ In the Persian Gulf, the U.S. stepped up its direct military presence-organizing a "Rapid Deployment Force," increasing its naval presence, and pre-positioning equipment and supplies in the region.⁷⁵ It also steps up aid to reactionary client states such as Turkey, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. On September 12, Turkey's military seizes power and unleashes a brutal clampdown on revolutionaries and Kurds struggling for liberation in order to "stabilize" the country as a key U.S. ally. • Iraq invades Iran with tacit U.S. support, starting a bloody eight-year war. The U.S. supports both sides in the war providing arms to Iran and money, intelligence and political support to Iraq in order to prolong the war and weaken both sides, while trying to draw both countries into the U.S. orbit. In 1987 the U.S. Navy was dispatched to the Persian

		Gulf to prevent Iran from cutting off Iraq's oil shipments. During these patrols, a U.S. ship shot down an Iranian civilian airliner, killing all 290 passengers.
1979-84	Yemen	U.S. supports paramilitary forces to undermine the government of South Yemen
1981	Libya	U.S. held military maneuvers off the coast of Libya to bully the Qaddafi government. When a Libyan plane fired a missile at U.S. planes penetrating Libyan airspace, two Libyan planes were shot down in Libyan air space. ⁷⁶
1982	Lebanon	After receiving a "green light" from the U.S., Israel invades Lebanon to crush Palestinian and other anti-U.S. and anti-Israeli forces. Over 20,000 Lebanese and Palestinians are killed, and Israel seizes southern Lebanon, holding it until 2000.
1983	Lebanon	U.S. sends troops to Lebanon, supposedly as part of a multinational "peace-keeping" operation but in reality to protect U.S. interests, including Israel's occupation forces. U.S. troops are withdrawn after a suicide bomber destroys a U.S. Marine barracks.
1986	Libya	In 1986, when a bomb goes off in a Berlin nightclub and kills two Americans, the U.S. blames Libya's Qaddafi. U.S. bombers strike Libyan military facilities, residential areas of Tripoli and Benghazi, and Qaddafi's house, killing scores of people, including Qaddafi's adopted daughter.
1987	Iran, Iraq	The U.S. Navy is dispatched to the Persian Gulf to prevent Iran from cutting off Iraq's oil shipments. During these patrols, a U.S. ship shoots down an Iranian civilian airliner, killing all 290 onboard. The Iraqi regime launches mass poison-gas attacks on Kurds, killing thousands and bulldozing many villages. The U.S. responds by increasing its support for the Iraqi regime.
1989	Afghanistan	The last Soviet troops leave Afghanistan. The war, fueled by U.S.-Soviet rivalry, has torn Afghanistan apart, killing more than one million Afghans and

		forcing one-third of the population to flee into refugee camps. US turns its back from the moral responsibility of reconstruction/ rehabilitation of Afghanistan.
1990	Iraq- Kuwait	In August, Iraq invades Kuwait. The U.S. seizes the moment to assert its hegemony in the post-Soviet world and strengthen its grip on the Persian Gulf: the U.S. condemns Iraq, rejects a diplomatic settlement, imposes sanctions, and prepares for an all-out military assault on Iraq.
1991	Gulf War	<p>After a 6-month military buildup, the U.S.-led coalition launches "Operation Desert Storm." In January. For the next 42 days, U.S. and allied planes pound Iraq, dropping 88,000 tons of bombs, systematically targeting and largely destroying its electrical and water systems. On February 22, the U.S. coalition begins its 100-hour ground war. Heavily armed U.S. units drive deep into southern Iraq. Overall, 100,000 to 200,000 Iraqis are killed during the war.</p> <p>Iraq withdraws from Kuwait and agreed to an UN-brokered cease-fire, but the U.S. and Britain insisted for the devastating sanctions, which resulted in doubling the death rate of children under five in central and southern Iraq.⁷⁷ During the war, America used the Depleted Uranium (DU), a by product of the enriched fuel for the nuclear reactors and weapons. During the war, number of Iraqi and American soldiers breathed in the deadly DU dust from thousands of DU rounds causing deaths, permanent disabilities, and increased cancer rates.⁷⁸</p>
1993	PLO_ Israel	1993: U.S. brokers a "peace" agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization at Oslo, Norway. The agreement strengthens Israel and U.S. domination, while leaving Palestinians a small part of their historic homeland, broken up into isolated pieces surrounded by Israel. No provisions are made for the return of the four million Palestinian refugees living outside of Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza.
1995	Iraq	The U.S. imposes oil and trade sanctions against Iran, reinforcing sanctions in effect since 1979, for alleged sponsorship of 'terrorism', seeking to acquire nuclear arms and hostility to the Middle East process. With U.S. backing, Turkey launches a major military

		offensive, involving some 35,000 Turkish troops, against the Kurds in northern Iraq.
2001	Iraq	In January, UN estimated that 4,500 children were dying per month from disease and malnutrition in Iraq as a result of sanctions imposed since 1991 and casualties caused by air bombing from over 280,000 sorties were over and above.
October 2001	Afghanistan	U.S. begins bombing Afghanistan, as the first act of war in "Operation Enduring Freedom"--the U.S. "war against global terrorism." The operation in Afghanistan is still on, having scores of daily casualties both the sides.
March 2003	Iraq	Iraq is invaded and is occupied till today. More than 655000, people of Iraq have perished; state has virtually collapsed, having totally failed in maintaining peace, order and integrity of the country. However, the only thing which is intact are the oil reserves and pipelines.
July 2006	Labnan	Under US tacit approval, Israel invaded Labnan, and US prevail over UN and Security Council to stop the aggression. Iraq and Iran are threaten to face the consequences , if fail to submit to US will.

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- ⁷⁸ . *The Independent*, London, November10, 1991,p.2.

This is probably just a commercial invention and not a very successful one either. Millions of British fathers don't even know they have a special day. The weakness of its government made it difficult for the new United States to win the respect or the help of foreign nations. It was clear that for the United States to survive there would have to be changes in the Articles of Confederation. In February 1787, Congress asked each state to send delegates to a meeting or "convention," in Philadelphia to talk about such changes. The Constitution gave the United States a "federal" system of government. A federal system is one in which the power to rule is shared. A central, or federal, authority has some of it and the rest is in the hands of the states. The United States of America will use all our resources to conquer this enemy. We will rally the world. We will be patient, we will be focused, and we will be steadfast in our determination. We will not allow this enemy to win the war by changing our way of life or restricting our freedoms. ~ George W. Bush

On September 11, 2001, in our time of grief, the American people came together. The attacks of September 11 were intended to break our spirit, instead we have emerged stronger and more unified. We feel renewed devotion to the principles of political, economic and religious freedom, the rule of law and respect for human life. We are more determined than ever to live our lives in freedom. ~ Rudy Giuliani.

September 11, 2001 was a bright, crisp morning in many regions of the United States, which was shattered when the nation was attacked by terrorists. Americans and friends all over the world remember where they were and what they were doing that fateful Tuesday morning, when the first attack commenced with a plane being flown into the World Trade Center in New York. September 11 is also known as "the day the United States once again became united" and "the day the world changed." It's true that Americans banded together to help each other through the harrowing events and the aftermath of that day. I hope everyone who had passed away on that horrifying day rests with God and will always be remembered as heroes. God bless the USA.