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# **American Policy Towards Shiites in Iraq 2003-2014**

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### Abstract

In this study, we find that the policy of the United States of America after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 focused on confronting the rising Shiite Islamic influence in the region due to its danger to its interests, especially the security of Israel, and the contradiction of Shiite Islamic thought with Western thought and ideology, so it launched the new Middle East project through which the axis of resistance is confronted ,and its leadership in Tehran and due to Iraq's distinguished location and the majority of its Shiite population and the presence of the leadership of the Shiite Islamic world in the honorable Najaf, Washington found in it the appropriate base to launch this project towards both Syria and the rest of Iran's allies around Israel, and Washington used the policy of smart power to allow Salafist terrorist organizations, which are the specific opposite of Shiite Islam to expand and spreading in the region with the support of Washington's Arab allies, then turning Iraq into a battlefield between terrorism and the Shiites, which is a proxy war against the axis of resistance as a means to achieve Washington's goals within the new Middle East project.

Keywords: Shiites, Iraq, USA.

## Introduction

This study focuses on one of the important political issues, which is the struggle for influence between the United States of America and the Shiite Islamic Movement in the Middle East, this study aims mainly to review Washington's policy towards the Shiite Islamic movement in Iraq since the American occupation of Iraq in 2003 until ISIS took control of the regions of western Iraq and parts of Syria in 2014, according to this study, and by the nature of the context presented in it, it cannot address all the issues and all the topics that Washington's policy towards the Shiites in Iraq was concerned with it. It was necessary to focus on a limited number of these topics that we believe are the most important for the research topic, something that many research specialists may not agree with.

The occupation of Iraq and the establishment of a democratic regime in it represented the most important event at the regional and global levels at the beginning of the new millennium, and what it represented for the majority of the Shiite population of Iraq who had languished for decades under the oppression and persecution of the authority of a totalitarian regime belonging to another sect that constituted the majority of the population of the Arab countries surrounding Iraq, coinciding with the rise of and the growing Iranian Shiite Islamic influence in the vicinity of Israel, forming what is known as the axis of resistance, which was led by Tehran, this event raised many questions, including why Washington overthrew the regime of Saddam Hussein, its former ally? On the other hand, how did Washington deal with the problem of the Shiite Islamic majority

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of the Iraqi people? and why did it support the first constitutional government of Iraq and then abandon it after the ISIS invasion of its lands? The researcher tries to answer these questions in this study.

The study consisted of a preface and three topics, the first of which dealt with some of the important reasons for the occupation of Iraq, while topic two focused on Washington's policy towards the Shiites during the rule of the Coalition Provisional Authority during the transitional period, while topic three dealt with Washington's policy towards the Shiites under the constitutional rule in Iraq 2006-2014.

### Preface

The Middle East region and the Arabian Gulf in particular have been linked to the vital interests of the United States of America since the emergence of the policy of filling the void after World War II and the decline of the British role in the region and its withdrawal from the Arabian Gulf, so that Washington is the heir to the former British colonies, and the importance of the region to Washington is represented in the concentration of most of the global reserves of oil in the Arabian Gulf, which means that whoever controls the Arabian Gulf controls the global oil market and controls its prices, and through it he can control the interests of major countries because of their need for oil, in addition to the fact that Israel's security is a priority in Washington's foreign policy (1), and the focus was in the foreign Washington's policy to confront communist expansion and work to contain it and prevent its access to the Arab Gulf region, and Washington followed the policy of proxy to secure its interests in the region by supporting its allies such as the Shah of Iran to be its policeman in the region, the separation wall between the Soviet Union and the Arabian Gulf (2), and in Iraq, it delegated the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party and supported Saddam Hussein to be its first man in the Arab region (3), and because of what Iraq represents of great importance in several respects, such as the strategic location and economic capabilities in addition to its relative proximity to Israel, and the growth of the Shiite Islamic movement in both Iraq and Iran coincided with the end of World War II and what it constituted Shiite clerics from a danger to Western interests (4), which appeared clearly since the beginning of the British occupation of Iraq in 1914, which prompted Washington to work to confront the communist challenge and the escalating Shiite Islamic challenge at the same time, but the occurrence of an important change turned the tables on Washington's policy plans, and the victory of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979 and removal of the Shah's regime by Shiite clerics prompted Washington to adopt a new policy and not rely on the proxy policy only, in addition to increasing support for Saddam's regime and working to prevent the Shiite Islamic movement in Iraq from carrying out a revolution similar to Iran's Islamic Revolution (5) The Carter principle appeared to existence, which sees that the United States of America secures its interests by itself and does not rely solely on the policy of proxy, so the Rapid Intervention Force was established and its mission is to find a military foothold for Washington in the Arabian Gulf as a prelude to its permanent presence to confront the Shiite Islamic movement in Iraq and Iran.(6)

