Key Terms in US Foreign Policy

Isolationism

Foreign policy followed by a nation that believes it should hold itself separate from other nations. Strict isolationists believe it is a mistake for their countries to become involved in international trade agreements or mutual-assistance treaties. Less extreme isolationists argue that nations should limit international involvement so as not to draw themselves into undesirable and dangerous conflicts.

Preemption

A policy of launching a preemptive attack in order to prevent a suspected imminent attack.

Unilateralism

A policy of taking unilateral action regardless of outside support or reciprocity

Multilateralism

In international relations, multilateralism is multiple countries working in concert on a given issue.

Hegemony

Influence or control over another country, a group of people. Political domination, especially the leadership or domination of one state over others in a group.

Doctrine

A foreign policy doctrine is a general statement of foreign policy and belief system through a doctrine. In some cases, the statement is made by a political leader, typically a nation's chief executive or chief diplomat, and comes to be named after that leader.

Key Actors in US Foreign Policy

The Department of State

This is the executive department of the United States government that plans and manages U.S. relations with other governments. It coordinates the actions of other executive departments that affect foreign policy. The department is headed by the secretary of state, a member of the president's Cabinet.

The State Department negotiates treaties and agreements with other governments; handles official business with foreign embassies in Washington, D.C.; speaks for the United States in the United Nations and other international organizations; and arranges for United States participation in international conferences.

Members of the Department of State represent the United States in other countries throughout the world. They deal with officials of other governments and report on developments that affect the United States. Their reports provide information on the politics, economics, and social conditions of the other countries. The information is useful to many of the U.S. federal agencies that deal with national security, *intelligence* (confidential information), economic and commercial matters, agriculture, science, and technology. The reports provide a basis for U.S. foreign policy.

Department members also issue passports; grant visas to immigrants or visitors to the United States; help protect and resettle refugees; support human rights worldwide; protect U.S. citizens and their property in other countries; and help businesses promote U.S. trade and investment. The department deals internationally with such matters as aviation, energy, environmental regulations, finance, food and other resources, shipping, tariffs, telecommunications, and trade.

The State Department also develops United States policy on disarmament and the control of military weapons. In addition, it conducts educational and cultural exchanges with other countries and directs information programs to explain U.S. international policy and ways of life. The Department of State also provides guidance to an independent government agency called the Agency for International Development. This agency manages United States economic and humanitarian aid programs in less developed countries. The Agency for International Development also supports programs in democracy, economic growth, the environment, and population planning and health.

The headquarters of the Department of State are in Washington, D.C., on land reclaimed from a swamp near the Potomac River. The area, which was frequently blanketed by fog, became known as *Foggy Bottom*. Today, the name Foggy Bottom is sometimes used to refer to the Department of State. The department has other offices throughout the United States and many overseas posts. The department's website at http://www.state.gov presents information on its activities.

The National Security Council

National Security Council (NSC) is a part of the Executive Office of the President of the United States. The council serves as an interdepartmental cabinet on defense, foreign policy, and intelligence matters. Members include the President, the Vice President, and the secretaries of state and defense.

The NSC advises the President on a broad range of security problems. It brings together the departments and agencies most concerned with foreign policy and military matters. The council supervises the Central Intelligence

Agency (see Central Intelligence Agency). The President calls meetings of the NSC. If a serious world crisis develops, the President may summon the group into immediate session.

The NSC is assisted by a staff headed by the assistant to the President for national security affairs. The staff works with the member departments and agencies to prepare studies and policy papers for the council's action. Congress created the council in 1947.

In 1986, the NSC came under heavy criticism for exceeding its authority as an advisory agency. This criticism arose when it was revealed that the NSC staff carried out secret arms sales to Iran and provided the profits to U.S.-supported rebels in Nicaragua. Some legal experts argued that both activities violated federal government policies at the time. In 1987, President Ronald Reagan responded to the criticism by adding a special legal adviser to the staff of the NSC.

The Department of Defense

Defense, Department of, is an executive department of the United States government. The Department of Defense directs the operations of the nation's armed forces, including the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

The department's leaders also advise the president on military matters. The department headquarters are in the Pentagon Building, which is in Arlington, Virginia, near Washington, D.C. The department's website at http://www.defense.gov/ presents information on its activities.

Organization

The Department of Defense is headed by the secretary of defense. The department also includes (1) the Joint Chiefs of Staff, (2) the military departments, and (3) the unified combatant commands.

The secretary of defense is a member of the president's Cabinet. The secretary is a civilian and is appointed by the president with approval of the United States Senate. The secretary's assistants deal with such matters as acquiring and building weapons, developing and protecting military communications systems, gathering intelligence, planning strategy, and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The secretary of defense and the assistants of the secretary are supported in their work by a number of agencies of the Department of Defense.

The secretary is a member of the National Security Council and the North Atlantic Council. The National Security Council, part of the Executive Office of the President of the United States, advises the president on a wide range of security issues. The North Atlantic Council directs the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a defense alliance to which the United States belongs. The secretary of defense maintains close contact with top officials in other parts of the U.S. government, especially the Department of State.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) consists of a chairman, a vice chairman, the chiefs of staff of the Army and Air Force, the Navy's chief of naval operations, and the commandant of the Marine Corps. The JCS is the top military staff of the secretary of defense. Members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff serve as military advisers to the president, the National Security Council, and the secretary of defense.

The military departments are the departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The Marine Corps is included in the Department of the Navy. Each military department is headed by a civilian secretary who administers the

department under the authority, direction, and control of the secretary of defense. The military departments organize, train, equip, and maintain the readiness of their forces.

The *unified combatant commands* carry out military missions. They consist of large forces from more than one branch of the U.S. military.

History

In 1789, Congress established the Department of War to administer and conduct military affairs. In 1798, Congress separated the naval forces from the land forces, creating the Department of the Navy. The secretaries of both the Department of War and the Department of the Navy were Cabinet members who reported directly to the president.

During World War II (1939-1945), President Franklin D. Roosevelt directed United States combat forces through a Joint Chiefs of Staff, which functioned without a formal charter. The United States armed services cooperated with one another through unified commands that operated overseas. At home, however, the Army and Navy competed for scarce personnel and materials. The Army Air Forces also pressed for equal status with the Army and Navy.

The National Security Act of 1947 created the National Military Establishment. It was headed by a secretary of defense and had three military departments. The Department of War became the Department of the Army. The Army Air Forces became a separate service under a new Department of the Air Force. The Navy and Marine Corps continued under the Department of the Navy.

The secretary of defense became a member of the Cabinet and formulated general policies and programs for the National Military Establishment. The heads of the military departments also served on the Cabinet. In 1947, Congress formally chartered the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In 1949, Congress set up the Department of Defense to replace the National Military Establishment. Congress removed the heads of the military departments from the Cabinet and provided that the military departments be administered separately under the direction of the secretary of defense.

The National Security Advisor

The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, commonly referred to as the National Security Advisor, is a senior aide in the Executive Office of the President, based at the West Wing of the White House. This individual serves as the chief in-house advisor to the President of the United States on national security issues. The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (APNSA) is appointed by the President without confirmation by the Senate

The APNSA also participates in the meetings of the National Security Council and usually chairs the Principal Committee meetings with the Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense (i.e. the meetings not attended by the President). The APNSA is supported by the National Security Council staff that produces research and briefings for the APNSA to review and present, either to the National Security Council or directly to the President.

The influence and role of the National Security Advisor varies from administration to administration; and depends, not only on the qualities of the person appointed to the position, but also on the style and management

philosophy of the incumbent President. Ideally, the APNSA serves as an honest broker of policy options for the President in the field of national security, rather than as an advocate for his or her own policy agenda.

However, the APNSA is a staff position in the Executive Office of the President and does not have line or budget authority over either the Department of State nor the Department of Defense, unlike the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense, who are Senate-confirmed officials with statutory authority over their departments; but the APNSA is able to offer daily advice (due to the proximity) to the President independently of the vested interests of the large bureaucracies and clientele of those departments.

In times of crisis, the National Security Advisor is likely to operate from the White House Situation Room, or the Presidential Emergency Operations Center (as on September 11, 2001), updating the President on the latest events in a crisis situation.

The current Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs is Susan Rice, who assumed the role on July 1, 2013.

The Intelligence Community

The U.S. Intelligence Community is a coalition of 17 agencies and organizations, including the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI), within the Executive Branch that work both independently and collaboratively to gather and analyze the intelligence necessary to conduct foreign relations and national security activities.

Members of the IC: Air Force Intelligence

Department of the Treasury	National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency

Army Intelligence Department of Energy

Drug Enforcement Administration National Reconnaissance Office

Central Intelligence Agency Department of Homeland Security

Federal Bureau of Investigation National Security Agency

Coast Guard Intelligence Department of State

Marine Corps Intelligence Navy Intelligence

Defense Intelligence Agency

The Director of National Intelligence

The idea of a Director of National Intelligence (DNI) dates to 1955 when a blue-ribbon study commissioned by Congress recommended that the Director of Central Intelligence employ a deputy to run the CIA so that the director could focus on coordinating the overall intelligence effort. This notion emerged as a consistent theme in many subsequent studies of the Intelligence Community commissioned by both the legislative and executive branches over the next five decades. It was the attacks of September 11, however, that finally moved forward the longstanding call for major intelligence reform and the creation of a Director of National Intelligence.

Post-9/11 investigations included a joint Congressional inquiry and the independent National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (better known as the 9/11 Commission). The report of the 9/11 Commission in July 2004 proposed sweeping change in the Intelligence Community including the creation of a National Intelligence Director.

Very soon after the best-selling report was released, the federal government moved forward to undertake reform. President Bush signed four Executive Orders in August 2004, which strengthened and reformed the Intelligence Community as much as possible without legislation. In Congress, both the House and Senate passed bills with major amendments to the National Security Act of 1947. Intense negotiations to reconcile the two bills ultimately led to the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (IRTPA), which President Bush signed into law on December 17.

In February 2005, the President announced that John D. Negroponte, ambassador to Iraq, was his nominee to be the first director of national intelligence. James R. Clapper (Lt. Gen., USAF Ret.) is the current director of national intelligence.

The Central Intelligence Agency

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is a major United States government agency that gathers information about foreign governments and certain nongovernmental groups, including those that engage in terrorism or organized crime. The information collected by the CIA is political, economic, and military in nature. The CIA analyzes the information, which is called intelligence, for the president, Congress, and other federal agencies. The CIA also engages in counterintelligence, which consists of attempts to identify, neutralize, and manipulate the intelligence activities of other countries. Another important CIA function is covert action—that is, secret efforts to influence events abroad.

Functions

The CIA collects intelligence about the intentions and capabilities of countries that threaten the security of the United States or its citizens. Much of the information is classified (secret). Sources include reports from spies or documents obtained illegally. Intelligence may also come from recordings from secret listening devices and pictures taken from spy satellites in space. News organizations may report what foreign officials say at press conferences, but the CIA also tries to determine what the officials say in private meetings.

CIA analysts try to make world events understandable for U.S. leaders. They analyze information gathered by the CIA and other U.S. government agencies—including the Departments of Defense, State, and the Treasury—to tell policymakers who is doing what, when they are doing it, and why. Analysts also identify opportunities for the United States to influence world events.

Counterintelligence protects U.S. secrets from foreign spies. Such secrets include information about U.S. armed forces and military plans. CIA counterintelligence units also try to learn whether a foreign government is giving American spies disinformation (false information) intended to deceive the U.S. government.

The CIA's covert actions include propaganda, unofficial military operations, and secret aid to foreign political and military groups that support U.S. interests. During the Cold War, the CIA used propaganda and secret transfers of money and information to limit the Soviet Union's own covert actions in Western Europe. The Cold War was a

period of intense U.S.-Soviet rivalry that began after World War II (1939-1945). It lasted until the early 1990's. The U.S. government does not publicly acknowledge its role in covert actions.

The CIA's headquarters are in the Langley neighborhood of McLean, Virginia. Many CIA officers and agents are stationed in other countries. Sometimes, CIA employees claim to work for other parts of the U.S. government. Some operate under nonofficial cover, meaning they pose as private citizens of the United States or of a foreign country.

The CIA is an executive branch agency responsible to the president. The National Security Council, whose members include the president, the vice president, and the secretaries of state and defense, oversees the CIA. The director of the CIA also works with other U.S. foreign intelligence agencies. They include the Defense Intelligence Agency, which gives intelligence to the armed forces, and the National Security Agency/Central Security Service, which specializes in communication and cryptography (using and deciphering secret communication). The CIA's website at https://www.cia.gov presents information about the CIA.

