

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. Significance

A lot of researchers, journal, and book discussed the Iraq War in 2003. This paper brought up the term of realist theory to see the decision of The United States invasion towards Iraq. The thesis also took the term of Invasion and Iraq War.

Realist perspective was used because it is one of theory which considers that power is the most important thing to control the authority. Based on realist theory, the international system is anarchy. Realists do not believe to the international system and also an international organization because they consider the state as the most important actor, and there is no other actor above state which can control their relation to each other.

This paper collaborated all of those terms into one main idea about the Iraq War from the realist point of view in order to restrict the area of discussion. There are several papers which lift up Gulf War as the main topic. But this paper applied the realist theory into the characteristic of the states (both The United States and Iraq). It means those which already happened in Iraq War were examined in realist point of view. The reasons, the actors, and also the results of the war, were explained in realist perspective.

B. Background

The United States is one of the countries in the world that has military forces exceeds other countries around it. As reported by Deutsche Welle, The United States ranks highest than other countries in 2015. In 2015, The United States

defense budget accounted for about 39 percent of the total budget of all countries in the world for the military, according to the study of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (Shah, 2013). Based on the Deutsche Welle webpage, The United States ranks the most top military forces in the world, “*The United States has about 1.3 million personnel, more than 30,000 armored vehicles, 13,000 aircraft and combat helicopters, 10 aircraft carriers, 72 submarines, and dozens of other warships*” (Welle, 2015). With such military forces, it is normal for The United States to easily declare war or to create a foreign policy that intervene other countries. Since its declaration of independence, The United States has been involved in more than one hundred wars, including civil war and world wars (Grossman, 2001). Therefore, The United States involvement in the Iran-Iraq war was a new beginning for the relation between The United States and Iraqi government.

In 1980, the world had the Iran-Iraq War. Only two years after the presidential inauguration, Saddam Hussein decided to invade Iran (Karsh, 2002). The Iranian Revolution was the main reason behind the invasion. Saddam Hussein saw the instability of Iranian government was a good timing to occupy Iran and to fulfill Saddam’s ambition to become a regional superpower (Rajee, 2003). The United States which supported Shah Pahlavi, the overthrown President of Iran, involved in the war allied with Iraq to occupy Iran.

Several incidents happened during the Iran-Iraq War, and it affected the relation between Iraq and The United States. In 1986, The United States was discovered selling weapons and arms secretly to Iran. In 1987 throughout Iran-

Iraq War, Iraq military air force attacked USS Stark, exploded and killed 37 people (Martins, 1994). In 1990, Iraq declares a war towards Kuwait, known as the Persian Gulf War (CNN, 2001). Iraq claimed the Kuwait territory as their land. Before the invasion, Iraq also considered Kuwait did military action that could threaten them. The invasion started on August 2, 1990, at midnight to attack Kuwait's city. The international world gave a fast response. Kuwait and The United States requested a meeting with UNSC that resulting Resolution 660. The resolution contains condemning the invasion and asking for withdrawal of Iraqi troops in Kuwait's border (United Nation, 1993). Not only issued Resolution 660, The UNSC also issued Resolution 661, 665, and 678, which contained economic and military sanction to Iraq. After Iraq rejected the Resolution 678 (stated that all the Iraqi troops should withdraw from Kuwait area at least before January 15, 1991), The United States and alliance began to attack Iraqi troops in Kuwait's border on January 17, 1991.

After the attack from The United States and alliance, the war was widened. Iraq sent their missile to Israel and several Arab countries like Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Bahrain (Rostker, 2000). The purpose of Iraqi missile strike was the withdrawal of Arab world countries from The United States's coalition. But the strike did not influence the coalition attacks to Iraqi troops, instead, the coalition army succeeded to give pressure to Iraqi troops to left Kuwait border. Until February 28, 1991, The United States President George H. W. Bush declared a ceasefire and liberation of Kuwait.

