

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The Nuclear weapon is an explosive device created from enriched uranium. Firstly, it was created in the form of atomic bomb. The Manhattan Project was the name code for the production of the atomic bombs developed during World War II. This project was conducted by a group of scientists at the University of Chicago. They successfully created the first nuclear reactor that later could be used for many purposes, one of them was to make an atomic bomb (U.S Department of Energy, 1994). The first country in history who had ever used the nuclear weapon was the United States of America.

In August 1945, U.S dropped nuclear bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These events also led to the end of the World War II. As the result of the nuclear attack happened in Japan, people were able to see how much damage created from the nuclear weapons. In Hiroshima, at least 66,000 people were killed instantly and another 69,000 dying from radiation effects. More than 4 square miles of the area were completely devastated. In Nagasaki, 39,000 people died and thousands eventually died later because of those horrific events. The 1,5 square miles of land were destroyed (Walker, 1946).

In this modern era, this atomic bomb has transformed into the more advanced form of nuclear missiles from short range until intercontinental range. This weapon is very effective to use in long-range attack with a high level of destruction. Many states have been pursuing nuclear weapons though they have understood how terrible the destruction effect from it. Having more nuclear weapon states will increase the risk of accidents, escalation of tension and even nuclear war.

In order to minimize the risk toward international security, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was established in 1957. This agency became an international safeguard against the misuse of nuclear weapons. IAEA also facilitated the peaceful application of the nuclear technology. By 1960, numerous initiatives were being taken in order to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Many treaties had been created to limit and reduce the nuclear testing and nuclear stockpiles. One of those treaties was the Non-Proliferation treaty (NPT) (Fischer, 1997).

Non-Proliferation Treaty or NPT is created to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and promote cooperation between states in using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Further, NPT aims to achieve nuclear disarmament in general and complete disarmament. It opened for signatures in 1968 and came into force in 1970 (UNODA, 1995). NPT consists of a preamble and eleven articles. The treaty is built from three pillars, non-proliferation, disarmament and the right to use nuclear technology peacefully. These pillars are interrelated and mutually reinforcing (U.S Department of State, 2010).

Until 2016, there have been 191 states joining the NPT (US Department of Defense, 2013). From all of the members, five states (United State, Russia, United Kingdom, France and China) are recognized as nuclear weapon states. The non-nuclear member states have been agreed to never acquire nuclear weapons, while NPT nuclear member states must share the benefits from peaceful nuclear technology. Outside of NPT, there are some states which known to possess nuclear weapons such as Israel, India, and Pakistan. North Korea once joined the NPT but withdrew in 2003 (Graham, 2004). NPT has ultimate purpose of eliminating all of the nuclear arsenals and creating the world without nuclear weapons, but achieving this goal is extremely a difficult challenge.

Until today, most of the states in the world have been pursuing global non-proliferation regime by joining IAEA and other nuclear treaties. However, the nuclear case of Iran and Israel become a serious challenge in their implementation. Both countries nuclear program become sources of debate and international tensions. Iran is a member of NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state while Israel is a nuclear weapon state outside NPT. This issue becomes even more complex due to U.S inconsistency in response toward Iran and Israel nuclear program.

Iran's nuclear program caught so much attention from the world especially western countries since 2002. There was an opposition group in Iran named National Council Resistance who revealed about Iran's secret nuclear program. They opened to the world about the existence of two undeclared nuclear facilities in Iran. One was the nuclear

facilities in Natanz for uranium enrichment and the other was in Arak for heavy water production plant. The information was spread quickly. The western countries could not remain silent and let Iran pursuing nuclear weapons capability. The United States had accused Iran pursuing nuclear weapons and violated the Non-Proliferation Treaty (Bahgat, 2007).

Entered 2006, United States accumulated support from UN Security Council and the European Union to stop nuclear activities in Iran. France, Britain, and Germany as the EU representatives had engaged in serious negotiation with Iran as well. They demanded Iran's full adherence to its commitments under Non-Proliferation Treaty. UN Security Council plus German (5+1) proposed a set of incentives to Iran relating its nuclear program. The incentives acknowledged legal rights of Iran to conduct peaceful use of nuclear technology. However, at the same time, it demanded for total postponement of Iran's uranium enrichment activities (Bahgat, 2007).