History

Congress and President Harry S. Truman created the CIA early in the Cold War by approving the National Security Act of 1947. After the Cold War, the CIA's focus shifted toward such problems as terrorism, organized crime, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

CIA operations have sometimes created controversy. In the mid-1970's, the CIA was the focus of Congressional and other federal investigations of charges that it had abused its powers. The investigators concluded that some of the charges were false, but found others to be true. For example, a commission headed by Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller reported that the CIA had spied on some Americans who opposed U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. To guard against future abuses, a number of reforms were adopted to make the CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies more accountable to Congress. Today, the CIA must report major activities to two congressional committees that specialize in intelligence matters.

Some critics question whether a democratic government, such as that of the United States, should even have a secret agency. However, most elected leaders around the world believe intelligence agencies are essential to the security of their nations. In addition, many scholars believe the United States has benefited from having such agencies.

Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the CIA and other government agencies received criticism for failing to detect the terrorists' activity before the attacks. The CIA also received criticism for apparent intelligence failures leading up to the Iraq War (2003-2011). The agency's estimates of Iraq's weapons programs are widely believed to have been inaccurate.

In 2004, Congress passed the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act. The law included numerous antiterrorism measures that affected the CIA. The act established the Office of the Director of National Intelligence to oversee the intelligence-gathering operations of the CIA and other agencies. The act also set guidelines for improved cooperation between the CIA and other intelligence services.

In the years following the September 11 terrorist attacks, CIA agents working overseas seized terror suspects and flew them to secret CIA-run prisons around the world. Suspects were also transferred to the custody of foreign governments. The practice of sending terror suspects to foreign or secret prisons to be interrogated became known as "extraordinary rendition."

The National Security Agency

The National Security Agency/Central Security Service is a high-technology agency within the United States Department of Defense. The agency, sometimes called the NSA/CSS, has two primary missions: (1) information assurance and (2) signals intelligence. Information assurance seeks to ensure the security of classified and sensitive information and systems within the U.S. government. Signals intelligence involves the gathering, analysis, and handling of secret information transmitted by foreign countries. The responsibilities of the NSA/CSS include both military and nonmilitary matters.

The NSA/CSS coordinates the work of analysts, computer experts, engineers, linguists, mathematicians, physicists, and other specialists. It is a cryptologic organization—that is, it is responsible for the research, analysis, and use of secret communication systems, such as codes and ciphers. The NSA/CSS is also an important center for foreign language analysis and research.

The National Security Agency was established in 1952. It became the National Security Agency/Central Security Service in 1972. The organization is based mainly in Fort Meade, Maryland.

Many observers have pointed to potential conflicts between the agency's counterterrorism programs and individuals' privacy rights. In the early 2000's, reports revealed that the agency had been secretly authorized to monitor telephone and electronic communications between the United States and overseas without a warrant. Subsequent measures were implemented to ensure that government applications for wiretaps would be reviewed by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court. In 2013, former NSA/CSS contractor Edward Snowden revealed documents showing that the agency had secretly monitored the telephone calls and Internet usage of millions of U.S. citizens. The documents also revealed that the agency had spied on both allied and enemy countries around the world. In late 2015, the NSA ended its massive, secret surveillance program targeting Americans' telephone calls. Congress formally banned the practice earlier in the year.

The Defense Intelligence Agency

Defense Intelligence Agency is a United States government agency that collects intelligence (information) for military operations and related efforts. The agency, often called DIA, provides information to U.S. leaders, policymakers, and military personnel. It is part of the U.S. Department of Defense.

The Defense Intelligence Agency gathers information about armies, weapons systems, foreign leaders, and potential threats to U.S. security. It also deals with specialized information in a variety of other fields. The agency employs experts in military history, political science, chemistry, physics, computer science, economics, and numerous other areas. A military official serves as the director of the agency. The director oversees the Military Intelligence Board, which coordinates military-related intelligence efforts of various organizations.

The Defense Intelligence Agency began operations in 1961. Its headquarters are in the Pentagon Building outside Washington, D.C.

Major Events in US Foreign Policy History

Washington's Farewell Address

In his last year in the White House, Washington believed the office of president should be above political attack. He had become tired of public office. The new House of Representatives had a large Democratic-Republican majority and was unfriendly to Washington. He also felt himself growing old.

In May 1796, Washington dusted off the draft of his *Farewell Address* that he and James Madison had worked on four years earlier. He sent it to Jay and to Hamilton for their suggestions. Finally, in September, the much-edited address, all in Washington's handwriting, was ready. He gave it to the editor of the *American Daily Advertiser*, a Philadelphia newspaper. The paper published it on September 19. While the address touched on several topics the most significant was the issue of American foreign relations. The ideas espoused in the address had a long lasting influence on the direction of US foreign policy.

Washington argued that the foreign policy of the new nation required both principles and prudence, given its circumstances. He wanted the United States to provide an example to the rest of the world. The United States should "observe good faith and justice towards all Nations." In the future, he asked Americans to keep in mind that "it will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence." America's place in the world would elevate and distinguish its national character.

Washington recommended as the great rule of conduct that the United States primarily pursue commercial relations with other nations and have with them "as little political connection as possible," consistent with its treaty obligations. Washington did not call for America to withdraw from the world: he warned of political connections and permanent alliances. In a world convulsed by the French Revolution, he advised that the young republic "steer clear of permanent Alliances with any portion of the foreign world." America should be clear-headed about its own capacities under changing circumstances while keeping itself in mind as an example to the world. Washington recommended that the nation pursue a long-term course of placing itself in a position to defy external threats, defend its own neutrality, and, eventually, choose peace or war as its own "interest, guided by justice, shall Counsel."

War of 1812 (1812-1815)

This was a conflict between the United States and the Great Britain. The war stemmed largely from complaints that the British had been interfering with American shipping. The fighting began with an American invasion of British colonies in what is now Canada. In August 1814, the British invaded Washington, D.C., and burned the U.S. Capitol and the White House.

The War of 1812 was in many ways the strangest war in the history of the two countries. It could well be named the "War of Faulty Communication." Two days before war was declared, the British government stated that it would repeal the laws that were the chief reason for fighting. If there had been high-speed communication

with Europe, the war might well have been avoided. Speedy communication could also have prevented the greatest battle of the war, which was fought at New Orleans fifteen days after a peace treaty had been signed.

The war was peculiar in other ways as well. Even though the dispute centered on the maritime trade, the great shipping section of the United States, New England, strongly opposed going to war. The American demand for war came chiefly from the Western and Southern states. In addition, the treaty that ended the war settled none of the issues over which the war had supposedly been fought and effectively agreed to returning both nations to their pre-war status.

The War of 1812 was not an all-out struggle on either side. The United States, a young nation at that point, was ill-prepared for war. Great Britain, meanwhile, was engaged in a larger struggle with France and could devote only some of its resources to fighting in North America. When the War of 1812 ended, both the United States and Great Britain claimed victory. However, neither side had won decisively.

The Monroe Doctrine

Monroe Doctrine was set forth by President James Monroe in a message he delivered to Congress on December 2, 1823. It supported the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere against European interference "for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny." The doctrine said also that the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." This statement meant that the United States would not allow new colonies to be created in the Americas, nor would it permit existing colonies to extend their boundaries. Furthermore, Monroe made it clear that in the future the United States would not interfere in the intrigues of European relations, but reserved the right as a commercial nation to trade with whomever it chose.

Origins

The Monroe Doctrine grew out of conditions in Europe as well as in America. The three leading <u>absolute</u> <u>monarchies</u> of Europe were **Russia**, **Austria**, **and Prussia**. They had pledged themselves to "put an end to the system of representative government, in whatever country it may exist in Europe." The United States feared that these three powers (sometimes called the *Holy Alliance*) might also try to suppress representative government in the Americas.

During and after the Napoleonic Wars, in which an alliance of European powers had fought against the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte's efforts to dominate the European continent, most of the Spanish colonies in America had taken advantage of unsettled conditions in Europe to break away from the mother country. As they won independence, these colonies formed themselves into republics with constitutions much like that of the United States. Only Brazil chose to keep its monarchy when it declared its independence from Portugal.

After Napoleon's downfall in 1815, the monarchy was restored in Spain, and it seemed possible that the Holy Alliance might try to restore Spain's colonies as well. The new French monarchy was also suspected of intending to help Spain regain its former American possessions. During 1823, a rumor spread over Europe that France was on the verge of committing to re-engaging in the Americas.

This threat disturbed not only the United States, but Great Britain as well. As free republics, the Spanish-American nations traded with Great Britain. If they became colonies again, whether of Spain or of France, their trade with Great Britain would certainly be cut down. Great Britain had steadily opposed the doctrine of the Holy Alliance but

had few allies in Europe. George Canning, the British foreign minister, proposed to Richard Rush, the American minister in London, that Great Britain and the United States issue a joint warning against aggression by European countries in the Americas.

President James Monroe was at first inclined to accept the British offer. Former Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison also strongly favored the idea. With Great Britain "on our side," Jefferson argued, "we need not fear the whole world." But Monroe's secretary of state, **John Quincy Adams**, said that the United States should not "come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." He urged that the United States alone issue the warning. He said that the British would use their sea power to prevent European intervention in America whether they had an agreement with the United States or not. Thus the United States would have all the advantages of joint action without entering into what amounted to an alliance with Great Britain. Moreover, a strictly American declaration would clearly apply to Great Britain as well as to other European countries.

Monroe finally decided to follow Adams's advice and proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine. He used practically the same words in the doctrine that Adams had used when he first proposed it to him.

Results

Until the late 1800s, Europe's respect for the rights of the smaller American nations rested less upon the Monroe Doctrine than upon fear of the British Navy. A possible exception to this rule occurred in the 1860s, shortly after the American Civil War, while the wartime Army and Navy of the United States were still strong. During those years, the attitude of the American government encouraged Emperor Napoleon III of France to give up an attempt to set up a European kingdom in Mexico. It was not until the 1880s, when the United States began to enlarge its new navy of modern steel ships, that the United States again had enough power to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. Great Britain and other countries generally ignored the doctrine until the 1890's.

The Monroe Doctrine also served to express U.S. interest in increasing its trade with the other countries of the Western Hemisphere. However, Europe continued to get the larger share of Latin American trade, most of which went to Great Britain.

In some ways, the Monroe Doctrine strained relations between the United States and the Latin American countries. The nations that the doctrine supposedly protected resented the way the United States assumed superiority over them. They also feared "The Colossus of the North" more than they feared any European nation.

The Monroe Doctrine in Action

In the 1800s, the doctrine was seldom invoked. President James Polk referred to it in 1845 during a dispute with Great Britain over Oregon. Secretary of State William Seward acted partly on the basis of the doctrine when he denounced French intervention in Mexico in the 1860's. President Grover Cleveland used it when he threatened to take strong action against Great Britain in 1895 if the British would not arbitrate their dispute with Venezuela.

The Roosevelt Corollary

In the early 1900's, President Theodore Roosevelt gave new meaning to the Monroe Doctrine. He claimed that wrongdoing on the part of the smaller American nations might tempt European countries to intervene in those nations, either to collect debts or to defend the lives and property of Europeans. According to Roosevelt, the Monroe Doctrine required the United States to prevent European intervention by intervening itself. Under this "big

stick" policy, the United States sent troops into the Dominican Republic in 1905, into Nicaragua in 1912, and into Haiti in 1915.

In general, President Woodrow Wilson continued Roosevelt's policy. Wilson promised that the United States would "never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." But as president, he interfered repeatedly in a revolution in Mexico and tried unsuccessfully to obtain support for intervention from other Latin American countries.

The Good Neighbor Policy

After World War I ended in 1918, the United States worked to improve relations with Latin America. Herbert Hoover made a good-will tour of South America before he became U.S. president in 1929. During his administration, he moved away from the policy of intervention in Latin America.

Hoover's successor as president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, introduced a new policy toward the Latin American countries that became known as the Good Neighbor Policy. Under it, Roosevelt abandoned the practice of intervention and tried to expand trade with Latin America. He also sought Latin American cooperation in defending North and South America from countries located outside the Western Hemisphere.

During the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations, the United States gradually withdrew its forces from the smaller American countries it had occupied and gave up the special privileges it had claimed. By a series of trade agreements, it cut down high tariff barriers that had done much to keep the Americas apart. Conferences on inter-American affairs were held at Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1933; at Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1936; at Lima, Peru, in 1938; and at Havana, Cuba, in 1940.

During World War II, fear of Nazi aggression brought the American republics somewhat closer. The republics met at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1942; at Mexico City, Mexico, in 1945; and at Petropolis, Brazil, near Rio de Janeiro, in 1947. They set up the Organization of American States at a meeting in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1948.

