SAWSAN ABDUL-MUNEM QASIM *
Al-Mustansiriyah University, Baghdad, Iraq

ETHNOGRAPHY OF IRAQI AND AMERICAN WAR

ABSTRACT: This study shows the ethnography of the American-Iraqi conflict, and the tragedy events Iraq witnessed at that time. The study also explains the increasing interest of the United States in Iraq that has started for many years, extended, and never seems to end. The political, economic, and geographical reasons proved to be the major factors behind that hostility. The crises between US and Iraq escalated, especially after 9/11, when the American hostility has increased towards Arab in general, and Iraq in particular. The study is a qualitative review depending on American president's observations, authentic news, media, books, and different articles to provide facts, definitions, basic concepts, terminology, and facts to the reader.

KEYWORDS: Iraq, war, America, ethnography, oil

INTRODUCTION

When oil has been discovered in Iran in 1908, and later in Iraq in 1927, American foreign policy transferred into domestic political issues rather than national security concerns, as American administration alleged at that time. The main reason behind US war on Iraq is oil, as explained by materialists and political critics, Iraq sitting atop the world’s second largest oil reserves. Iraq was ‘swimming in oil’. According to Michael Klare, a prominent analyst of oil politics:

No doubt many factors are involved—some strategic, some political, and some economic. But it is hard to believe that US leaders would contemplate such an

* asst. prof. Sawsan Abdul-Munem Qasim, Al-Mustansiriyah University, Baghdad, Iraq

https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0023-8388  sawsan.munem@gmail.com

Copyright (c) 2021 Sawsan Abdul-Munem Qasim. This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

1 D. Drezner, Galactically Stupid Distortion at the Guardian, "FP" June 4 2003
extreme act without very powerful motives—and the pursuit of oil has long constituted the most commanding motive for US military action in the Persian Gulf region.²

The Guardian news states that the real issue about Iraq war with US is "energy security" commissioned by then US Vice-President Dick Cheney ³

Secondly, Iraq is considered a diversity model, where all the sects, ethnic groups, with different religions like: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism, Mandeanism, live together. It is a country for millennia, a country of Assyrians, Kurds, and Turkmen.⁵

**ETHNOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Ethnography (from Greek ethnós "folk, people, nation" and grapho "I write") is a branch of anthropology-, and the systematic study of individual cultures. Ethnography then, is a type of social research which examines the participants' behavior in a given social situation, and

---

³ “Iraq invasion was about oil ” The Guardian https://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/20/iraq-war-oil-resources-energy-peak-scarcity-econo
understands the group members' own interpretation of such behaviour. The anthropology, as Leach comments much about 'us' as about 'them; Leach, as was true with Mooney earlier

There is no modern as opposed to primitive society, no static versus dynamic. We are all rational. Others have to solve problems of existence, build boats, cure their sicknesses, just as we do. Social systems are open, not bounded and never to be found in equilibrium. The other is interesting because what we see in them is directly relevant to understanding ourselves.

Some ethnographers emphasize observation of everyday community life, others have been more concerned with individuals' experience and have concentrated more on taking data from informants than on direct observation.

Since the mid-1970s, the understanding that conflict and contradiction may be normal in the life of any community has come to be reflected in most ethnographic work. General methodology is a methodology to analyze and understand social and political actions in their making. Then, ethnography has become an essential tool in political science, political violence, and civil wars to be a political ethnography as part of interpretive methodologies and research. Ethnography is a subjective endeavour, in which the researcher engages with actors and practices in and of a field through various methods. Whether by engaging directly through participation or more indirectly gathering knowledge through interviews, observations or textual analysis, the ethnographer becomes involved in, and is knowledgeable of, the social harmonies and tensions. This position grants attention to ethical considerations. In this study, the researcher depends on his real experience, documents, papers, websites, and media news to cover the subject.

THE US STRATEGIC POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

If we trace back the US’s policy in Middle East, we can find that the early years of the post-World War I era. The American role has been increased, when it became the wealthiest and strongest western power. This policy has become evident during the Cold War following the end of World War II. This period witnessed the height of hostility between the US and the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the birth of the State of Israel in Palestine, on the other. American policy. After the October 1973, more than 47 years ago, when America tried to reconcile Israel and its Arab neighbours, what Martin Indyk called "Pax Americana"

heart of that Pax Americana was the stealing of Egypt out of the Soviet Union's pocket, which happened at the beginning of this American-led peace process. And to some extent Syria as well. The arc of American influence started rising through President Jimmy Carter's successful efforts to broker the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty that took Egypt out of the conflict with Israel and in effect ended the state-to-state conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbours.  