Iran got serious consequences for less transparency about its nuclear programs. Iran decided to reject those incentives. In their point of view, the incentives contained threats and repressions for their country. On December 23, 2006, the United Nation Security Council adopted 1737 resolution that imposed several sets of economic sanctions against Iran. In bilateral relations, United States banned dollar transactions with the Iran's largest commercial bank, Saderat. U.S agitated several governments to refuse any kind of cooperation with Iran relating its nuclear programs (Steinbach, 2011).

Due to the intensity of international pressure, Iran must accept Additional Protocol that required them to suspend all nuclear enrichment activities and allowed IAEA to conduct further inspections. Iran forced to accept the additional constraints on its nuclear program in order to build confidence toward international community (Kerr, 2016). In contrary, Israel who was known to possess nuclear weapon since a long time ago, but they remained free from meaningful International pressure.

Since 1960, Israel has considered as the sixth nation in the world and the first nation in the Middle East who acquired nuclear weapons capability (Steinbach, 2011). Israel is never be a part of the global non-proliferation regime. They refused to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. They never declared or denied their possession of nuclear weapons. The International Atomic Energy Agency has called on Israel to open its nuclear facilities for inspection and adhered to the non-proliferation treaty. However, Israel never agree to cooperate (Al Jazeera, 2009).

Israel has been maintaining the policy of ambiguity over its nuclear program for more than 40 years. The policy was backed up by their closest ally the United States, thus it could last until now. The United States initially allowed Israel to possess the nuclear weapon and its contributions made Israel free from International pressure. While the United States always underlined the importance of the universality of NPT, but it also deferred any efforts to press Israel on this matter (Lawrence & Miller, 2003).

Many observers have seen this issue weakening the International nuclear non-proliferation agenda. Joseph Cirincione as the former director for non-proliferation also ever mentioned:

The world does well to remember that most Middle East weapons programs began as a response to Israel's nuclear weapons. It should be obvious that Israelis are better off in a region where no one has nuclear weapons than in one where many nations have them (Steinbach, 2011, p. 35).

According to Steinbach in November 2009, the former IAEA director Mohammed Elbaradei also mentions “This is not really sustainable that you have Israel sitting with nuclear weapons capability there while everyone else is part of the non-proliferation regime”. (Steinbach, 2009, p. 357)

The United States has put double standards in response toward Iran and Israel nuclear program. They differentiated good proliferators like Israel and bad proliferators like Iran. Some countries have been arguing about U.S attitudes in favoring possession of nuclear weapons by Israel while strongly opposing the possession of nuclear weapons by other countries in the Middle East (Steinbach, 2009). This was proven during New York conference. U.S did not put the slightest pressure on Israel to sign the NPT and said privately that they have understood about Israel’s position (Collins, 1995).

B. Research Question

From the background above, the research question is “Why did U.S support Israel’s nuclear weapon program instead of Iran’s?”

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the research question, it is very important to analyze about U.S foreign policy related to this matter and how this policy is formulated. The foreign policy of the state changes dynamically from time to time. The situation in the international arena is somehow unpredictable. In formulating foreign policy, states need to carefully examine every single input from all of the parties involved in the decision making process and consider it with its national capabilities. Thus, the writer put a theory from William D. Coplin namely Decision Making Process to analyze the reason behind U.S support toward Israel nuclear program.

Theory of Decision Making Process

William D Coplin in his book “Introduction to International Politics” explains about how the foreign policy of the states is formulated. The foreign policy of the state is the result of three considerations that influence the decision makers in formulating the foreign policy. These considerations include international context, domestic politics and states' economic and military capability. The figure below illustrates how these aspects interact each other in order to formulate a foreign policy (Coplin, 2003).