The Monroe Doctrine and isolationism

Some people have confused the Monroe Doctrine with the policy of *isolationism*, or staying out of international political and economic affairs. The original statement of the Monroe Doctrine did affirm an earlier U.S. policy of isolation from Europe. That policy had been set forth by President George Washington in his Farewell Address of 1796. However, the Monroe Doctrine did not express a U.S. policy of isolation from the rest of the Western Hemisphere. On the contrary, it implied that in that hemisphere the United States would play a more active role.

Manifest Destiny

This was a term used to describe the belief in the 1840s in the inevitable territorial expansion of the United States. People who believed in manifest destiny maintained that the United States should rule all North America because of U.S. economic and political superiority, because the U.S. population was growing rapidly, and because it was God's will that the United States should do so. The phrase was first used in 1845 by John L. O'Sullivan in an article on the annexation of Texas. The spirit of manifest destiny was revived at the end of the 1800s, during and after the Spanish-American War

The Mexican-American War (1846-1848)

This was a war fought between the United States and Mexico over disagreements that had been accumulating for two decades. The war is known as the U.S.-Mexican War or the Mexican-American War. In the course of the war, United States forces invaded Mexico and occupied the capital, Mexico City. By the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo**, the United States acquired from Mexico the regions of <u>California</u>, <u>Nevada</u>, and <u>Utah</u>, most of <u>Arizona and New Mexico</u>, and <u>parts of Colorado and Wyoming</u>. But many historians believe the war was an unnecessary attack on a weaker nation.

Background of the war

In 1835, Texas revolted against the Mexican government, which then controlled the region. Texans established the Republic of Texas in 1836, but Mexico refused to recognize Texas' independence. The Mexican government warned the United States that if Texas were admitted to the Union, Mexico would break off diplomatic relations with the United States. James K. Polk, elected president in 1844, favored the expansion of U.S. territory and supported the annexation of Texas. Eventually, Congress admitted Texas as a state in 1845, and as a threatened Mexico broke off relations with the United States. At this point, the dispute could have been settled by peaceful means. But the United States wanted additional Mexican territory, and other quarrels developed.

One of these disputes was the question of the boundary between Texas and Mexico. Texas claimed the Rio Grande as its southwestern border. Mexico said that Texas had never extended farther than the Nueces River. Also, the U.S. government claimed that Mexico owed U.S. citizens about \$3 million to make up for lives and property that had been lost in Mexico since Mexico's war for independence from Spain ended in 1821. By the 1840s, many Americans demanded that the United States collect these debts by force.

More important was a growing feeling in the United States that the country had a "manifest destiny" to expand westward into new lands (see Manifest destiny). The westward movement had brought Americans into Mexican territory, especially California. In fact, the Mexican government had encouraged this migration, but had never intended to cede control of the territory to independence movements or the United States. The reality was, however, that Mexico was too weak to control or populate its northern territories. Both American and Mexican inhabitants were discontented with Mexican rule. California seemed almost ready to follow the Texan example and declare itself independent.

In the fall of 1845, President Polk sent John Slidell to Mexico as American minister. Slidell was to offer Mexico \$25 million and cancel all claims for damages if Mexico would accept the Rio Grande boundary and sell New Mexico and California to the United States. If Mexico refused to sell the territories, Slidell was to offer to cancel the claims on condition that Mexico agreed to the Rio Grande boundary. While Slidell was in Mexico, a new Mexican president came to power. Both the old and new presidents were afraid their enemies would denounce them as cowards if they made concessions to the United States. They refused to see Slidell, who came home and told Polk that Mexico needed to be "chastised."

Meanwhile, Polk had ordered Major General Zachary Taylor, who was stationed with about 4,000 men on the Nueces River, to advance to the Rio Grande. Taylor reached the river in April 1846. On April 25, a party of Mexican soldiers surprised and defeated a small group of American cavalry just north of the Rio Grande.

Polk had wanted to ask Congress to declare war on Mexico. The news of the battle gave him the chance to say that Mexico had "invaded our territory and shed American blood on American soil." In reality, Mexico had as good a claim as the United States to the soil where the blood was shed. But on May 13, 1846, Congress declared war on Mexico.

The Americans had two aims. They wanted to add to the United States the territory that Mexico had been asked to sell. They also wished to invade Mexico to force the Mexicans to accept the loss of the territory.

Despite all the American victories, Mexico refused to negotiate a peace treaty. In April 1847, Polk had sent Nicholas P. Trist, Chief Clerk of the Department of State, to join Scott's army in Mexico and attempt to open diplomatic negotiations with Santa Anna. When the armistice of August failed, the president recalled Trist. But Santa Anna resigned shortly after Scott entered the Mexican capital. Mexico established a new government, and it feared that it might lose even more territory if it did not accept the American demands. At the request of the Mexican leaders and General Scott, Trist agreed to remain in Mexico against Polk's orders and negotiate a settlement.

A treaty was signed on Feb. 2, 1848, at the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo, near Mexico City. By this time, many people in the United States wanted to annex all Mexico. But the treaty required Mexico to give up only the territory Polk had originally asked for. The United States paid Mexico \$15 million for the land, which became known as the Mexican Cession. The United States also took responsibility for paying \$3 million in damage claims made by American citizens against Mexico. In 1853, the Gadsden Purchase gave an additional 29,640 square miles (76,767 square kilometers) to the United States

The United States gained more than 525,000 square miles (1,360,000 square kilometers) of territory as a result of the Mexican War. But the war also revived the quarrels over slavery. Here was new territory. Was it to be slave or free? The Compromise of 1850 made California a free state and established the principle of "popular sovereignty." That meant letting the people of a territory decide whether it would be slave or free. However, popular sovereignty later led to bitter disagreement and became one of the underlying causes of the American Civil War. See Compromise of 1850; Popular sovereignty.

The Mexican War gave training to many officers who later fought in the Civil War. Civil War officers who also fought in the Mexican War included Ulysses S. Grant, William T. Sherman, George B. McClellan, George Gordon Meade, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis.

The Spanish-American War 1898

This was a short war in 1898 that established the United States as a major world power. The conflict, between the United States and Spain, involved the issue of the liberation of Cuba. The war was fought during the spring and summer of 1898. When it ended, the United States gained colonies in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean. The war marked the end of the 400-year-old Spanish Empire in the Americas.

Despite its short length, the Spanish-American War was significant in a number of ways. The conflict and its aftermath established the uneasy relationship between the United States and Latin America that lasted throughout the 1900's and into the 2000's. In addition, the war marked the first time that U.S. troops from the North and South fought side-by-side after the American Civil War (1861-1865). African American and white troops fought together at times.

The Spanish-American War also established the press as a more powerful force in American politics. Newspapers urged the nation to war, and a reporting style that became known as *yellow journalism*—that is, sensational and sometimes inaccurate reporting—emerged. The war also introduced a popular new leader, Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt, to the American political scene.

Many scholars consider the name *Spanish-American War* misleading because it ignores the role of Cuba's independence movement. In Cuba and other parts of Latin America, the conflict is often called the "Spanish-Cuban-American War" or the "War of 1898."

Background to the war

During the 1890's, the United States became increasingly concerned over political unrest in Cuba. In 1895, the Cubans launched a new war for independence. In response, Spanish authorities adopted a policy called "reconcentration" and forced hundreds of thousands of rural Cubans into *squalid* (unclean) camps to prevent them from supporting Cuban rebels. Thousands died in the camps.

Concerns over Cuba took a dramatic turn on Feb. 15, 1898, when the U.S. battleship *Maine* exploded in the harbor at Havana, Cuba. More than 250 sailors died.

Many U.S. newspapers, specifically those owned by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, accused the Spanish government of sabotaging the vessel. The accusations sparked outrage from the American public. The cry "Remember the *Maine*" became a call for war with Spain. The Spanish, however, denied any involvement in the incident. In a 1976 book, several Navy technical experts concluded that the most likely cause of the explosion was that heat from an undetected fire in a coal bin exploded a nearby supply of ammunition.

The administration of U.S. President William McKinley argued that Spain should no longer determine Cuba's future. At first, McKinley tried to avoid war with Spain by quietly offering to purchase Cuba through diplomatic channels. When Spain rejected U.S. offers, McKinley moved toward war. The Congress of the United States approved a declaration of war against Spain on April 25, 1898. Following early combat in the Philippines, the chief battles of the Spanish-American War took place in the area around Santiago de Cuba. By early July, U.S. victories in land and sea battles had all but ended the war.

Results of the war

After the fighting ended, the United States demanded control over Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam (an island east of the Philippines), and the Philippines. The Treaty of Paris, signed by the United States and Spain on Dec. 10, 1898, officially ended the war. The United States also coerced the leaders of Cuba to accept a treaty that essentially gave the United States permission to interfere in Cuban affairs and provide land for a US naval base in Guantanamo Bay.

The Treaty of Paris

Under the treaty, Spain gave up its claim to Cuba and handed over Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States. The United States, in turn, paid Spain \$20 million for the Philippine Islands. The negotiations did not include representatives from Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico, or the Philippines.

Although the Philippines and Cuba had sought independence, the McKinley administration decided to retain control of both. Its reasons included a desire to expand U.S. power and to "uplift" and "civilize" other peoples.

Dollar diplomacy

This form of foreign policy that seeks to extend a nation's business interests in other countries through superior economic power instead of war. The term was first applied to United States policy in the Caribbean and other areas during President William Howard Taft's Administration. The period from 1909 to 1913 is generally considered the era of dollar diplomacy.

World War I (1914-1918)

This was a conflict that involved more countries and caused greater destruction than any other <u>war</u> up to its time. Following an assassination in Bosnia-Herzegovina, a system of military *alliances* (agreements) plunged the main <u>European</u> powers into a war that lasted four years. The war took the lives of about 9 million troops and more than 6 million civilians. World War I is sometimes called the Great War.

A number of developments contributed to the awful bloodshed of World War I. Military drafts raised larger armies than ever before. Industries equipped those armies with new and dangerous weapons. Barbed wire slowed the movement of troops across the battlefield, and machine guns fired hundreds of shots in less than a minute. Armies fought from vast systems of *trenches* (fortified ditches). Government *propaganda* (communication intended to shape people's beliefs) whipped up support by making enemy nations seem villainous.

The conditions that led to World War I took shape over several decades. The unification of <u>Germany</u> in 1871 had created a powerful and fast-growing new state in the heart of Europe. In the early 1900s, Germany's quest for power caused a series of crises. Armed forces expanded, and Europe's great powers formed alliances and prepared for war.

An assassination on June 28, 1914, sparked the outbreak of World War I. That day, a gunman shot down Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary. The shooting took place in Sarajevo, the capital of Austria-Hungary's province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Austria-Hungary and Serbia had long-running tensions, and Austria-Hungary believed Serbia's government was behind the assassination. Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia.

When the fighting began, each nation's allies became involved in the conflict. France, Russia, and Great Britain—collectively known as the Entente—backed Serbia. They opposed the Central Powers, made up of Austria-Hungary and Germany. Other countries later joined each alliance. The Entente and its allies came to be known as the Allies.

Germany won early victories on the main European battlefronts. On the Western Front, France and Great Britain halted the German advance in September 1914. The opposing armies then fought from trenches that stretched across Belgium and northeastern France. The Western Front hardly moved for the next 3 1 /2 years. On the Eastern Front, Russia battled Germany and Austria-Hungary. The fighting there seesawed back and forth until 1917. That year, revolution broke out in Russia, and a new Russian government asked for a truce.

The <u>United States</u> remained neutral at first. However, many Americans turned against the Central Powers after German submarines began sinking unarmed ships. In 1917, the United States joined the Allies. The support of the United States gave the Allies the resources and resolve they needed to win the war. In the fall of 1918, the Central Powers surrendered.

World War I had results that none of the warring nations had foreseen. The war helped topple monarchs in Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia. The peace treaties after the war carved new countries out of the defeated powers. Europe never regained the leading position in world affairs that it had before the war. The continent's weakened condition led to the rise of extreme political groups in some nations. Conditions in Europe at the end of the war set the stage for further devastation in World War II (1939-1945).

Washington Naval Conference

The Washington Conference was a meeting held in Washington, D.C., to discuss naval disarmament and certain problems involving east Asia. It took place from November 1921 to February 1922. Nations represented were Belgium, Britain, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the United States. It led to one of the few successful disarmament agreements in modern times.