#### TOPIC ONE

The reasons for the occupation of Iraq in 2003

The occurrence of a new variable is the weakness of the Soviet Union and then its collapse in 1991 (7), in addition to the failure of Saddam Hussein's regime to eliminate the Shiite Islamic movement in Iraq, Iran (8), prompting the United States of America to launch the new Middle East project, which is summarized by creating political, geographical and economic changes in the region is based on relations between its countries on the basis of economy and common interests instead of relations based on nationalism and religion, thus creating an environment capable of embracing Israel, with

this project, the United States of America achieves its goals by removing the factor of religion that poses a threat to its interests, including the security of Israel (9), so it has become imperative for Washington to start from Iraq for the implementation of this project, as it represents the center of the Shiite Islamic movement for the presence of the supreme leadership of the Shiites in the world represented by the Hawza Al-Ilmya and its supreme reference in the honorable Najaf, as well as the majority of its Shiite population (10), in addition to the religious factor (11) in the direction of the George Bush Jr. administration, which belongs to the neoconservatives (12), just as the location of Iraq between Iran and Syria represents the link or bridge between Iran as a Shiite political leadership of what is known as the axis of resistance against Israel and Washington's policy in the region and its allies in the axis in Syria Lebanon Palestine (13), in addition to the direct military control Iraq means that Washington should be on the western borders of Iran, in a way that ensures that it monitors it closely and interferes in its affairs indirectly, as well as turning Iraq into a wall isolating the Iranian Shiite influence from other Arab countries allied to Washington, just as controlling Iraq means that Washington should take it as a base to launch towards Syria and Iran's allies neighboring Israel to complete the stages of implementation of the new Middle East project after securing Iraq by preventing the Islamic Shiite movement from controlling the political decision and creating a weak secular system based on quotas in Iraq (14).

# TOPIC TWO

Washington's policy towards the Shiites during the rule of the Coalition Provisional Authority and the transitional period 2003-2005:

Washington realized that holding free elections according to a real democratic system in Iraq would have the inevitable result of the Shiite Islamic movement taking control of the government and centralizing the decision in the hands of the Shiites, which means the loss of Iraq and a threat to its interests in the region, in addition to that the matter represents a new element of strength for the axis of resistance and its leadership in neighboring Iran to Iraq, so it found Washington the best solution for not losing Iraq is to establish a system based on sectarian quotas and by supporting its allies inside Iraq from other nationalities and minorities to confront the Shiites and not to centralize the political decision in their hands, so that the new system is based on collective participation in governance and the establishment of a state of components instead of a state of citizenship to make it easier for them to intervene in the Iraqi political decision and control over it (15), so after the appointment of the administration in Washington to the former ambassador Paul Bremer as a civilian governor of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq in May 2003, who gathered in his hands all the legislative and executive judicial powers, he proceeded directly to eliminate the modern Iraqi state that was founded in 1921 and then re-establishing it in line with Washington's interests (16), Bremer directed the Iraqi economic institutions to reformulate them in order to achieve an economy affiliated with global capitalism led by Washington and to make it easier to control later, and he issued orders to establish a new financial system for the Central Bank of Iraq and separate it from the Iraqi executive authority. Financial policy previously managed by the Ministry of Finance, the Central Bank of Iraq has become independent of its financial policy and is linked to the global capitalist policy, thus stripping the Iraqi government in advance of the most important element of sovereign economic power for Washington to use later as a pressure card against it in order to secure its interests and not to leave Iraq from its sphere of influence (17), in addition that, the new absolute ruler of Iraq issued his orders to establish an open-door policy in Iraq through trade liberalization decisions and the abolition of customs duties, to turn Iraq into a market for consuming Western industrial products, as well as killing Iraqi industries in their infancy in the future before they exist due to the absence of the element of competition between Iraq and advanced countries, in order to keep Iraq a rentier country that Western capitalist depends only on the oil it exports (18), and to complete the goal of turning Iraq into a failed state completely subordinate to the United States of America, Bremer issued his orders and decisions regarding foreign investment and the provision of major facilities that result in the usurpation of the Iraqi economy by the capital of Western companies that do not the Iraqi private sector can confront or compete with it, and it has the freedom to withdraw its money with its benefits from Iraq, in addition to the fact that the control of Western companies over the Iraqi economy means that the Iraqi government's future political decision will be subject to these companies that hold the backbone of the state's economy (19).