American President Bill Clinton represented the America's engagement in the peace process. At the same time, the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the Cold War. The oil discovery in the Arab Gulf region, the transformation of the US from an exporter of oil into an importer, the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, Jewish lobby in the US. The failure of the Arab states in general and the Arab League in particular to play an active role in influencing American public opinion and counter the growing Jewish influence over the political process and the American national media, all these factors led America’s stature in the middle east.

**THE U.S ROLE IN IRAQI-IRANIAN WAR**

Both Iraq and Iran were the largest countries with oil reservoirs in the Arab region, in addition to, economic and geographical reasons, the US government tried to destroy the two countries during the Iraq-Iran war of 1980-88. The Clinton administration, was later called “dual containment.” As U.S supported and encouraged the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein to

---

invade Iran by providing him with much needed chemical, biological weapons, military technology and all intelligence to launch a successful attack against Iran. At the same time, the U.S provided Iran through Israel with sophisticated military hardware to fight the Iraqi army and stop its advance. Henry Kissinger comments about this "It's a pity they both can't lose." The war lasted for eight years had caused human casualties, and totally exhausted and much weakened the two countries economically and militarily.

**US AND THE GULF WAR**

Another intervention of U.S administration in Iraq, when the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the U.S led an international military coalition to liberate Kuwait to maintain its interest and to be more close to the oilfield of Arab Gulf and Saudi Arabia. The 1991 Gulf war gave the U.S a golden opportunity and a legitimate pretext to strengthen its military presence in the Gulf region and weaken both Iran and Iraq. The collapse of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics encouraged America to attack Iraq as the perfect arena for testing its newly manufactured weapons of war. The war was instrumental in decapitating the Iraqi military power to the point where it could no longer threaten the neighbours' security; it also served to weaken the Iraqi economy to the point where it could no longer meet the basic needs for the Iraqi people. However, Hussein would later invade Kuwait in 1990 leading to the First Gulf War with President George HW Bush and after 9/11, Iraq was invaded by his son, President George W. Bush becoming the Iraq War (or the Second Gulf War) which continues to this day.

**U.S AND THE COLLISION FORCES**


15 Henry Alfred Kissinger is an American politician, diplomat, and geopolitical consultant who served as United States Secretary of State and National Security Advisor under the presidential administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.


Contemporary anthropologists of militarism have pointed to the post-9/11 expansion of the U.S. security state, in "a climate of uncertainty". Joseph Masco describes the U.S. military's attempt to "secure life from the species to the population to the individual to the microbe." In this logic of encompassment, the U.S. military has increasingly weaponized new technologies for understanding motivations and patterns of adversaries—in this instance, other human beings. The wartime intermediaries described herein form part of what has been called the U.S. 'military's cultural turn', that is, the use of culture (in the form of immersive trainings, rubrics, and local advisors) in a strategic attempt to understand, and make legible a post–Cold War adversary imagined as increasingly unclear.

They are called "Weaponized culture." In his State of the Union address in January 2002, President George W. Bush named Iraq as one of three countries forming an 'axis of evil' that 'threaten the peace of the world' by 'seeking weapons of mass destruction' for itself or to 'provide . . . to terrorists,' linking Iraq to the possibility of further attacks like those experienced the previous September.

In delivering his State of the Union message on this day in 2002, President George W. Bush branded three countries — North Korea, Iran and Iraq — as rogue states that he said harboured, financed and aided terrorists.

---

21 A. Gass, pp. cit.
The U.S. led invasion of Iraq in February 2003, Colin Powell, the secretary of State, told the United Nations Security Council a month prior to: “We know that [dictator] Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction; he's determined to make more.”

The George W. Bush administration claimed that the US was locked in a global war; a war of ideology, in which its enemies are bound together by a common ideology and a common hatred of democracy.