Three major treaties resulted from the conference. The Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty, adopted by Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States, ended a growing build-up of major warships among these nations. It resulted in destruction of capital ships (battleships) and a 10-year prohibition on construction of more battleships. The Four-Power Treaty, signed by Britain, France, Japan, and the United States, recognized each nation's possession of certain islands in the Pacific Ocean. The Nine-Power Treaty was signed by all the countries at the conference. Its chief purpose was to guarantee the independence of China. The treaty was observed until 1931, when Japan invaded Manchuria, a region in northeastern China.

Kellogg Briand Pact

Kellogg-Briand Pact, also called the Pact of Paris, condemned the use of war to solve international problems and called for peaceful settlement of disputes. French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand originally proposed the pact in 1927 as a treaty between France and the United States. Frank B. Kellogg, the U.S. secretary of state, enlarged the plan in 1928 to include all nations. It was signed by 15 nations in Paris on Aug. 27, 1928. By 1934, 64 nations had signed. The signers included all the nations in the world at that time except Argentina, Bolivia, El Salvador, Uruguay, and the tiny countries of Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, and San Marino.

Many nations signed the pact with certain limitations. For example, most reserved the right to wage war in self-defense. Japan claimed this right in the 1930's when it fought China without formally declaring war. The pact provided no way to enforce its provisions and could not prevent attacks, such as the one Italy launched against Ethiopia in 1935. Although the pact has been violated on many occasions, it has never officially been canceled.

After World War II (1939-1945), the Allies used the pact against individuals, rather than against nations. The Kellogg-Briand Pact became part of the legal basis for the Nuremberg and Tokyo war crimes trials.

Dawes Plan

This was a program designed to help Germany pay its World War I reparations (payments for damages). In 1921, the Allies set Germany's debt at \$33 billion. Germany failed to make payments on time. In response, French and Belgian forces occupied Germany's Ruhr industrial region. In 1924, an international committee led by Charles G.

Dawes, a banker who later became vice president of the United States, attempted to resolve the crisis. The Dawes Plan relaxed Germany's payment schedule and called for U.S. loans to help Germany's economy. In 1929, the Young Plan replaced the Dawes Plan. But Germany stopped making payments during the Great Depression.

The Stimson Doctrine

This was a policy of the United States federal government, declared in a note of January 7, 1932, to Japan and China, of non-recognition of international territorial changes that were executed by force.

Named after Henry L. Stimson, United States Secretary of State in the Hoover Administration (1929–33), the policy followed Japan's unilateral seizure of Manchuria in northeastern China following action by Japanese soldiers at Mukden (now Shenyang), on September 18, 1931. The doctrine was also invoked by U.S. Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles in a declaration of July 23, 1940, that announced non-recognition of the Soviet annexation and incorporation of the three Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—and remained the official U.S. position until the Baltic states regained independence in 1991.

While not the first time that the U.S. had used non-recognition as a political tool or symbolic statement it was perhaps the most significant. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in late 1931 had placed Stimson in a difficult position. It was evident that appeals to the spirit of the Kellogg–Briand Pact had no impact on either the Chinese or the Japanese, and the secretary was further hampered by President Herbert Hoover's clear indication that he would not support economic sanctions as a means to bring peace in the Far East.

On January 7, 1932, Secretary Stimson sent identical notes to China and Japan that incorporated a diplomatic approach used by earlier secretaries facing crises in the Far East. Later referred to as the Stimson Doctrine, or sometimes the Hoover-Stimson Doctrine, the notes read in part as follows:

"...the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those that relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy..."

Stimson had stated that the United States would not recognize any changes made in China that would curtail American treaty rights in the area and that the "open door" must be maintained. The declaration had few material effects on the Western world, which was burdened by the Great Depression, and Japan went on to bomb Shanghai.

The doctrine was criticized on the grounds that it did no more than alienate the Japanese.

Pearl Harbor

This was the site of a surprise attack on the United States by Japanese military forces on Dec. 7, 1941. Japanese ships and airplanes attacked the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu in Hawaii. The attack caused heavy casualties and destroyed much of the American Pacific Fleet. The attack also brought the

United States into <u>World War II</u>. "Remember Pearl Harbor" became the rallying cry for the country. American participation was a main reason why the Allied nations, including Great Britain and Soviet Union, defeated the Axis nations, headed by Japan and Germany.

Background

Japan began a military expansion during the 1930's. It invaded China and much of Southeast Asia. Japan wanted to acquire the rich resources of Asia. The United States protested this aggression. It demanded that Japan stop its actions, but Japan ignored the demand. The United States then cut off exports to Japan. Japan had few natural resources, and it relied on exports of petroleum and other goods from the United States.

General Hideki Tojo became premier of Japan in October 1941. Tojo and other Japanese military leaders realized that only the United States Navy had the power to block Japan's expansion in Asia. They decided to try to cripple the U.S. Pacific Fleet at anchor in Pearl Harbor.

The Attack

On December 7, the U.S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, met with two Japanese diplomats in Washington. While they talked, the Japanese military had already launched the attack on the U.S. facilities at Pearl Harbor. In the United States, the attack became known as the "Pearl Harbor sneak attack." This had not been the Japanese government's intention. They had sent a message to their diplomats in Washington stating that all relations between the two countries had irretrievably broken down. Due to a communications error, however, the message was not received and decoded in time. The attack fleet, however, had left Japan several days before.

Following the long voyage from Japan, on December 7, Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo led a 33-ship Japanese striking force that steamed under the cover of darkness to about 230 miles (370 kilometers) north of Oahu. Early in the morning, his aircraft carriers launched 350 airplanes against the United States Fleet. The first bombs fell at about 7:55 a.m. The chief targets were 8 battleships among the 180 American vessels anchored in the harbor. The attack killed 2,388 people at Pearl Harbor and wounded about 2,000. It destroyed or damaged 21 American ships and more than 300 planes. The Japanese lost 29 aircraft.

On December 8, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt addressed Congress. He called December 7 "a date which will live in infamy." Congress declared war on Japan. In a radio speech the same day, Roosevelt urged Americans to back the war effort and avenge Pearl Harbor. He said, "Every single man, woman, and child is a partner in the most tremendous undertaking of our American history."

At the time of the attack, Nazi Germany had taken over much of Europe. Great Britain and the Soviet Union provided the main resistance to the Nazis. The United States had stayed out of the war. However, under President Roosevelt's leadership, the United States provided extensive aid to Great Britain. Germany declared war on the United States on December 11.

Japan won many battles and gained much territory in the early days of U.S. participation in the war. However, a massive effort to produce equipment and supplies built American military strength. The slogan "Remember Pearl Harbor" helped boost the morale of the population. The Allies gradually turned the tide against Japan and Germany. The long war, which had begun in 1939, ended in 1945 with the surrender of the Axis countries.

War Memorials

The ships destroyed in the Pearl Harbor attack include the USS *Arizona*. The battleship sits upright on the bottom of the harbor with more than 1,000 men entombed aboard. The USS *Arizona* Memorial, a roomlike structure, stands above the ship. The memorial is supported by pilings that reach the harbor bottom. The names of those who died on the *Arizona* are carved in marble at one end of the room. Even today, bubbles of oil from the sunken *Arizona* rise to the water's surface. In 1999, the USS *Missouri* was opened to the public, as the Battleship *Missouri* Memorial, in Pearl Harbor. The Japanese surrendered to the Allies on board *Missouri* on Sept. 2, 1945.

World War II (1939-1945)

This was the most destructive war in history. It killed more people, destroyed more property, and disrupted more lives than any other war in history. It probably had more far-reaching consequences than any other war. The war brought about the downfall of Western Europe as the center of world power. It led to the dominance of the Soviet Union and the United States. It set off a power struggle between the two countries called the Cold War. World War II also opened the nuclear age.

It is impossible to say exactly how many people died as a result of World War II. Estimates suggest about 20 million soldiers died during the war's six years. From 30 to 40 million civilians also perished. That makes a combined death toll of 50 million to 60 million people.

The battlegrounds of World War II spread to nearly every part of the world. Troops fought in the jungles of Southeast Asia. They battled in the deserts of North Africa. They fought on the islands and seas of the Pacific Ocean. Battles raged on the frozen steppes of the Soviet Union and in the cities, forests, and farmers' fields of Europe. Submarines fought below the surface of the Atlantic Ocean.

World War II began on Sept. 1, 1939, when Nazi Germany invaded Poland. Germany's powerful war machine rapidly crushed Poland, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, and France. In June 1940, Fascist Italy joined the war on Germany's side. In western Europe, only Great Britain remained. Great Britain resisted German air attacks that destroyed great sections of London and other cities. German and Italian forces then clashed with the British in Greece and northern Africa. In June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. Germany thus broke their nonaggression pact of 1939. In that treaty, they had promised not to attack each other.

Imperial Japan invaded China in 1937. It allied itself with Germany and Italy in September 1940, creating the Axis Powers. On Dec. 7, 1941, Japan attacked the American military base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The attack brought the United States into the war. By mid-1942, Japanese forces had conquered much of Southeast Asia. Japan had also swept across many islands in the Pacific.

Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and the German-created states of Croatia and Slovakia eventually joined the Axis. In opposition, Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China formed the core of the Allies totaled 50 nations by the end of the war.

During 1942, the Allies stopped the Axis advance in northern Africa, the Soviet Union, and the Pacific. Allied forces landed in Italy in 1943. They reached France in 1944. In 1945, the Allies drove into Germany from the east and the west. A series of bloody battles in the Pacific brought the Allies to Japan's doorstep by the summer of 1945. Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945. Japan surrendered on Sept. 2, 1945.

An uneasy peace took effect as a war-weary world began to rebuild after World War II. Much of Europe and parts of Asia lay in ruins. Tens of millions of people were dead. Millions more were starving and homeless. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as the world's most powerful nations. But new threats to peace arose.

Bretton Woods

This is the popular name for the International Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods, N.H., in July 1944. Representatives of 44 countries attended the conference. They made plans to stabilize the world financial system and foster the growth of trade after World War II. The representatives hoped to remove obstacles to long-term lending and international trade and payments.

The Bretton Woods Conference drew up the plans for two international organizations—the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The fund works to promote international financial stability by providing short-term assistance to help its members meet problems regarding balance of payments. The bank makes long-term international loans, especially to less developed countries.

The Marshall Plan

This policy encouraged European nations to work together for economic recovery after World War II (1939-1945). In June 1947, the United States agreed to administer aid to Europe if the countries would meet to decide what they needed. The official name of the plan was the European Recovery Program. It is called the Marshall Plan because Secretary of State George C. Marshall first suggested it.

The Marshall Plan began in April 1948, when Congress established the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) to administer foreign aid. Seventeen nations formed the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) to assist the ECA and develop cooperation among its members. The United States sent about \$13 billion in food, machinery, and other products to Europe. Aid ended in 1952.

In 1961, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) succeeded the OEEC. Twenty nations, including the United States and Canada, formed the OECD to promote the economic growth of member nations and aid developing areas.

The Cold War

Cold War describes the intense rivalry that developed after World War II (1939-1945) between groups of Communist and non-Communist nations. On one side were the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union) and its Communist allies, often referred to as the *Eastern bloc*. On the other side were the United States and its mostly democratic allies, usually referred to as the *Western bloc*. The struggle was called the *Cold War* because it did not actually lead to fighting, or "hot" war, on a wide scale. Still, between 1945 and 1991, millions of people died in the Cold War's "hot theaters"—that is, places where military action occurred—mainly in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The Cold War was characterized by mutual distrust, suspicion, and misunderstandings among the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies. At times, these conditions increased the likelihood of a third world war. The

United States accused the Soviet Union of seeking to expand Communism throughout the world. The Soviets, meanwhile, charged the United States with practicing imperialism and interfering with other countries. Each bloc's vision of the world contributed to East-West tension. The United States claimed to want a world of independent, democratic nations. The Soviet Union, however, attempted to tightly control areas it considered vital to its national interest. Such areas included much of Eastern Europe. For a discussion of the principles of Communism and democracy, see Communism and Democracy.

Although the Cold War did not begin until the end of World War II, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union had been strained for decades. In 1917, a revolution in Russia established a Communist dictatorship there. From 1918 to 1920, the Communists and the anti-Communists in Russia fought a bloody civil war. Several other countries—including Canada, France, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States—sent troops to support the anti-Communists. Nevertheless, the Communists defeated their opponents. The Communist government created the Soviet Union in 1922.

During the 1920's and the 1930's, the Soviets called for world revolution. They wanted the destruction of capitalism, which was the economic system of the United States. After a slight lessening of tensions, the United States granted diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union in 1933.

In 1941, during World War II, Germany attacked the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union then joined the Western Allies in defeating Germany. For a time in 1945, it seemed possible that a lasting friendship might develop between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, major differences remained between the two, particularly with regard to Eastern Europe.