In order to complete the prior control over the political decision in Iraq, before the establishment of the new regime, and after the dissolution of the Iraqi security institutions, Bremer worked to re-establish these institutions in order to serve Washington's policy directions in Iraq by slowing down their training and arming and making them formal institutions that do not meet the minimum security requirements in Iraq in exchange for growth and expansion of terrorism and the development of its capabilities before the eyes of Washington (20).

Bremer worked to re-establish the judiciary according to the principle of separation of powers, but he did it in a dictatorial manner and put himself in the position of the Chief Justice and granted himself wide powers, including expelling any judge who does not cooperate with his authority (21), and he also used the Iraqi judiciary to threaten the media that contradict Washington's directions, the right to demonstrate was restricted and all manifestations of rejection or objection to the occupation were prohibited, although Washington's general policy calls for freedom of expression and democracy, Bremer, through his orders regarding the media, greatly restricted media freedoms and public freedoms and made the occupation authorities a red line, exposing those who criticize him to many penalties, including closing Media outlets and their property confiscated without compensation if they promote rejection of the occupation and link societal peace and internal security to the security and peace of the occupying authority (22).

The previous orders and procedures by the Coalition Provisional Authority were precautionary and preemptive measures before the Iraqis took over the administration of the country. Therefore, Washington wanted to do the matter unilaterally in a dictatorial manner with the aim of establishing the rules of a new regime according to its vision and interests and in line with its new Middle East project, far from the vision of the Iraqis or their objections, Bremer laid the foundations that define the compulsory path that the Iraqis must follow. Bremer initiated the stages of their involvement in power through the establishment of the Iraqi Governing Council, and through it he establishes a new phase in Iraq based on sectarian-ethnic quotas, with the aim of preventing the Shiite Islamic movement from being able to monopolize the Iraqi political decision, and the confiscation of the right of the majority of the Iraqi people to run the country in accordance with the democratic principles and values advocated by Washington itself, through quotas, the right of the majority will be distributed among the rest of the components of the Iraqi people according to the principle of partnership and collective governance. Bremer made the method of distributing seats in the Governing Council among the sects and nationalities of the Iraqi people the basis and custom upon which the new democratic system was established in Iraq, the Governing Council included 25 political figures from various sects and political trends (23), Bremer worked intelligently to consider the Shiites as a bloc of Islamists, secularists, and communists, one goal is to reduce the numerical percentage of Islamists in the seats occupied by the Shiites in order to weaken their political decision-making and ensure that a consensus is not achieved among them, since Bremer is depending on Washington's Iraqi allies, as he himself said to the Kurds, "We are your allies." When the Kurds showed their fear of the Shiite Islamists, "We fear the black turbans." Washington shares this fear with them. Washington also has other allies that it strongly supports, namely the secularists to confront the Shiite Islamists. Bremer took sectarian division on one hand and ethnic

division on the other as a means to disperse the majority and weaken its decision, using an effective tool, as he says, "divide and rule." All these tools and policies that Washington pursues and its purpose to confront the Shiite Islamic movement in Iraq (24).