The aim of America to occupy Iraq, as the researcher mentioned before, is to ensure a continued flow of oil from the Persian Gulf to all other countries, especially Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and United Arab Emirates as they are a good source of petrol for the U.S. "The 2003 American invasion of Iraq is a war crime under international law".

Fig: 3
Tony Blair’s speech address to the nation given Thursday 20 March 2003 retrieved from

Tony Blair said in his speech "On Tuesday night I gave the order for British forces to take part in military action in Iraq. “Tonight, British servicemen and women are engaged from air, land and sea. Their mission: to remove Saddam Hussein from power, and disarm Iraq of its WMDs. To legitimize war ,as the researcher mentioned above ,Bush had to claim that Saddam Hussein was determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction; he's determined to make more..."
Hussein was linked to al-Qaida and was actively developing WMDs that he might turn over to terrorists or use on their behalf, and hence that Iraq represented a close threat to the US.27

The Multi-National Force, that referred to Coalition forces '48 countries' led by the U.S occupied Iraq in March 2003 to 2010. Late U.S. Sen. Robert Byrd, then ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee, referred to the coalition by the acronym 'COW', expressing his concern that the U.S was being "milked" as a "cash cow". A Canadian Member of Parliament, Carolyn Parrish, referred to Canadian support for the U.S. national missile defense program as the "Coalition of the Idiots"28. There were worldwide protests against the Iraq war, including a rally of three million people in Rome, which the Guinness Book of Records listed as the largest ever anti-war rally, between 3 January and 12 April 2003, 36 million people across the globe took part in almost 3,000 protests against the Iraq war.29

The invasion, that lasted for about a month, caused tremendous damage to Iraq, as many website, policy reviews, peer reviewed journals data, and governmental reports proved. George W. Bush destroyed Iraq’s infrastructure, cultural heritage, and killed thousands of Iraqis. destroyed Iraq’s infrastructure, its institutions, its ruling party and its army. Then he destroyed its social fabric, and created Sunni and Shiite crisis. As a result, many skilled and educated individuals emigrated "Brain Drain" phenomenon, sectarian and ethnic violence throughout the Middle East with potentially draconian consequences.30

27 The report of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Joseph Cirincione, Jessica Mathews, and George Perkovich, WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications, Washington, DC, 2004) concluded that Iraqi WMD capabilities were not a threat since Iraq’s nuclear program had been suspended for many years and large-scale chemical weapons production capabilities were destroyed or dismantled. Moreover, there was no evidence of a cooperative relationship between Saddam’s government and al-Qaida. The Carnegie report concluded that the absence of any imminent nuclear or chemical threat was knowable before the war, that the CIA’s National Intelligence Estimates had been deliberately misrepresented by administration officials, and that none of Secretary of State Colin Powell’s claims at the UN stood up to verification. Weapons inspector Scott Ritter (International Herald Tribune, 6 February 2004, http://www.iht.com) observed that numerous experts and former Iraq weapons inspectors had discounted the threat before the war. Compelling evidence that the administration was deliberately misleading Americans about WMDs, Iraq, and al-Qaida can be found in the following: Col. Karen Kwiatkowski, ‘The New Pentagon Papers,’
29 C. Alex. “Anti-war protests do make a difference”, "Socialist Worker" March 19 2005
30 P., Roberts. op. cit.
This stage witnessed looting of Iraq’s museums, and National Library, with the destruction of much of Iraq’s cultural heritage. It was a historic crime for which the Bush administration was responsible.

U.S. forces invaded the country, and there was a booming American market in looted artifacts. Some of these items have been returned, but about 8,000 are still out there. Only counting the items that were stolen from the museum. In addition to, thousands of other artifacts were taken directly out of the ground at archeological sites.

The artefact was seized in New York in 2008, and returned to Iraq in 2015. London, and New York were a large centre for the antiquities at that time. This chance gave the cities many galleries and auction houses. Investigations connected to the museum, as Archeology

32 Ibidem
33 Ibidem
Magazine reported in 2013. What’s more, as the Chicago Tribune reported in 2015, “American military members, contractors, and others caught with culturally significant artifacts they brought home from the war there largely aren’t prosecuted.” It’s not known how many Americans brought home artifacts as souvenirs or war trophies, but one expert suggested to the Tribune that the known cases—a defense contractor who brought back gold-plated items from Saddam’s palaces; a U.S. employee who shipped home an Iraq government seal; a Marine who bought eight ancient looted stone seals off the street—are just “the tiniest tip of the iceberg.”