Two hostile blocs soon emerged. The United States led the Western bloc. By the early 1950's, this group included Australia, Canada, France, Japan, Great Britain, West Germany, and many other countries. The Soviet Union led the Eastern bloc, which included Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. China joined the Eastern bloc following the Communist take-over of its government in 1949. *Neutral* nations—those in neither bloc—included Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, and many Middle Eastern and African states.

During the late 1940's and the 1950's, Cold War tensions grew. Each side accused the other of wanting to rule the world. Each side believed its political and economic systems were better than the other's. Each strengthened its armed forces. Both sides viewed the Cold War as a dispute between right and wrong. They saw every revolt and every international incident as part of the struggle. It was difficult to settle any dispute peacefully through compromise. Fear grew that a local conflict would touch off a third world war that might destroy humanity.

The nature of the Cold War began to change in the 1960's. Neither the East nor the West remained a *monolith* (united bloc). Communist China challenged Soviet leadership. France and West Germany often acted independently of U.S. policies. The Communist take-over of Cuba stirred anti-American feeling in Latin America. The rapid economic growth of China, Japan, and West Germany made them important nations in the struggle for power.

In 1970, Soviet and West German leaders signed a peace treaty. In 1971, China joined the United Nations (UN). In 1979, China and the United States established diplomatic relations.

Cold War tensions rose again in the late 1970's, peaking with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In the following years, however, tensions eased after economic, political, and social reforms within the Soviet Union.

Tensions relaxed further after the signing of a U.S.-Soviet arms-control agreement and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Beginning with the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall, democratic reforms began in Eastern Europe. In 1991, the Soviet Union broke up into a number of independent, non-Communist states. These reforms and other developments marked the end of the Cold War.

1946-1948	Communists take over Eastern Europe.
1947	Truman Doctrine announced by United States.
1948-1949	Berlin blockade set up by Soviet Union.
1949	NATO pact signed by 12 countries.
1949	Communists win control of China.
1950-1953	Korean War—first use of UN troops in battle.
1953	Death of Stalin alters Cold War.
1955	Summit conference held in Geneva.
1960	Soviet Union downs U-2 spy plane.
1961	German Communists build Berlin Wall.
1961	Castro announces he is a Communist.
1964	United States bombs bases in North Vietnam.
1975	Communists win Vietnam War.
1979	Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.
1989	Communist rule comes to an end in several Eastern European countries.
1989	German Communists open Berlin Wall.

The Korean War

The Korean War was the first war in which a world organization, the United Nations (UN), played a military role. The Korean War was a major challenge for the United Nations, which had come into existence only five years earlier.

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950, when troops from Communist-ruled North Korea invaded South Korea. The UN called the invasion a violation of international peace and demanded that the Communists withdraw from South Korea. After the Communists kept fighting, the UN asked its member nations to give military aid to South Korea. Sixteen UN countries sent troops to help the South Koreans, and 41 countries sent military equipment or food and other supplies. The United States provided about 90 percent of the troops, military equipment, and supplies that were sent to South Korea. China fought on the side of North Korea, and the Soviet Union gave military equipment to the North Koreans.

The Korean War ended on July 27, 1953, when the UN and North Korea signed an armistice agreement. A permanent peace treaty between South Korea and North Korea has never been signed. However, United States military forces remain in South Korea to discourage a resumption of hostilities between the two parts of Korea.

The Korean War was one of the bloodiest wars in history. About a million South Korean civilians were killed and several million were made homeless. More than 560,000 UN and South Korean troops and about 1,600,000 Communist troops were killed or wounded or were reported missing.

The Vietnam War

This was the longest war in which the United States took part. It began in 1957 and ended in 1975. Vietnam, a small country in Southeast Asia, was divided at the time into the Communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam, commonly called North Vietnam, and the non-Communist Republic of Vietnam, commonly called South Vietnam. North Vietnamese and Communist-trained South Vietnamese rebels sought to overthrow the government of South Vietnam and to eventually reunite the country. The United States and the South Vietnamese army tried to stop them, but failed.

The Vietnam War was actually the second phase of fighting in Vietnam. During the first phase, which began in 1946, the Vietnamese fought France for control of Vietnam. At that time, Vietnam was part of the French colonial empire in Indochina. The United States sent France military equipment, but the Vietnamese defeated the French in 1954. At this point the United States was paying for almost 80% of the cost of the French war. Vietnam was then split into North and South Vietnam with plans for national elections in 1956. At the urging of the United States government, the South Vietnamese leadership refused to proceed with the elections and declared their intention to remain divided from the North. The United States committed to maintaining an independent South Vietnam, publicly arguing that doing so was defending democracy, but privately holding serious reservations about the democratic nature of the South Vietnamese government.

United States aid to France and later to non-Communist South Vietnam was based on a Cold War policy of President Harry S. Truman. The Cold War was an intense rivalry between Communist and non-Communist nations. Truman had declared that the United States must help any nation challenged by Communism. The Truman Doctrine was at first directed at Europe and the Middle East. But it was also adopted by the next three presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson, and applied to Indochina. They feared that if one Southeast Asian nation joined the Communist camp, the others would also "fall," one after the other, like what Eisenhower called "a row of dominoes."

The Vietnamese Communists and their allies called the Vietnam War a war of national liberation. They saw the Vietnam War as an extension of the struggle with France and as another attempt by a foreign power to rule Vietnam. North Vietnam wanted to end U.S. support of South Vietnam and to reunite the north and south into a single nation. China and the Soviet Union, at that time the two largest Communist nations, gave the Vietnamese Communists war materials but not troops.

The Vietnam War had several stages. From 1957 to 1963, North Vietnam aided rebels opposed to the government of South Vietnam, which fought the rebels with U.S. aid and advisory personnel. From 1964 to 1969, North Vietnam and the United States did much of the fighting. Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Korea, and Thailand also helped South Vietnam. By April 1969, the number of U.S. forces in South Vietnam had reached its peak of more than 543,000 troops. By July, the United States had slowly begun to withdraw its forces from the region.

In January 1973, a cease-fire was arranged. The last American ground troops left Vietnam two months later. The fighting began again soon afterward, but U.S. troops did not return to Vietnam. South Vietnam surrendered on April 30, 1975, as North Vietnamese troops entered its capital, Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City).

The Vietnam War was enormously destructive. Military deaths reached about 1.3 million, and the war left much of Vietnam in ruins.

Just before the war ended, North Vietnam helped rebels overthrow the U.S.-backed government in nearby Cambodia. After the war, North Vietnam united Vietnam and helped set up a new government in nearby Laos. The U.S. role in the war became one of the most debated issues in the nation's history. Many Americans felt U.S. involvement was necessary and noble. But many others called it cruel, unnecessary, and wrong. Today, many Americans still disagree on the goals, conduct, and lessons of U.S. participation in the Vietnam War.

Détente

Détente (a French word meaning release from tension) is the name given to a period of improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union that began tentatively in 1971 and took decisive form when President Richard M. Nixon visited the secretary-general of the Soviet Communist party, Leonid I. Brezhnev, in Moscow, May 1972.

Between the late 1960s and the late 1970s, there was a thawing of the ongoing Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. This détente took several forms, including increased discussion on arms control. Although the decade began with vast improvements in bilateral relations, by the end of the decade events had brought the two superpowers back to the brink of confrontation.

Two decades after the Second World War, Soviet-American tension had become a way of life. Fears of nuclear conflict between the two superpowers peaked in 1962 in the wake of the Cuban Missile Crisis, paving the way for some of the earliest agreements on nuclear arms control, including the Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963. Although these agreements acted as important precedents, the U.S. escalation of the war in Vietnam increased tensions again and served to derail any efforts in the mid-1960s to pursue further arms agreements. By the late 1960s, however, both countries had several concrete reasons for resuming arms talks. The ongoing nuclear arms race was incredibly expensive, and both nations faced domestic economic difficulties as a result of the diversion of resources to military research. The emergence of the Sino-Soviet split also made the idea of generally improving relations with the United States more appealing to the USSR. The United States faced an increasingly difficult war in Vietnam, and improved relations with the Soviet Union were thought to be helpful in limiting future conflicts. With both sides willing to explore accommodation, the early 1970s saw a general warming of relations that was conducive to progress in arms control talks.

In practical terms, détente led to formal agreements on arms control and the security of Europe. A clear sign that a détente was emerging was found in the signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1968. Then, in 1972, the first round of Strategic Arms Limitations Talks yielded the Antiballistic Missile Treaty along with an interim

agreement setting caps on the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles each side could develop. At middecade, in 1975, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe emerged from two years of intense negotiations to sign the Helsinki Final Act, which recognized political borders, established military confidence building measures, created opportunities for trade and cultural exchange, and promoted human rights. By the end of the decade, however, cracks had begun to form in the precarious U.S.-Soviet relationship. The leadership of the two countries signed a second SALT agreement but did not ratify it, although both nations voluntarily adhered to the provisions for reduced limits on strategic weapons for years thereafter.

The breakdown of détente in the late 1970s stalled progress on arms control. Ultimately, the United States and the Soviet Union had different visions of what détente meant and what its pursuit would entail. Overblown expectations that the warming of relations in the era of détente would translate into an end to the Cold War also created public dissatisfaction with the increasing manifestations of continued competition and the interventions in the Third World. By the time the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the spirit of cooperation had been replaced with renewed competition and formal implementation of the SALT II agreement stalled. Arms control talks ceased in the early 1980s and only restarted when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union.

Iran Hostage Crisis

The Iran hostage crisis was an international incident in the aftermath of the Iranian Islamic Revolution between Iran and the United States. It began on Nov. 4, 1979, when Iranian revolutionaries seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, Iran's capital, and took a group of Americans hostage. Islamic revolutionaries had taken control of Iran's government earlier in the year. The revolutionaries seized the U.S. Embassy after Iran's former Shah (king), Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was admitted into the United States for medical treatment. The revolutionaries wanted the Shah returned to Iran to stand trial for crimes committed during his rule. The Shah was not returned, and he in fact died during the crisis from his illness. The last of the hostages were eventually released on Jan. 20, 1981. The Iran hostage crisis ended diplomatic relations between Iran and the United States. Images of the bound and blindfolded hostages dominated media coverage during the 444-day event.

The hostage situation carried a heavy political price for U.S. President Jimmy Carter. His popularity declined as the crisis dragged on, and Ronald Reagan easily defeated him in the November 1980 presidential election. Carter dedicated much of his remaining time in office to the hostage negotiations. Iran finally released the hostages on Jan. 20, 1981—the day Reagan took office.

Upon their release, the hostages returned home relatively unharmed. However, their long confinement was marked by mistreatment, stress, and threats of execution.

Aftermath

The Iranian and U.S. governments have not had regular diplomatic relations since the hostage crisis. The United States and many other countries still consider Iran a "rogue nation"—that is, a nation that ignores international law and supports terrorism. In Iran, the date of the embassy takeover, November 4, is an official holiday. It is called the Day of National Confrontation against World Imperialism.

Iran Contra

This is the name of a major United States foreign policy scandal in the 1980s. It involved two secret operations by the executive branch of the government. The operations were (1) the sale of military equipment to Iran, an enemy of the United States; and (2) the provision of military aid to contra rebels in Nicaragua, which Congress had banned. The two operations were connected by the use of profits from the Iranian arms sales to aid the contra rebels.

Background

In 1979, a political coalition called the Sandinistas led a revolution in Nicaragua and took control of the government. After United States President Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, he claimed the Sandinistas had set up a Communist dictatorship. He directed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to begin aiding the contras, Nicaraguan rebels who were fighting to overthrow the Sandinistas. In 1983, however, Congress voted to limit the CIA support. In October 1984, Congress voted to cut off all aid to the contras.

Administration Actions

The Reagan administration sought ways to continue aiding the contras after the congressional ban. At first, it secretly raised funds from several foreign countries and wealthy Americans to help finance the contra efforts.

In 1985, the administration initiated a secret "arms-for-hostages" operation designed to free seven Americans held hostage by terrorists in Lebanon. Reagan had said he would never deal with supporters of terrorists, which he considered Iran's leaders to be. But he and his advisers believed Iran could get the hostages released. Members of the administration arranged for the CIA to secretly purchase arms from the Department of Defense. Private individuals bought the arms from the CIA and sold them to Iran in return for its promises of help in the hostage release. But the sales led to the release of only three hostages, and three more Americans were taken hostage during the same period. Administration agents secretly diverted (transferred) profits from the arms sales to the contras.