Bremer through this sectarian-ethnic division, was able to be the final command that controls the Iraqi political decision, so we find that the seats allocated to the Shiites in the Governing Council are (13) seats, only five of which are occupied by Shiite Islamists, and the rest went to the Shiite communists and secularists, meaning that Washington has become, through its allies, part of the Shiite political decision on one hand, and a partner through its allies in the other components of the Iraqi political decision in general (25), in a proactive step, Washington wanted to lay the foundation for the permanent Iraqi constitution by writing the provisional state administration law for the transitional period, to ensure that the majority of the Iraqi people do not control the new state in a manner that enshrines the principle of sectarian-ethnic quotas to ensure that governance in Iraq is based on the participation of all, and that a specific component is not isolated in the Iraqi political decision, even if it is a majority, and if the system is democratic, while democracy in its general sense means the rule of the majority according to the outcomes of the electoral processes, in this way, the rights of the majority of the Iraqi people were confiscated once again, and the Islamic Shiites, who are a majority in the language of numbers, became equal to other minorities, and the advantage of the majority was no longer worth anything in the new system, as will become clear to us through the articles of the Interim State Administration Law, which was the basis for writing the permanent Iraqi constitution (26). this temporary constitution for the administration of the Iraqi state was issued on March 8, 2004, and is considered effective from 30 June 2004 until a permanent constitution is approved, and a date for that was set no later than December 31, 2005, this temporary constitution also stressed the necessity of holding elections for a national constituent assembly no later than January 31, 2005, Its mission is to form a transitional government and form a committee to write a permanent constitution for the country, as stated in article two of part one of the above law (27).

Washington has put paragraphs and articles in this interim constitution that secure its interests, making it similar to the permanent constitution, and it is almost impossible to amend or change it, It was stated in Article III A part one of it, that this law may not be amended except with the approval of three-quarters of the National Assembly, even though the majority of the people are from Shiite Islamists, but it is difficult for them to achieve consensus in the National Assembly because of the presence of Washington's allies among them are secular Shiites and others who do not abide by the decisions of the Shiite Islamists as passed in the establishment of the Governing Council (28), and if the consensus is achieved and the members of the National Assembly vote by a majority of three quarters of its members to change the state administration law, then Washington placed the right of veto on the decisions of the majority by other minorities, including Washington's Kurdish allies.(29) it is stated in article three of chapter one of the Interim State Administration Law that the decision of the National Assembly, even if it obtains the approval of the majority, has no meaning and does not become effective except with the unanimous approval of the presidency council, and this presidency council is composed of three members, each of whom is granted the right to veto any decisions taken by National Assembly, and these decisions do not become effective except by a unanimous vote of the three, and these three represent the major components in Iraq, Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds, and with this paragraph, the right of the Iraqi people to exercise their democratic rights was confiscated, and the decision of the majority became captive to the minorities, so there was no meaning left for democracy or elections, or a meaning for a majority and a minority, and this article was established the basis for the birth of a weak, non-centralized state vulnerable to external interference through minorities, Washington has the final decision and veto power over the Iraqi political decision in general and over the decision of the Shiite Islamic majority in particular through its allies in the national assembly and the presidency council (30), Shiites in Iraq rejected the Interim State Administration Law through their supreme authority, Mr. Al-Sistani, especially what was included in the law regarding the confiscation of the right of the majority in article three of part one of it, which restricted the will of the national assembly also to the right of veto in the presidency council, and the Shiites through demonstrations expressed their rejection of the matter (31) as a result, the highest Shiite authority in the world, Mr. Al-Sistani, sent a letter to the Security Council on June 6, 2004, in which he demanded that the Governing Council and the Interim State Administration Law not be legitimized, the authority also called on the authority also considered that the condition that three-quarters of the national assembly agree to amend or change the state administration law, and the condition that presidency council unanimously approve and grant them the right to veto, is considered an injustice to the rights of the majority and a confiscation of them (32).

In addition to that, article thirty-eighth of chapter five of the state administration law also granted members of presidency council the right to veto the nomination of the prime minister even if he won the majority in the national assembly, meaning that if the Iraqi people vote by their majority for the prime minister, the minority has the right to reject this vote and prevent him from assuming presiding over the council of ministers is in clear violation of the principles of democracy and a confiscation of the rights of the vast majority of the Iraqi people, and this falls within the framework of the United States' policy towards the Shiites in Iraq within the new Middle East project to confront the Shiite Islamic movement in Iraq and the region (33), just as the prime minister is in accordance with article 42 of the fifth chapter does not make his decisions individually, but rather he is the head of the council of ministers, and the decision is taken by voting within the council, and the prime minister has one vote, like the rest of the members of the council, and the decision is not enforceable unless he obtains a simple majority within the council, and since the government cabinet is formed by participation and quotas and includes among its members various sects and political tendencies, this article has been deprived the prime minister of the ability to manage the state according to his own political vision, and his authority over the government and the state has weakened, and this also falls within Washington's policy that Shiite Islamic movement is not alone in the Iraqi political decision due to that they are the majority, and the presidency of the cabinet will devolve to them (34).