In an article just published in the Armed Forces Journal, Lt. Col. Paul Yingling, one of the commanders of the 3rd Armored Cavalry Regiment in Iraq, condemns American generals as "mild-mannered team players" who "are not worthy of their soldiers" and who "underestimated the strength of the enemy, overestimated the capabilities of Iraq’s government and security forces and failed to provide Congress with an accurate assessment of security conditions in Iraq."  

Fig: 6
Soldiers near a replica of the Ishtar Gate in September 2003 (Thomas Coex / AFP / Getty)

---

34 There are direct commercial reasons for the Bush administration to permit the plundering of Iraq’s cultural treasures. According to a report April 6 in the Sunday Herald, a Scottish newspaper, among those who met with the Pentagon before the onset of the war were representatives of the American Council for Cultural Policy (ACCP), a lobbying group for wealthy collectors and art dealers that has sought to relax Iraq’s strict ban on the export of cultural artifacts. (P., Martin The sacking of Iraq’s museums: US wages war against culture and history. “World Socialist Web Site”. April 16 April 2003 https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2003/04/muse-a16.htm)

35 P. Roberts, op. cit.
36 S. Sigal, op. cit.
ISIS – AMERICA, AND THE BLOODY PERIOD

In this section the researcher will reveal the horrible Iraqi period during the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) savage attack on Iraq. ISIS has deliberately planned to divide Islam and make sectarian violence. The attack on the Al Askari shrine in Samarra on February 22, 2006 escalated of the conflict and it was a first spark to open civil war between the Shia and the Sunni in Iraq. There were bombing, holy shrines attacks, kidnappings, tortures, street fighting between the Sunnis and the Shias, and hundreds people die every day. Plenty has been said about Donald Trump calling President Barack Obama the "founder of ISIS." However, (ISIS) is a creation of the United States and its Persian Gulf allies, namely Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and recently added to the list, Kuwait. The Daily Beast in an article titled, “America’s Allies Are Funding ISIS,” states:

The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), now threatening Baghdad, was funded for years by wealthy donors in Kuwait, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, three U.S. allies that have dual agendas in the war on terror.

---

37 S. Sigal, op. cit.
40 Ibidem
the CIA gave birth to Osama Bin Laden and breastfed his organization during the 1980’s. Robin Cook, the former British Foreign Secretary told the House of Commons that Al Qaeda was unquestionably a product of western intelligence agencies. Mr. Cook explained that Al Qaeda, which literally means an abbreviation of “the database” in Arabic, was originally the computer database of the thousands of Islamist extremists, who were trained by the CIA and funded by the Saudis, in order to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan. The U.S. State Department either funds or aggressively targets that terrorist group. Even as American foreign policy makers claim to oppose Muslim extremism, they knowingly foment it as a weapon of foreign policy.41

Fig: 8.
An Isis militant sets about destroying an ancient Assyrian frieze in Nimrud in 2015 42

ISIS has destroyed the artistic and religious heritage of Iraq, all churches , monasteries, Mosques and shrines , (both Sunni and Shia)43, destroying many libraries, they burned or stolen collections of books and papers from various locations, including the Central Library of Mosul (which they rigged with explosives and burned down)44

The Guardian reported that ISIS “was also known to have reaped windfalls from smuggling all manner of raw materials pillaged from the crumbling state, as well as priceless antiquities

43 Shia Islam or Shi’ism is one of the two main branches of Islam.
from archaeological digs\textsuperscript{45}. The European Union observers reported that many churches were torched by ISIS in the Iraqi city of Mosul, while the civilians were also raped. Among the many architectural monuments destroyed included the grave of 12th–13th-century historiographer Abu al-Hassan al-Jazari, known as ibn al-Athir, and several churches that had been “burnt to the ground.”\textsuperscript{46}

\textbf{Fig: 9}

An image posted on social media by ISIS showing what appears to be a Sufi shrine being bulldozed. (Al-Arabiya News/Twitter) \textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{Fig: 10}

Photos showing what appears to be ISIS militants destroying ancient Assyrian statues. (via apsa2011.com) \textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{47} H. Vartanian, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibidem.
The Story Never End

Sunday morning on CBS News, in an interview broadcast ‘Face the Nation,’ President Donald Trump said "America needs to keep troops at their posts in the “unbelievable and expensive military base built in Iraq” in order to “watch Iran”.