Reagan said he could not recall whether he knew in advance about the 1985 arms shipments and that he knew nothing about the diversion of funds. Both actions had been carried out by staff of the National Security Council (NSC), a White House intelligence and policy coordinating agency. Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North, an NSC aide, was the person most closely involved in the management of the Iran-contra operations.

Charges and court actions

Reports of the arms sales and contra aid became widely known in November 1986. Congressional hearings held in 1987 concluded the NSC staff had attempted to deceive Congress about the affair. In November 1987, a joint report by congressional committees said Reagan was accountable for the "secrecy, deception, and disdain for the law" that characterized Iran-contra. It said his administration's efforts to raise money for government operations outside of Congress violated basic constitutional rules.

In 1989, a federal court convicted North on three charges relating to the Iran-contra affair, including altering and destroying evidence. North had worked under national security advisers Robert C. McFarlane and John M. Poindexter. In 1989, McFarlane pleaded guilty of withholding information from Congress during its investigation. In 1990, Poindexter was convicted of conspiracy and of lying to and obstructing Congress.

In 1987, North and Poindexter had testified about the Iran-contra affair during the congressional hearings. They had been given immunity (freedom from prosecution) on matters of their testimony. In 1990 and 1991, appeals courts overturned the convictions of North and Poindexter on grounds that their 1987 testimony might have influenced the outcome of their later trials. In 1992, Caspar W. Weinberger, Reagan's secretary of defense, was charged with lying to Congress and government investigators in connection with the Iran-contra affair. But later that year, President George H. W. Bush pardoned Weinberger, McFarlane, and several other officials for any crimes they may have committed in relation to the affair. Bush was Reagan's vice president and succeeded him as president in 1989. Only one person, former CIA agent Thomas G. Clines, went to prison as a result of Iran-contra. He was sentenced to 16 months in prison for evading taxes on income from the operations. Four others pleaded guilty to lesser charges and received sentences of probation, community service, and small fines.

On Jan. 18, 1994, a special prosecutor, Lawrence E. Walsh, issued the final report of the Iran-contra affair. The report said the Iran-contra operations "violated United States policy and law," and it criticized the Reagan and Bush administrations for involvement in a cover-up.

Persian Gulf War

This war was fought in early 1991 between Iraq and a coalition of 39 countries organized mainly by the United States and the United Nations (UN). The U.S. government called the war Operation Desert Storm. It took place chiefly in Iraq and the tiny oil-rich nation of Kuwait. These two countries lie together at the northern end of the Persian Gulf.

The coalition had formed after Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, 1990. After quickly gaining control of Kuwait, Iraq moved large numbers of troops to Kuwait's border with Saudi Arabia, triggering fears that Iraq would invade Saudi Arabia next. Iraq's actions were viewed with alarm by the world's industrialized countries, which relied on Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as primary sources of petroleum. A number of coalition members sent troops to Saudi Arabia to protect it from possible attack.

On Jan. 17, 1991, after months of pressuring Iraq to leave Kuwait, the coalition began bombing Iraqi military and industrial targets. In late February, the coalition launched a massive ground attack into Kuwait and southern Iraq and quickly defeated the Iraqis. Coalition military operations ended on February 28.

The war resulted in immense human suffering in the Middle East and enormous material damage in Iraq and Kuwait. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed or wounded or became refugees. Economic measures taken against Iraq caused great hardship there. The war also caused severe environmental pollution in the region, as the Iraqis set hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells on fire and dumped huge amounts of Kuwaiti oil into the Persian Gulf. In addition, the war triggered bloody revolts in Iraq by Kurds and Shiite Muslim Arabs.

The Persian Gulf War of 1991 was the first major international crisis after the end of the Cold War (see Cold War). The crisis tested cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the ability of the UN to play a leading role in world affairs. The war also split the Arab world between coalition members and supporters of Iraq's president, Saddam Hussein.

Disputes between Iraq and Kuwait

After the Iran-Iraq War, Hussein had disagreed with Kuwait's leaders over how much debt cancellation and other aid Kuwait should provide to Iraq. Hussein also accused Kuwait of exceeding oil production limits set by OPEC and

thus lowering world oil prices. In addition, Hussein claimed that Kuwait was taking Iraqi oil from the Rumaila oil field, a large field that lay beneath both Iraq and Kuwait.

Also, Iraq had often claimed that Kuwait should be part of Iraq. Iraq based its claim on the fact that, in the late 1800's and early 1900's, Kuwait had been included in a province of the Ottoman Empire, called Basra, which later became part of Iraq. But by the time Iraq was formed in the early 1920's, Kuwait was no longer part of the province. Also by the early 1920's, the United Kingdom had gained control of Kuwait and what became Iraq. Iraq gained independence in 1932, and Kuwait in 1961. After 1961, disputes continued between Kuwait and Iraq over the location of their common border.

What Hussein hoped to gain by taking Kuwait. A number of factors prompted Hussein to invade Kuwait. He wanted to acquire Kuwait's oil wealth and erase Iraq's debt to Kuwait. He wanted to increase Iraq's power within OPEC. He also sought better access to the Persian Gulf. Iraq's gulf coastline was short. Kuwait's was much longer and included an excellent harbor. In addition, Hussein probably hoped that an invasion would keep Iraq's military occupied and so end a series of attempts by the military to force him out of power.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait

At 2:00 a.m. on Aug. 2, 1990, hundreds of tanks and other Iraqi forces swept across the border into Kuwait. Within 24 hours, Iraq had complete control of Kuwait. Thousands of Iraqi troops then moved to Kuwait's border with Saudi Arabia. To some, this movement signaled that Iraq might invade Saudi Arabia. On August 8, Iraq announced that it had annexed Kuwait.

Under international law, none of Iraq's claims against Kuwait justified the invasion. The United Nations, as well as the United States and many other countries, condemned the Iraqi invasion. But Hussein accused the United States of following a double standard. He said that if the United States condemned the Iraqi invasion, it should also condemn Israel's occupation of lands won from Arab countries in the Arab-Israeli wars. Since the 1970's, the United States had been Israel's chief ally.

Many Arabs, particularly poor Arabs and Palestinians, supported the Iraqi invasion. Hussein became a hero to them by confronting Israel and the United States. He gained additional support from poor Arabs by calling for the redistribution of the vast wealth of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and certain other Arab oil-exporting countries.

The world's reaction

On August 2, the UN Security Council issued a resolution condemning Iraq's invasion. United States President George H. W. Bush and other world leaders began to form an anti-Iraq coalition. The coalition grew to include Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Arab members of the coalition were Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates. The Arab countries of Jordan, Libya, and Yemen opposed the involvement of non-Arab countries but did not fight against the coalition. China and the Soviet Union, then the most powerful Communist countries, did not join the coalition. But their cooperation as members of the UN Security Council allowed the UN to play a leading role in the crisis.

Measures against Iraq

On August 6, the UN Security Council imposed an embargo that prohibited all trade with Iraq except for medical supplies and food in certain circumstances. Nearly all of Iraq's major trading partners supported the embargo. As a result, Iraq's foreign trade was sharply reduced. On August 7, the United States announced that it would send troops to the Persian Gulf to defend Saudi Arabia from possible attack by Iraq.

On August 25, the UN Security Council authorized the use of force to carry out the embargo against Iraq. On November 29, the council gave coalition members permission "to use all necessary means" to expel Iraq from Kuwait if Iraq did not withdraw by Jan. 15, 1991. Iraq chose to stay in Kuwait.

The opposing forces

By mid-January, the coalition had about 670,000 troops, 3,500 tanks, and 1,800 combat aircraft in the Persian Gulf region. The troops came from 28 coalition members and included about 425,000 troops from the United States. Many of the other troops came from the United Kingdom, France, and such Arab countries as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Other coalition members provided equipment, supplies, or financial aid. The coalition also had about 200 warships in the Persian Gulf region, including 6 U.S. aircraft carriers and 2 U.S. battleships. Iraq had between 350,000 and 550,000 troops in Kuwait and southern Iraq, with about 4,500 tanks and 550 combat aircraft. It also had a small navy.

Militarily, the coalition first tried to force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait by bombing Iraqi military and industrial targets. But after more than five weeks of heavy bombing, Iraq still refused to withdraw. The allies then started a major ground attack against Iraqi forces.

The air war began at 3 a.m. on Jan. 17, 1991. The coalition aimed first to destroy Iraq's ability to launch attacks. Other goals included eliminating Iraq's biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons facilities; disrupting Iraq's ability to gather information about coalition forces and to communicate with its own forces; and reducing the readiness of Iraqi troops.

Iraq's response

Iraq responded to the start of the air war by launching "Scud" missiles at populated areas in Israel and Saudi Arabia. The Scuds terrorized the populations of targeted cities and killed a number of people. Analysts believe that Iraq used the attacks on Israel to try to draw it into the war. Had Israel struck back, Iraq might have succeeded in forcing Arab countries out of the coalition by portraying the war as an Arab-Israeli conflict. However, Israel did not enter the war, thus making it much easier to keep the coalition together.

On February 26, following total success of the international forces in an air and land campaign, Hussein ordered his troops to leave Kuwait. But by that time, the Iraqi forces had been surrounded. The coalition ended all military operations at 8 a.m. on February 28, about 100 hours after the ground attack had begun.

The war ends

Iraq accepted the terms of a formal cease-fire agreement on April 6. On April 11, the UN Security Council officially declared an end to the war. In the agreement, Iraq promised to pay Kuwait for war damages. Iraq also agreed to destroy all its biological and chemical weapons, its facilities for producing them, and any facilities or materials it might have for producing nuclear weapons. Iraq stockpiled chemical weapons in Kuwait before the ground war,

but there is no evidence that either side used chemical weapons in the war. Neither side used biological or nuclear weapons.

After the formal cease-fire, the UN continued the embargo to pressure Iraq to carry out its promises. However, Iraq stubbornly resisted complying with the terms of the cease-fire agreement.

Consequences of the war

As many as 100,000 Iraqi troops may have died in the war, but some experts believe the total was much lower. Only about 370 coalition troops died. Thousands of civilians in Iraq and Kuwait probably were killed in the war.

Coalition bombing severely damaged Iraq's transportation systems, communication systems, and petroleum and other industries. Coalition attacks also wiped out much of Iraq's ability to provide electric power and clean water. As a result, many civilians died after the war from disease or a lack of medicine or food.

In Kuwait, Iraqi troops looted the country and damaged many of Kuwait's oil wells, in most cases by setting them on fire. In addition, Iraq dumped well over 200 million gallons (760 million liters) of Kuwaiti crude oil into the Persian Gulf, killing wildlife and causing long-term harm to the environment.

After the war, Saddam Hussein continued to rule Iraq. But revolts broke out among Kurds in northern Iraq and, in southern Iraq, among Arabs of the Shiah division of Islam. Both groups had long opposed Hussein's rule. Iraq's army swiftly put down most of the rebellions. Hundreds of thousands of Shiite Arabs then fled to Iran. Thousands of others hid in the marshlands of southern Iraq. More than a million Kurds fled to the mountains of northern Iraq and to Turkey and Iran. Tens of thousands of Kurds and Shiites were killed in the revolts or died later of disease, exposure, or hunger.

In April 1991, the United States and other coalition members established a safety zone in northern Iraq to protect Kurdish refugees from Iraqi troops. Coalition forces remained in northern Iraq until July. But coalition aircraft continued to patrol northern Iraq as part of an effort to enforce a ban on Iraqi aircraft flights and troop movements there. In 1992, to protect the Shiite population, coalition forces imposed a ban on Iraqi aircraft flights over southern Iraq. In 1996, Iraqi troops attacked Kurds in northern Iraq. The United States responded with missile attacks against Iraqi military targets.

The Persian Gulf War of 1991 also focused world attention on the Arab-Israeli conflict. After the war, the United States renewed diplomatic efforts to resolve disputes between Israel and Arab countries. These efforts helped lead to the signing of several agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, a group that represents the Palestinian people.

After the war, some veterans complained of physical and psychological ailments that they believed were related to their service. Their symptoms, sometimes referred to together as Gulf War syndrome, included memory loss, fatigue, and joint pain. Some people believed that exposure to dangerous chemicals when U.S. troops destroyed a chemical weapons depot in Iraq may have affected the troops. Others argued that the syndrome was not a single illness and that the symptoms resulted from the stress of war or other factors.

Iraq did not fulfill the terms of the 1991 cease-fire agreement. On several occasions, Iraq failed to cooperate with UN teams sent to inspect suspected weapons sites. In the late 1990's and early 2000's, U.S. and British planes attacked targets in northern and southern Iraq many times to enforce the Iraqi flight bans and to disable Iraq's air defense systems. In 1998, Iraq began to refuse to allow UN weapons inspectors into the country.