Article fifty-two of chapter eight of the Interim State Administration Law ensured that power would not be concentrated in the hands of the central majority government in Baghdad, and granted wide powers to the regions and governorates in a way that secures protection for the Kurdistan region and others in the new state, and weakening the authority of the center that is occupied by the majority of the Islamic Shiites, and this is a continuation of Washington's steps in weakening the state in which the Shiites constitute the majority and to be weak and disintegrated is vulnerable to external interference and the failure to achieve a national consensus against its future policy (35), and emphasizing the confiscation of the right of the majority and for the decision to be in the hands of the minority, paragraph C of article sixty one of chapter nine of the State Administration Law included that the constitution be considered The permanent vote for which the majority of the Iraqi people voted for is invalid and rejected if it is rejected by two-thirds of the voters in three provinces, meaning that the votes of the majority of the Iraqi people have no importance compared to the votes of two-thirds of three provinces, that is to say, there is no importance for the votes of the majority of the Iraqi people compared to the votes of two-thirds of three provinces, this is an injustice against the majority and a confiscation of their votes, no matter how many they are, and a structural flaw in the system, since democracy is essentially based on adopting the opinion of the majority, not on the picture being reversed and the opinion of the minority being effective (36).

#### TOPIC THREE

### Washington's policy towards the Shiites under the constitutional rule in Iraq 2006-2014

After the permanent constitution won the approval of the people through a popular referendum on October 15, 2005, however, it included some controversial articles that were mentioned in the State Administration Law, and Shiites objected them because they confiscated the right of the majority because they contradicted democratic principles, in particular Article 138 of chapter two of section six, Which gave the presidency the right to veto the decisions of the majority and that the presidency vote be unanimous as a condition for the enforcement of the legislation issued by house of representatives, including the nomination of prime minister, and thus it has become unfulfilled the aspirations of the majority of the Iraqi people and an obstacle to building a strong state (37), and in addition to that the consolidation of the principle of sectarian and national quotas by Washington, since the establishment of the governing council, has become a prominent feature of the new Iraqi regime, and the establishment of the custom of collective participation in governments and the sharing of high positions in the state between Kurds, Shiites, and Sunnis, the custom arose as a fixed context for the position of the presidency of state to be from the Kurdish nationality, the position of the presidency of parliament to be from the Sunni Arabs, and the position of prime minister from the share of the Shiite Arabs (38), and also the division of the deputies for the three presidencies among the three components, According to this abhorrent equation, democracy was emptied of its content and established the existence of three countries in one country (39).

The occupation operation since April 9, 2003 was accompanied by an escalation in the pace of terrorism in a brutal manner, targeting in particular the Iraqi Shiite component (40) with regional, Arab and international support, and the escalation of official religious sectarian rhetoric in Arab countries against the Shiites of Iraq and the inflammatory statements of some Arab sectarian leaders, such as what the Jordanian King Abdullah, the second said, which is intended to thwart the authority of the Shiite Islamists, which led to great tragedies among the Shiites (41), in addition to the genocide that this component has been subjected to since the establishment of the modern Iraqi state in 1921, especially during the era of the rule of the Ba'ath Party, Saddam Hussein, Washington's former ally (42), and on despite the strong relationship between the Gulf Arab countries in particular with the United States of America, in addition to the launch of the occupation forces for Iraq from the lands of these countries to overthrow the Ba'athist regime, Washington did not move a finger towards these countries that began a fierce war through terrorism against the Shiites of Iraq (43), which confirms that Washington was determined from the beginning to make Iraq a battlefield between terrorism and Shiites, so that it allowed and turned a blind eye to the growth of terrorist organizations in Iraq, despite Washington's possession of advanced intelligence equipment, satellites, and spy planes, it left terrorist organizations free to move and infiltrate Iraq across its borders with Arab countries.(44)

Iraq is turning into an arena for the battle against terrorism, with the Shiites on the other side, is in itself an interest for the United States of America, as it leads to draining the resources of the Shiites in Iraq and Iran, weakening the axis of resistance and breaking their strength in the region (45) in preparation for the start of the next stage of the new Middle East project in which Shiites stand an obstacle in front of it and requires geopolitical changes (46) that do not occur except with a proxy battle made by terrorism against Shiites, and this battle must have preludes, and in order for Iraq to turn into a hotspot for terrorism, there must be a Shiite government headed by a Shiite Islamic party that has an alliance with Iran coinciding with a weakness in the Iraqi security forces ,a system based on sectarian quotas and a tense sectarian political atmosphere between Sunnis and Shiites (47).