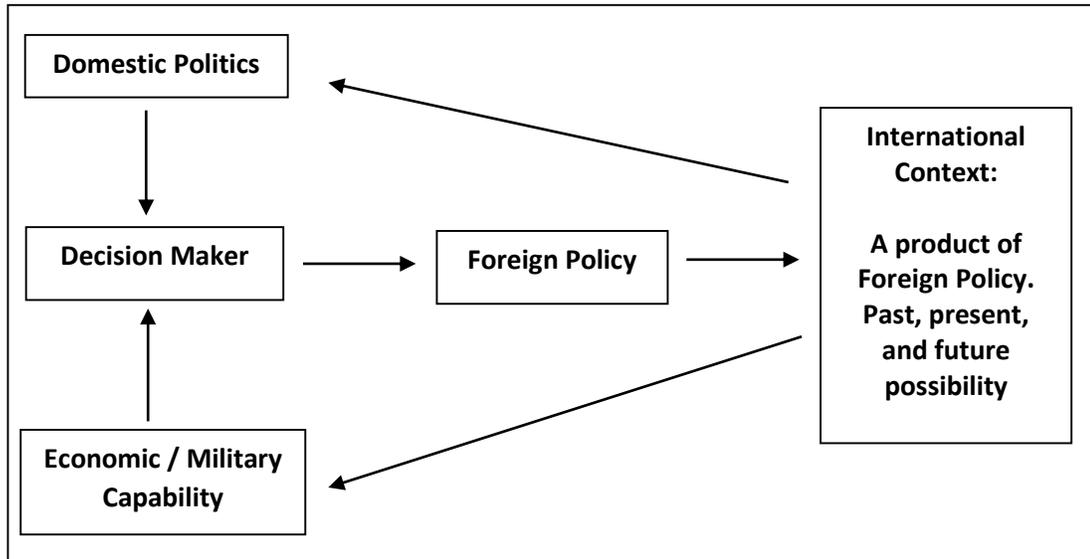


Figure 1.1 Coplin's Foreign Policy Decision Making Process (Coplin, 2003)

a. International Context

International context is the circumstances that happen in the international arena. The situation in international politics will influence the state in deciding what action that shall be taken in the relation with another state. It include geographical, economic and political condition in other states with the past, present, and future possibility (Coplin, 2003). In relation with Iran, United States does considerate the political situation in Iran which has been turn 360⁰ from a close ally into an enemy.

Since the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, U.S. no longer considered Iran as their strategic partner in the Middle East. The revolution caused the most degraded U.S-Iran relationship (Cook & Roshandel, 2009). There were two countries in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia and Israel) that remained as the U.S. strategic partners.

The biggest U.S. support has been giving to Israel politically, economically and in military. Everything would be taken in order to maintain the existence of Israel. Thus, U.S would eradicate everything that might threaten the security of Israel.

Since the era of Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran's anti-American attitudes and hostility toward Israel were seen as a threat to U.S interests. Ayatollah Khomeini declared Israel as a sworn enemy and it had become an ideological framework of this Islamic Republic. Some reported that Iran has supported anti-Israel organizations such as Hezbollah, Hamas, and Jihad (Bahgat, 2007). Moreover, the possibility of Iran in pursuing nuclear weapons and supporting those terrorist group had been considered as a threat to U.S interests and Israel's security.

b. Domestic politics

Domestic politics is the dynamics of internal politics of the state. Domestic politics focuses on the relation between the decision makers with other political actors trying to give influence in formulating the foreign policy. In the United States, President and Congress are the main actors in formulating the foreign policy. The President as the executive agency has duties in implementing and proposing foreign policy. In order to get funds for those policies, the president needs the ratification from the Congress. The Congress makes foreign policy through its power to declare war, give fund toward programs, and ratify treaties (Cipto, 2003).

The President and the Congress in formulating foreign policy are influenced by other political actors. These actors are called as "policy influencers". The decision makers and policy influencers create the policy influence system. The decision makers need the policy influencers as their source of support to maintain their political regime. At the same time, policy influencers need the decision makers to pass their interests. Coplin has categorized policy influencers into four types: bureaucratic, partisan, interest, and mass influencers (Coplin, 2003).

1) Bureaucratic influencer

The government function in the United States is very complex, thus some governmental organizations were created with specific functions. These organizations called as bureaucracy. Bureaucracy refers to individual or organizations in the executive departments that help the government in the decision-making process and later contribute in implementing the policies. They have direct access to decision makers because they provide the decision makers with the information needed in formulating foreign policies (Coplin, 2003)

In federal country such as United States, bureaucracy mainly consists of department, independent agency and government corporation. However only some of U.S bureaucratic agencies which involved in the foreign policy decision making. They give advice to the president and Congress in formulating foreign policy and play their own roles in implementing these policies. Bureaucracy

agents that usually involved decision making process are the Department of State, the Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the Department of Homeland Security (Cipto, 2003).