In 2002, the United States and the United Kingdom began to threaten military action against Iraq unless it fully eliminated any weapons of mass destruction—that is, chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons—and any facilities for producing them. In November of that year, Iraq allowed weapons inspectors to return to the country. During the inspections, the United States continued to accuse Iraq of violating UN disarmament terms. In March 2003, U.S.-led forces launched air and ground attacks against Iraq (see Iraq War). United States officials said the military campaign was intended to overthrow Hussein and rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. British, Australian, Polish, and Danish forces participated in the war effort. In April, the U.S.-led forces seized Baghdad, causing the fall of Hussein's government. In May, the UN lifted the trade embargo it had imposed on Iraq in 1990. In December 2003, U.S. troops captured Hussein. Search teams found no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

9/11

September 11 terrorist attacks, also called 9/11, were the worst acts of terrorism ever carried out against the United States. On Tuesday, Sept. 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked four commercial jetliners and crashed two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and one into the Pentagon Building near Washington, D.C. Hijackers crashed the fourth jet in a Pennsylvania field to prevent it from being reclaimed by passengers. The attacks killed about 3,000 people, including the 19 hijackers.

The U.S. government linked the attacks to Al Qaeda (also spelled al-Qaeda), an Islamic extremist group founded by the Saudi-born millionaire Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden had previously issued a fatwa (religious edict) calling for Muslims to kill Americans, and Al Qaeda—which means the base in Arabic—had targeted U.S. interests on several occasions. It attacked U.S. military housing in Saudi Arabia in 1996, U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and the U.S. Navy warship Cole in Yemen in 2000. Al Qaeda sought to drive U.S. forces from Saudi Arabia—home to Mecca and Medina, the holy cities of Islam—and from other parts of the Persian Gulf region. Many scholars believe that the group hoped to unite the Islamic world against the United States and its allies and to establish a worldwide society of Muslims governed by Shari`ah (strict Islamic law). The Taliban regime of Afghanistan hosted Al Qaeda from 1996 until the overthrow of the regime in 2001.

Shortly after the 9/11 attacks, U.S. President George W. Bush addressed a joint session of Congress to declare a "global war on terrorism." In the nationally televised speech, Bush stated that the United States would target terrorist organizations and any government that harbored or supported them. In keeping with this policy, the United States launched a military campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan. The support of U.S. forces enabled an alliance of Afghan rebel groups to overthrow the Taliban in December 2001. Numerous members of Al Qaeda were captured or killed during the fighting in Afghanistan. However, many others, including bin Laden, escaped across the border to a largely ungoverned region of neighboring Pakistan.

The 9/11 attacks have had a powerful impact on the government policies of the United States and many other countries. Counterterrorism measures (efforts to fight terrorism) have become a top priority worldwide. In 2002, the U.S. government established a new executive department, the Department of Homeland Security, to coordinate efforts to prepare for, detect, respond to, and recover from terrorist activity. The government also took steps to improve security in airports and on airplanes, to increase the power of law enforcement, to address security threats from abroad, and to strengthen the nation's intelligence (information-gathering) services.

The attacks

On the morning of Sept. 11, 2001, the 19 Al Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial airplanes that had departed within about 40 minutes of one another from three East Coast airports. The terrorists chose flights bound for California because the aircraft carried large quantities of fuel. The terrorists smuggled box-cutters—small tools

with sharp blades—onto the planes and seized each aircraft shortly after departure. On three of the four planes, the passengers and crew did not resist, probably believing that they would be held for ransom and eventually released. However, the hijackers murdered the pilots, took control of the planes, and intentionally crashed the planes into their targets.

The World Trade Center

American Airlines Flight 11, bound for Los Angeles, took off from Boston's Logan International Airport at about 8 a.m. (All times of day in this article are in Eastern Daylight Time.) There were 92 people aboard. Soon afterward, at a nearby gate, United Airlines Flight 175 left for Los Angeles with 65 people.

At about 8:45 a.m., the hijackers crashed Flight 11 into the north tower of the World Trade Center. Less than 20 minutes later, their comrades flew Flight 175 into the south tower. The 110-story twin towers ranked among the world's tallest skyscrapers and were the most famous part of the World Trade Center, a complex of seven buildings. A symbol of American economic might, the World Trade Center contained offices of a number of U.S. government agencies and many businesses and organizations involved in finance and international trade. About 50,000 people worked in the complex.

As flames and smoke engulfed the towers, people raced to escape the buildings as police, fire, and medical personnel rushed to the site. About an hour after being struck, the south tower collapsed. The north tower collapsed about a half-hour later. Other buildings in the area were also destroyed or heavily damaged. The attacks left about 2,800 people dead or missing, including 157 on the two hijacked planes.

The Pentagon

At about 8:20 a.m., American Airlines Flight 77 left Washington Dulles International Airport in Virginia for Los Angeles. It carried 58 people. Just over an hour later, Flight 77 crashed into the west side of the Pentagon Building, the nation's military headquarters near Washington, D.C. A section of the building collapsed shortly afterward, leaving 189 people dead or missing, including the people on the plane.

Pennsylvania

United Airlines Flight 93 left Newark International Airport at about 8:40 a.m., headed for San Francisco. There were 44 people on the plane. Shortly after 10 a.m., the flight crashed in a field in Somerset County in southwestern Pennsylvania. Everyone on the plane was killed.

Telephone calls made by passengers and crew on the plane enabled investigators to reconstruct the events that led up to the crash. After the hijacking, the passengers learned of the other attacks and attempted to regain control of the plane. Afraid the passengers might succeed, the hijackers then crashed the plane into a field. Authorities believe the terrorists had planned to crash the plane into the White House or the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C.

The aftermath

Fearful of additional attacks, officials in Washington, D.C., evacuated the White House and offices of the federal government. They grounded all regular air traffic over the United States and arranged for fighter aircraft to fly combat patrols over cities. The major U.S. stock exchanges stopped trading, and many businesses and public landmarks closed early and sent employees home. In a televised speech that evening, President Bush declared,

"Today, our nation saw evil." He said, "These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong."

In the weeks and months that followed, the U.S. government moved quickly to identify and punish those responsible for the attacks. Government leaders also took steps to protect U.S. borders, to secure potential terrorist targets around the country, and to safeguard essential services and facilities.

Global war on terrorism

On Sept. 20, 2001, President Bush addressed the American people and both houses of Congress to declare a "global war on terrorism." He warned that the struggle would be long but promised that the United States was committed to eliminating the terrorist threat. Bush declared that the United States would take preemptive (preventive) military action against any government that harbored, sponsored, or supported terrorists. This warning was clearly directed at the Taliban regime of Afghanistan.

Investigators quickly determined that Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda terrorist network—which had headquarters and terrorist training camps in Afghanistan—were responsible for the 9/11 attacks. President Bush called upon the Taliban rulers of Afghanistan to turn over bin Laden and to close down the camps. When the Taliban refused, U.S. forces prepared to invade the country. The United States had little difficulty mustering international support for the war. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) declared that the 9/11 attacks on the United States had been attacks on the entire alliance. Most NATO member states provided support to the U.S.-led coalition.

Afghanistan battles

On October 7, the United States and its allies launched a military campaign in Afghanistan against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Central Intelligence Agency operatives and Special Forces units from the United States strengthened the Northern Alliance, an association of Afghan tribes that opposed the Taliban. Coalition forces launched precision air strikes in support of the alliance, enabling it to overthrow the Taliban in December. After the fall of the Taliban, the United Nations brought together representatives of Afghanistan's leading factions to develop a plan for a new government.

The U.S.-led coalition captured or killed many members of Al Qaeda during the fighting in Afghanistan. In January 2002, the United States began holding suspected terrorists at a detention center at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba.

Other Al Qaeda leaders and associates were captured at different times and locations. Weeks before 9/11, Zacarias Moussaoui, a French citizen of Moroccan descent, was arrested in the United States on immigration charges. Many people believe that he would have been the "20th hijacker" in the attacks if he had not been arrested. In April 2005, Moussaoui pleaded guilty to conspiring with the hijackers and was sentenced to life in prison. Another key figure in the attacks, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, was arrested in Pakistan in 2003. Mohammed later confessed to being a key planner of the attacks and to coordinating numerous other terrorist acts. For years, efforts to locate and capture bin Laden were unsuccessful. In May 2011, however, a team of U.S. Navy SEALs shot and killed bin Laden during a nighttime helicopter raid on the terrorist leader's compound in northern Pakistan.

Since 9/11, many experts have criticized the idea of a "global war on terrorism." They maintain that the concept places too much emphasis on purely military means of confronting terrorism. Many people questioned the wisdom of the U.S. decision to invade Iraq in 2003. The U.S. government claimed that the Iraqi government of Saddam

Hussein supported terrorists and could potentially provide them with weapons of mass destruction—that is, chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. The invasion quickly toppled Hussein's government, but a lengthy period of fighting between U.S.-led forces and militant groups in Iraq followed (see Iraq War).

Protecting the homeland

In mid-September 2001, President Bush announced the creation of a federal Office of Homeland Security to oversee the protection of the United States. In November 2002, Congress expanded the Office of Homeland Security into a new executive department. The Department of Homeland Security brought together a number of agencies involved in various aspects of national security. Such agencies include the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Transportation Security Administration, the U.S. Coast Guard, the U.S. Secret Service, and agencies responsible for customs, border, and immigration controls. Some experts, however, have questioned whether new bureaucracies (systems of agencies) have actually improved national security.

In October 2001, Congress passed the USA Patriot Act, which expanded the government's powers of surveillance, investigation, and detention of suspects in the fight against terrorism. The law gave authorities greater freedom to conduct searches of people's homes and automobiles, to monitor telephone calls and e-mail, and to access information from library, bank, and medical records. It also allowed authorities to detain, in some cases indefinitely, any noncitizen suspected of posing a threat to national security. Many people raised serious concerns over the Patriot Act's provisions. Critics argued that the law threatened civil liberties and violated constitutional protections against unreasonable searches and seizures. When Congress renewed the act in 2006, it included new safeguards for civil liberties.

In 2004, Congress passed the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act, which reorganized the government's intelligence community. The act created the Office of the Director of National Intelligence to coordinate intelligence collection, analysis, and sharing among agencies. Many people had criticized the nation's intelligence services for failing to detect the 9/11 plot and to prevent the attacks.

Anthrax attacks

Just one week after the 9/11 attacks, several U.S. business and government offices received mail that contained weapons-grade anthrax spores. Anthrax is an infectious disease that can be fatal if not treated promptly. Five people died from exposure to the disease, and fear of anthrax spread across the country. Investigators looked for evidence linking Al Qaeda terrorists to the anthrax mailings but found no connection. They came to believe the source was within the United States. In August 2008, investigators from the U.S. Department of Justice said they believed Bruce E. Ivins, a scientist at an Army biological weapons lab in Maryland, was responsible for the 2001 anthrax attacks. Ivins committed suicide in July 2008. The investigators said they believed Ivins acted alone and declared the case solved.

Weakened economy

In November 2001, economic data showed that the U.S. economy had been in a recession since March. After the events of 9/11, unemployment increased and the recession worsened. Among the companies hit hardest by the economic slowdown were airlines, some of which faced bankruptcy. After the attacks, airlines' insurance costs greatly increased, and they had to undertake costly overhauls of their security systems. At the same time, their incomes dropped sharply because many people were afraid to fly. Congress passed a \$15 billion package of cash and loan guarantees to support the failing airlines.

Investigations

In 2002, President Bush appointed a commission to investigate the 9/11 attacks and to determine what changes were needed to prevent similar attacks in the future. To head the commission, Bush named former New Jersey governor Thomas H. Kean. The commission—known as the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, or the 9/11 Commission—took over investigations in 2002 and issued its final report in 2004. The report stressed the need for improved government coordination and cooperation in combating terrorism.

The Iraq War (2003-2011)

The Iraq War began when the United States and its allies launched an invasion of Iraq in March 2003. The U.S.-led forces controlled most of Iraq by mid-April, after the fall of the Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein. The troops involved in the invasion came mainly from the United States, though forces from the United Kingdom and a few other countries also participated.

United States President George W. Bush declared an end to major combat operations in Iraq on May 1, 2003. Afterward, U.S., Iraqi, and allied forces from many countries tried to maintain security, restore stability, and rebuild the country. The administration did not spend significant time or resources on planning for the aftermath of the military conflict. Iraqi and foreign militants carried out frequent attacks against these military and security forces, as well as against civilian targets. Most of the militants opposed the presence of U.S. and allied foreign forces in Iraq. The Iraq War remained a major challenge in the presidency of Barack Obama, who took office in 2009.