Nuri Kamel al-Maliki won the position of prime minister, and his government gained confidence in parliament on May 20, 2006, he represents the Islamic Da'waa Party in Iraq, the staunchest opponent of the former Ba'ath regime, and enjoys a large fan base from the families of the victims of the former regime, in addition to strong relations with Iran and the founder of the party, Sayed Mohammed Bager Al-Sadr, the well-known Shiite scholar who was executed by Saddam Hussein in 1980, was one of the believers in the theory of guardianship of the jurist, which was applied by Imam Khomeini in Iran after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 (48), and Washington found in him its desire to support him temporarily in a way that secures for it the prerequisites for the battle with terrorism for the reasons we mentioned above and the fact that Al-Maliki and Shiite Islamic Da'waa Party represents the specific opposite of terrorism that belongs to the Sunni branch of Islam (49), and after negotiations with al-Maliki, Washington concluded two agreements, the first was called the security agreement, the status of forces agreement, and the second was the strategic framework agreement, and the first agreement paved the way for the gradual withdrawal of foreign forces from Iraq that was completed by the end of 2011 (50), Despite the quality of the terms of the security agreement, Washington did not abide by its provisions, especially those that oblige Washington to arm the Iraqi army and security forces and train them, coinciding with the expansion of terrorist organizations among the residents of the provinces of western Iraq and the vicinity of Baghdad, until the matter reached dangerous stages that prompted al-Maliki to travel to Washington a request for support and the implementation of the terms of the security agreement coinciding with the intensification of battles between the Iraqi forces and terrorism in Anbar Governorate (51), and with the change of administration in Washington, the victory of the Democrats, and the adoption by US President Barack Obama of a new policy to achieve Washington's goals called the policy of smart power, which is a mixture between the use of hard and soft power with intelligence, i.e. support the peoples and minorities against the regimes that oppose Washington's policy, especially the new Middle East project (52), Al-Maliki did not get support from the administration in Washington, so he decided to go to Russia and Iran to buy the necessary weapons to confront the terrorist attack in western Iraq (53), which coincided with the insurgency and demonstrations in the western provinces against the state, with Turkish and Arab regional support, and after the development of the matter and the expansion of ISIS to include large areas of Syria and western Iraq (54) officials in the US administration announced that ISIS is Iran's problem before it was Washington's problem, and despite Al-Maliki and his party achieving a landslide victory in the elections 2014, however, Washington stipulated his removal from power as a precondition to support Iraq in the fight against terrorism, since Al-Maliki refused to overthrow Bashar Al-Assad's regime in Syria, explaining that if the matter was done, terrorism would end in control of all of Syria and Iraq (55), in addition to that Al-Maliki does not believe in the American project in the region and from allies of the axis of resistance, which is led by the Islamic Republic of Iran and carries the Shiite Islamic ideology and thought (56).

### Conclusions

We conclude from this study that the policy of the United States of America after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 focused on confronting the Shiite Islamic influence in the region because of its danger to its interests, especially the security of Israel, and the contradiction of this Islamic thought and trend with Western thought and ideology, It launched the New Middle East Project, through which the axis of resistance and its leadership in Tehran would be confronted, and because of Iraq's distinctive location and the majority of its Shiite population, Washington found it the appropriate base to launch this project towards both Syria and the rest of Iran's allies around Israel, and through the use of sectarian and national quotas in establishing the new regime in Iraq, It was able to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of the Shiite Islamic majority, and

Washington used a smart power policy by allowing Salafist terrorist organizations, which are the specific opposite of Shiite Islam, to expand and spread in the region with the support of Washington's Arab and Turkish allies, then turning Iraq into a battlefield between terrorism and the Shiites, which is a proxy war against the axis of resistance as a means to achieve Washington goals within the New Middle East Project.

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