Israel is a very important partner in the U.S. government's overall policy in the Middle East. The Congress has placed considerable importance on the maintenance of a close and supportive relationship with Israel. Some of U.S . executive agencies have engaged in extensive strategic, political and military cooperation with Israel. The cooperation includes American aid, intelligence sharing, defense cooperation, joint military exercises and many others. American military aid to Israel comes in different forms include grants, special project allocations, and loans (Sharp, 2015).

2) Partisan influencer

A partisan influencer means the contribution of political parties in the decision making process. It is a group of people passing through the aspirations and demands of society to government. They try to give influence in the decision making process through some political members they put in the government. They will take part in the foreign policy decision making especially for the policies that give the significant impact on the domestic politics. The Decision makers will considerate the aspirations from political parties to preserve their regime (Coplin, 2003)

There are two big parties in U.S. They are Democratic Party and Republican. In response toward Iran's nuclear programs, both Democratic Party and Republican condemned Iran's capability in pursuing nuclear weapons. Democratic Party supported Obama's policy to put sanction against Iran. According to their point of view, Iran has yet to build a nuclear weapon. However, they failed to fulfill their obligations under the NPT and they could not demonstrate with any credibility that their nuclear program was for peaceful purposes (Democrats, 2012).

In another side, Republican Party pressed the government for quick settlement about Iran's nuclear programs. They saw Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons capability threatening America, Israel, and the world. They proposed that U.S. must lead the effort to prevent Iran from acquiring such capabilities by any means necessary. In their point of view, U.S. faced the situation that gravely threatened the safety of Israel as the U.S. closest ally in the Middle East (Republicans, 2012). Both parties advocated the U.S. government to take action in order to stop Iran's nuclear programs and prevent them from acquiring nuclear weapons. However, in another side, they did not seriously discuss the possession of nuclear weapons in the hands of Israel.

3) Interest influencer

Interest influencer is a group of people who stucked together with the common purpose. They are not as wide as the political party, but they are very

important as a source of support for the decision makers. In the open political system, they play important role in influencing the decision makers by providing financial support. They are representatives from many interest group both economic and non-economic sectors. They have various ways of expressing and seeking support for their interest. Usually, they use campaign method whether direct or indirect (Coplin, 2003).

There are various interest groups in the United States from businesses, non-businesses until foreign lobbies. They seek to shape American defense, diplomatic, and trade policies. They have a close relation with the Congress. Usually, Congress invoked interest parties in formulating foreign policy because they need support from them. Some of the U.S interest parties who often influenced the government in formulating foreign policy are Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, The Zionist Organization and many others. The most influential interest group among them is The Jewish Lobby (Cipto, 2003).

The Jewish Lobby done by AIPAC (American-Israel Public Affairs Committee) have big influence in shaping U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. In the case of Iran's nuclear program, they unceasingly the U.S government to eradicate their nuclear program, weaken the Iranian power and run the foreign policy which beneficial for Israel. Iranian nuclear program is seen as potential threat to Israel and U.S interest in the Middle East. Due to their

strong lobbies, Congress agreed to pass the policies about bringing Iran's nuclear program into UN Security Council and give economic sanctions to Iran. The pro-Israel lobby in the Congress also has sufficient power to prevent any party from raising the discussion about Israel's nuclear programs (Schulberg, 2015).

4) Mass influencer

Mass influencers are public opinions. The decision makers consider public opinion as their inputs in formulating policy. The decision makers need their support especially in general election to preserve their political regime. The public get information through mass media. The mass media play important role in shaping public perceptions for the political agenda. They also can be tools of propaganda which construct public mindset relate to government's policy (Coplin, 2003).

There are some diversities in media. They naturally remain within the agendas that are set by their owners or the market. The Iranian nuclear weapon's issue has been the top foreign policy issue throughout Washington for the past two months. The public has been constructed by media about the danger of the Iran's nuclear programs thus mostly public opinion support for sanction given to Iran. U.S. mass media is bias in reporting the fact about Iranian nuclear program. It is because the influence from the owner of medias in U.S which are

the majority owned by Jewish-American people. Several of them are ABC, NBC, CBS, and CNN (Whitley, 2011).