Trump made this comment after interviewer Margaret Brennan questioned him at great length about his plans to withdraw troops from Syria and Afghanistan. Brennan highlighted Trump’s public disagreement with members of the intelligence community about the need to keep U.S. forces in Syria to fight the remnants of the Islamic State. In his interview Trump stressed his will that he will never leave Iraq.

"We’ll come back if we have to. We have very fast airplanes, we have very good cargo planes. We can come back very quickly, and" I’m not leaving. We have a base in Iraq and the base is a fantastic edifice. I mean I was there recently, and I couldn’t believe the money that was spent on these massive runways,” he said.


During his electoral campaign, the American president Trump said in a TV interview on CNN in 2015:

"There is no Iraq," Trump responded. "Their leaders are corrupt."

Cooper said Iraqis might disagree with him, but Trump pressed on.

"Excuse me, there are no Iraqis. They're broken up into so many different factions," he said.

There is no Iraq

Trump: I would take away their wealth, I would take away the oil.\(^{52}\)

**CONCLUSION**

The study has come up with the following points.

America, as a super state in the world and after the Soviet Union collapse, it planned to maintain its interest in the Middle East in general, and in Iraq in particular, a lot of certified papers, news articles, websites, the researcher experience proved the hostile position of US to Iraq, since many years ago, due to many political-economic, and geo motivations that led US to commit chain of criminal events in Iraq to maintain its interest and keep oil flowing to their markets.

**TERMINOLOGY USED TO DESCRIBE AMERICAN IRAQ WAR:**

"swimming of oil", Michael Klare, a prominent analyst of oil politics to describe Iraqi oil field

\(^{52}\) Ibidem.
"dual containment ", The Clinton administration was called this , when the US government tried to destroy the two countries during the Iraq-Iran war of 1980-88.

"secure life from the species to the population to the individual to the microbe.” This term is used by (Lutz 2001; MacLeish 2015), Joseph Masco (2014, 19) to describe the U.S. military’s attempt to invade Iraq.

"Axis of evil", originally used by Bush during a State of the Union address on 29 January 2002 to refer to the countries of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea.[319]

"Weaponized culture ", when America trained people from different countries to form collision army to invade Iraq 2003

"Coalition of the willing", a term that originated in the Clinton era (e.g., interview, Clinton, ABC, 8 June 1994), and used by the Bush Administration for the countries contributing troops in the invasion, of which the U.S. and UK were the primary members.

"Decapitating the regime", a euphemism for killing Saddam Hussein.

"Embedding", United States practice of assigning civilian journalists to U.S. military units.

"Freedom fries", a euphemism for French fries invented to protest the non-participation of France.

"Mother of all bombs", a bomb developed and produced to support Operation Iraqi Freedom. Its name echoed Saddam’s phrase "Mother of all battles" to describe the first Gulf War

"Old Europe", Rumsfeld’s term for European governments not supporting the war: "You’re thinking of Europe as Germany and France. I don’t. I think that’s old Europe".

"Regime change", a euphemism for overthrowing a government.

"Shock and Awe", the strategy of reducing an enemy’s will to fight through displays of overwhelming force.

REFERENCES LIST

LITERATURE


https://watson.brown.edu/costofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2013/Terrorism%20after%20the%202003%20Iraq%20war%20invasion%20of%20Iraq.pdf


https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/03/isis-war-archeology-invasion/555200/

https://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2014/mar/20/iraq-war-oil-resources-energy-peak-scarcity-economy


Spooner B., Ethnography as theory. University of Pennsylvania, Scholarly Commons-7(1998 . (10 PDF)


Tony address http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/2870581.stm retrieved from BBC news 12-12-2020

Vartan H., " ISIS Destroys Historic Sites in Iraq and Syria”. July 9, 2014


War in Iraq: Why are anthropologists so silent?


Copyright © 2021 Sawsan Abdul- Munem Qasim.

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.