The U.S. government referred to the war as Operation Iraqi Freedom until the end of combat operations on Aug. 31, 2010. From Sept. 1, 2010, until the official end of the war on Dec. 15, 2011, the war was known as Operation New Dawn.

Background to the war

A coalition of 39 nations, organized mainly by the United States and the United Nations (UN), defeated Iraq in the Persian Gulf War of 1991. That war had erupted after Hussein's forces invaded and occupied Kuwait, Iraq's neighbor to the south, in 1990. After the invasion, the United Nations Security Council had authorized the coalition to expel Iraq from Kuwait.

Illegal weapons

As part of the cease-fire agreement that ended the Persian Gulf War of 1991, Iraq agreed to destroy all of its weapons of mass destruction—that is, biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons—and any facilities it had for producing such weapons. However, in the years following the war, Iraq did not fully comply with the terms of the agreement. On a number of occasions, it failed to cooperate with UN teams sent to inspect suspected weapons sites. Starting in 1998, the Iraqi government refused to allow UN weapons inspectors into the country.

In 2001 and 2002, President Bush repeatedly claimed that Hussein and his government were a threat to the security of the United States and other countries. The Bush administration accused Hussein of illegally developing and possessing weapons of mass destruction. It also argued that links existed between Hussein's government and terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda, the group responsible for the terrorist attacks in the United States on

Sept. 11, 2001. However, many experts doubted that there was any working relationship between Iraq and Al Qaeda – a reality that was later proved correct.

Debate within the UN

Bush said that if the UN failed to force Iraq to disarm, the United States might launch a military attack against the country. In response, Iraq began negotiating conditions for a return of the UN weapons inspectors. In November 2002, the UN Security Council passed a resolution demanding the resumption of weapons inspections and threatening serious consequences if Iraq failed to follow UN terms on disarmament. Iraq allowed weapons inspectors to return to the country later that month. However, in the months that followed, the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries charged that Hussein was not cooperating with the inspectors. The United States maintained its threat of possible military action against Iraq.

Members of the UN Security Council disagreed on whether to take military action. The United States was the main supporter of such action. The United Kingdom and Spain also favored the use of force. However, France, Germany, Russia, China, and some other countries argued for more time to seek a diplomatic solution. The United States decided to move toward war despite the disagreement among the Security Council members.

On March 17, 2003 (U.S. time), Bush stated that if Hussein and his sons did not leave Iraq within 48 hours, the United States would begin military action. Hussein did not leave, and a U.S.-led coalition launched an attack on Iraq on March 20 (March 19 in the United States). The removal of Hussein from power was a central goal of the operation. The coalition consisted mostly of U.S. troops, with British, Australian, Polish, and Danish forces also participating.

Iraq War: Invasion by coalition forces

The coalition's initial attack, an air strike on March 20, was reportedly aimed at eliminating Iraqi leadership in Baghdad, Iraq's capital. In the days that followed, the coalition carried out intense bombing aimed at key targets in Baghdad and elsewhere. A large number of coalition ground troops invaded from the south, traveling from Kuwait toward Baghdad. The Turkish government refused to allow coalition troops to enter Iraq from Turkey, blocking the coalition's plan to launch a major offensive from the north. Instead, coalition troops parachuted into northern Iraq and there joined Iraqi Kurds, an ethnic minority, in fighting Iraqi government troops. Coalition forces in the north also targeted Ansar al-Islam, an Islamic militant group that the U.S. government said was linked to Al Qaeda.

Battle in Baghdad

As coalition forces neared Baghdad, they engaged in battle with Iraq's Republican Guard, the most highly trained branch of Iraq's military. In early April, coalition forces seized control of the international airport outside Baghdad. Within days, the forces gained control of Hussein's presidential palaces and other key locations in the city. Meanwhile, coalition air strikes continued to target high-level Iraqi officials and other strategic targets both inside and outside Baghdad. On April 9, coalition forces took control of central Baghdad, and U.S. officials declared that the Hussein government had been removed from power.

Shortly before Baghdad's fall, British forces had seized control of Basra, the largest city in southern Iraq. By mid-April, coalition forces held all of Iraq's major cities. On May 1, Bush declared that major combat operations had ended.

After the fall of the Hussein regime, the coalition countries, led by the United States, established the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) as a temporary government for Iraq. Coalition troops and CPA officials then focused on

restoring order and overseeing the creation of a new Iraqi-controlled government. The coalition also began searching Iraq for weapons of mass destruction. On June 28, 2004, the CPA was dissolved, and an interim government made up of Iraqis took its place. On Jan. 30, 2005, an election was held for a transitional National Assembly to replace the interim government. The Assembly oversaw the preparation of a constitution for Iraq. In October, Iraqis approved the Constitution in a nationwide referendum. In December, Iraqis elected a permanent legislature called the Council of Representatives.

Coalition forces captured or killed several key officials of the Hussein regime. In July 2003, Hussein's sons Uday and Qusay, who had held high-ranking positions in their father's government, were killed during a firefight with U.S. troops. On Dec. 13, 2003, Saddam Hussein himself was captured by U.S. troops near his hometown of Tikrit. He had been in hiding since the war began in March. In 2006, a special Iraqi court convicted Hussein of ordering the massacre of over 140 Shī`ites in 1982 and sentenced him to death by hanging. Hussein was executed by Iraqi authorities on Dec. 30, 2006. At the time, Hussein was facing additional charges, including genocide and crimes against humanity, for other actions he took while he was president of Iraq.

During most of the period from 2003 to 2009, U.S. troops were in charge of security in northern and western Iraq; British troops were in charge of security in much of southern Iraq; and a Polish-led international force had security duties in an area of central Iraq south of Baghdad. Iraqi troops became increasingly involved in security operations, especially after June 2004.

More than 30 countries sent peacekeeping forces to serve in Iraq. Besides the United States, participating countries included Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Estonia, Fiji, Georgia, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, South Korea, Spain, Thailand, Tonga, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom.

Resistance to the coalition

Many Iraqis celebrated the fall of Hussein's government. However, many also opposed the presence of U.S. and other foreign forces in Iraq. On numerous occasions, the opposition became violent.

After Bush declared the end of major combat operations in May 2003, numerous guerrilla attacks, bombings, and other violent acts continued in Iraq. Militants from both the Sunni Muslim and Shī`ite Muslim populations in Iraq carried out attacks and called for the withdrawal of foreign soldiers and civilians. Prior to 2006, most of the militants were Sunnis who opposed Iraq's new government, which was dominated by Shī`ites and backed by the United States. Some of the attackers were believed to be loyal to Hussein

Muslim militants from other countries were thought to have been involved in many attacks. Some of the militants were believed to have connections to Al Qaeda. The main group of militants with Al Qaeda ties was led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian, until his death in June 2006. This group is sometimes called by its original name, Tawhid and Jihad. It has also been called Al Qaeda in Iraq, Al Qaeda Organization of Holy War in Iraq, and other names that indicate its Al Qaeda connections.

The attacks targeted coalition troops, Iraqi security forces, and Iraqi and foreign civilians. Some of the attacks struck against religious sites, especially Shī`ite ones. Several Iraqis in key leadership positions were assassinated. Bombing targets included police and civil defense stations, government buildings, military facilities, oil pipelines, mosques, and churches. High-profile targets included the Jordanian embassy in Baghdad; the UN headquarters in

Baghdad; the Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf, a major holy site for Shī`ites; the headquarters of the Red Cross in Baghdad; Kurdish political party offices in Arbil; and sites in Baghdad and Karbala where Shī`ites gather each year for the religious festival of Ashura.

Hundreds of Iraqi and foreign civilians were kidnapped in Iraq. Many of the kidnappings were for ransom, but others were for political reasons. For example, some militants kidnapped foreign civilians in an attempt to persuade their home countries to withdraw troops from, or cease business activities in, Iraq. Kidnappers murdered some of the civilians.

In 2004, frequent clashes between Sunni militants and U.S.-led forces began in central Iraq. The city of Fallujah, west of Baghdad, was the site of much of the fighting. The violence killed thousands of people, including soldiers, militants, and civilians. In mid-2004, Sunni militants gained control of some parts of central Iraq, including the cities of Fallujah, Ramadi, and Samarra. In October 2004, U.S. and Iraqi forces regained control of Samarra. In November, after several weeks of U.S. air strikes on Fallujah, U.S. and Iraqi forces began a major ground assault on the city. They seized control of most of Fallujah within a few days. The air and ground attacks destroyed hundreds of buildings and did much damage to the city's power lines and water and sewer pipes.

Also in 2004, much fighting occurred between U.S.-led forces and militants loyal to the radical Shī`ite cleric Muqtada (also spelled Moqtada) al-Sadr. This fighting took place mainly in Najaf and in a Baghdad community known as Sadr City. Al-Sadr later signed a truce with the Iraqi government and partially disarmed his militia.

On Feb. 22, 2006, militants bombed the al-Askari shrine in Samarra. The shrine, containing the tomb of two important Shī`ite imams (religious leaders), is one of the holiest sites to Shī`ite Muslims. The bombing sparked an increase of attacks between Sunni and Shī`ite groups. The continuing violence between the two groups engulfed major areas of Baghdad and its surroundings, adding to the difficulties of providing basic security for Iraqis. Numerous other bombings and attacks occurred throughout Iraq, killing thousands of civilians and soldiers.

In 2007, the United States sent 30,000 more troops to help the Iraqi government establish security throughout the country. The number of attacks dropped, but some violence continued. United States combat operations in Iraq formally ended on Aug. 31, 2010. Some U.S. troops remained in Iraq until late 2011 to fight terrorism and perform other duties.

Consequences of the war

Casualties and destruction

A total of 172 coalition soldiers—139 Americans and 33 Britons—died during what Bush called the major combat phase of the war in March and April 2003. From May 1, 2003, until the war's official end on Dec. 15, 2011, an additional 4,631 coalition soldiers, mostly Americans, died in Iraq. More than 32,000 coalition soldiers were wounded. There are no official estimates of how many Iraqis died as a result of the war. Most observers believe that tens of thousands of Iraqis, mostly civilians, died. Some observers believe there were several hundred thousand Iraqi deaths. Numerous foreign civilians, including journalists, business people, and aid workers, were also killed.

The war caused extensive damage to Iraq's utilities, transportation systems, and industries. In addition, looting was a major problem during the early stages of the war, as mobs of Iraqis entered palaces, museums, and other buildings and carried away items from inside.

Disagreements over the war

World opinion was sharply divided over the war and the occupation of Iraq by coalition forces. Before the war began, a majority of Americans supported the invasion of Iraq. But the invasion and the occupation also received much criticism, both inside and outside the United States. Before the war began, antiwar protesters held numerous demonstrations in the United States and in many other countries. Additional demonstrations took place throughout the invasion and occupation.

Many opponents of the war argued that it inspired anger and resentment among Arabs and Muslims toward the United States and its allies. Many people believed such hostility caused an increase in terrorist violence against U.S. targets. Outrage over the coalition's activities increased sharply in April and May 2004, when evidence surfaced that coalition soldiers had abused Iraqi prisoners, particularly at the Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad.

Some people, including former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, argued that the invasion of Iraq violated international law. Some feared that the war, and disagreements over its timing and justification, weakened the UN and other international institutions.

Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair faced significant criticism over the conflict. Many critics charged that Bush and Blair used misleading, inaccurate, or false information to justify the war. Before the war, Bush and Blair said that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction. However, after the Hussein regime was overthrown, coalition inspectors failed to find any such weapons in Iraq. Investigators concluded that U.S. and British intelligence agencies provided inaccurate estimates of Iraq's weapons capabilities before the war.

Bush and Blair also claimed that there were links between Iraq and Al Qaeda. The Hussein regime did support terrorist groups fighting the governments of Turkey and Iran, as well as Palestinian terrorist groups. In addition, some contacts apparently occurred between Iraqi officials and Al Qaeda representatives. However, there is no evidence that a working relationship ever developed between Iraq and Al Qaeda. In reality, the goals of the two were simply incompatible.

Supporters of the war argued that it was necessary to prevent Iraq from developing weapons of mass destruction and supplying them to terrorist groups. They also argued that Hussein needed to be removed from power because he was a brutal dictator. Hussein had authorized the extermination of hundreds of thousands of his own people, and he had shown disregard for the fundamental principles of international relations.

By 2004, the Bush administration had made democracy in Iraq a central goal of the war. It argued that if Iraq successfully developed a democratic government, democracy would then spread throughout the Middle East. But as the conflict dragged on, worldwide public opinion had increasingly come to oppose the continuing U.S. military presence in Iraq.