From the newspaper, the nation's three most influential newspapers such as the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post are under control of Jewish people. These media are quite dominating America's financial and political information (Socio-Economics & History, 2013). In the United States, the product of the policy is sometimes not in line with the public aspiration. Even U.S is the democratic country, but every aspiration will through media arrangement and selection. Due to the influence from pro-Israel lobbyist, they are able to silence the mainstream of U.S media regarding the Israel nuclear stockpiles and Israel refusal to sign the NPT (Collins, 1995).

c. Economic and Military Capability

In order to achieve its national interest, the states need to consider their economic and military capability to sustain their foreign policy. In economic, the state usually consider their national budget, cost and profit and their national economic stability (Coplin, 2003). The success of the foreign policy of the states is somehow determined by how strong their military power and how much budget they could afford.

United States become superpower after World War II and become more powerful after the disintegration of Soviet Union. Their economic and military capability cannot be doubted in the international arena. They have interests far

beyond their borders. They have capabilities to defend those interests overseas. As industrialized & trade-oriented countries, they are also militarily powerful. The United States is able to create a global presence and extensive diplomatic engagement with many countries in the world. U.S. has sufficient sources of funds and military power to support Israel. This is due to the fact that Jews run majority of U.S. economic sector and U.S. also rely on the Israel military technology.

U.S. have allocated the huge number of foreign budget to Israel. Israel got the largest amount of U.S assistance compared with other countries. The United States has provided 3 billion dollars each year to Israel. The majority of U.S. bilateral aid to Israel is in form of military assistance. For decades, American and Israeli scientists have worked together to develop sophisticated military industry. U.S. continues to supply weapons to Israel. The newest stealth fighter F-35, now being introduced in the U.S military is ready to send to Israel. The difference between what Israel can get and what other countries can get from U.S. is that Israel able to choose the most advanced type of U.S. arms but other countries can't.

Israel is America's most sophisticated and experienced partner in the U.S. military industry. In the past decade. Israel become a major supplier of defense articles to the U.S. army. Israeli ideas and concepts are sometimes copied and marketed by U.S. firms. Israel's defense industries remained become U.S. suppliers of innovative high tech items. U.S. often looked to its Israeli military counterparts for lessons learned, innovative technologies and tactics.

The formulation of U.S foreign policy toward the issue can be applicated with the Coplin's Decision Making Process Theory in the figure as:

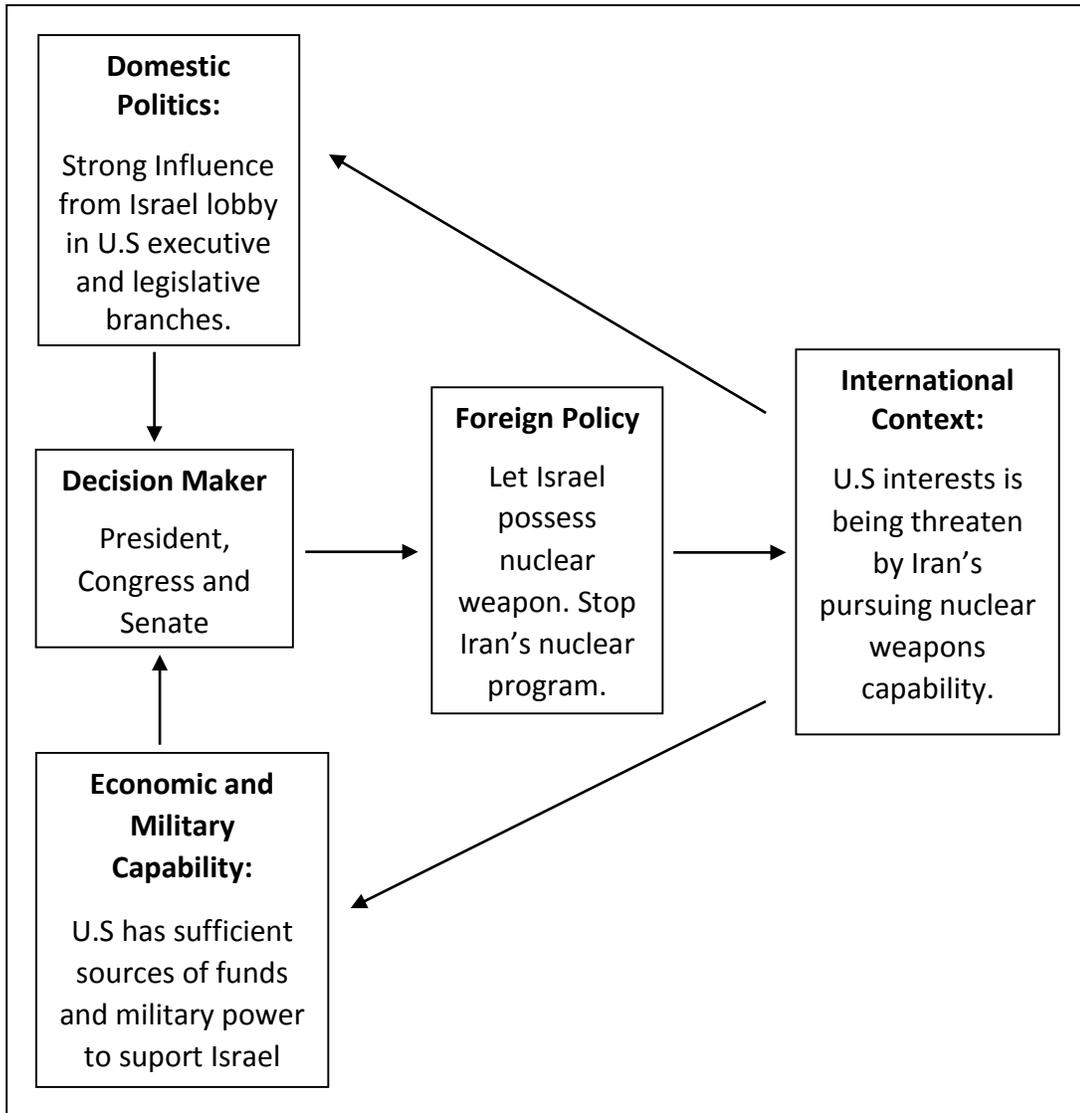


Figure 1.2 U.S. Foreign Policy Decision Making Process

D. Hypothesis

The reason behind U.S. support toward Israel nuclear programs instead of Iran's nuclear programs is because there are some factors influence U.S. decision makers in formulating foreign policy such as international contexts, domestic politics, and state's economic and military capability.

1. U.S. interests in Middle East is being threaten by Iran pursuing nuclear weapons capability.
2. Strong influence from Israel lobby work in U.S. executive and legislative branches to maintain close and supportive relations with Israel.
3. U.S. has sufficient sources of funds and military power to support Israel.

E. Purpose of Research

This research aims to understand the reason behind U.S. foreign policy in supporting the possession of a nuclear weapon by Israel era but rejecting the possession of nuclear weapons by Iran. This research will analyze about the parties who influence the U.S government in formulating foreign policy especially in response toward Iran and Israel nuclear program. This research is also one of the requirements for achieving the Bachelor degree in International Relation program.

F. Scope of Research

In order to avoid the topic from being expanded, the writer limits the research from the time when Israel began its nuclear program in 1960 until now.

G. Method of Research

The method of this research will follow the deductive and qualitative method by implementing the theory in order to prove the hypothesis. The writer collects data from an extensive research toward relevant sources both in printed and online sources such as books, academic journals, report, newspaper and websites.

H. The Systematic of Writing

Chapter I This chapter consists of background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purpose of research, method of research, and systematic of writing.

Chapter II This chapter describes the history of nuclear weapons and the role of Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

Chapter III This chapter describes the Israel nuclear program since the first creation of its nuclear weapon, the estimation of size, and the policy of Israel regarding its possession of nuclear weapon.

Chapter IV This chapter analyzes about the U.S foreign policy regarding the possession of nuclear weapon by Israel, the reason behind U.S support and both countries relations and cooperation in nuclear terms.

Chapter V The last chapter is conclusion.