It had been at least ten years before The United States decided invading Iraq in 2003. Since President Bush was elected in 2000, The United States tended to be more aggressive towards Iraq. In 2002, a year before the invasion, Iraq had agreed to follow the instruction of The United Nation to give an inspection towards Iraq after passing the United Nation Security Council Resolution 1441 about the possessing of weapon.

UN Security Council Resolution 1441 was the last resolution before the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The content of the resolution was an investigation to Iraqi government done by The UN to look for the Iraqi chemical weapon. It took several times for negotiations by the UNSC members like Russia, China, and France. They considered some part of the draft resolution so that the war could be avoided. Finally the Resolution 1441 passed with one vote of all members of UNSC, including Russia and China that voted in favor.

Before the resolution was passed, Iraq denied all the charges like violating Security Council Resolution 1373, producing and using the WMD, and misappropriating the UN humanitarian aid. Iraq agreed to the resolution on November 13, 2002. It meant that the investigator of The UN could investigate the WMD in the Iraqi territory. Hans Blix was the person in charge to lead the investigation in Iraq. On November 27, 2002, the investigation was officially begun. The investigation targeted the WMD production and chemical weapon that suspected by The United States. Until the end of the investigation, the WMD and all chemical weapon that suspected by The United States could not be proven.

Iraq mostly denied the UN investigation of disarmament, and the majority of investigation which accepted always ended by Iraqi threats (USA Today, 2003). But after the passing Resolution 1441 Iraq accepted and fully cooperated with the investigation command. In the result of the investigation, Hans Blix reported that Iraq did not possess any WMD or any chemical weapon to declare war (CNN, 2003). In his report, Blix also stated “*Iraq nevertheless welcomes and UNMOVIC is responding to them in the hope of solving presently unresolved disarmament issues*” (CNN, 2003). The statement means that Iraq had no choice other than following the investigation arranged by the UN, to resolve the disarmament issue that already happened over ten years.

Unlike the previous wars where Iraq aggressively challenged his enemy to war, in 2002, Iraq began to show their openness to the international world. Considering the previous explanation, this paper examined the reason behind The United States invasion in 2003 even Iraq, as the rival, had shown its cooperation during the investigation.

C. Research Question

The Iraq War topic always became an interesting issue to be discussed. There were a lot of things that could be described, explained, and analyzed inside the war. Several questions appeared to interpret the invasion of The United States towards Iraq. The research question of this undergraduate thesis was “*Why The United States decide to unilaterally invade Iraq in 2003 regardless the cooperation of Iraq government on UN’s weapon inspection?*”

D. Theoretical Framework

Realism is a school of International Relation Theory. Realism is a spectrum of idea, which revolves around the four central propositions of Political Groupies, Egoism, International Anarchy, and Power Politics (Goodin, 2010). Theories of political realism originated through the works of Morgenthau and Niccolo Machiavelli, emerged as an International Relation based approach in the 20th century inter-war. Machiavelli stated that the basic desire of human is to gain more power, and it is interpreted in political world. Hans Morgenthau is a figure of classical realism who is famous with his statement “international politics is struggle for power”. It means that it is possible for a state to have a relation in international world, but it is just for gaining more power.

Realism brings up four propositions in international relation theory, they are:

1. The international system is anarchic
2. States are the most important actor
3. All states within the system are unitary
4. Primary concern of all states is survival

However this undergraduate thesis only used the international anarchy and the causalities to make the explanation more specific about the Iraq War.

In realism, anarchy is described as self-help system. The state has no one to rely on in security aspect, besides strengthening their own power (Elmsan, 2010). Realism believes that in anarchy system, the basic state’s behavior is

survival. It builds its military power that can threaten another state, only to survive.

a. International anarchy

International anarchy means the interaction between states is leaderless. States must decide the relation with other states by their own decision, rather than being dictated to them by some higher controlling entity. In realism, the interaction between states is anarchy. The individual characteristic of a leader could effects the state behavior while a leader is the state decision maker. Therefore, if the leader is aggressive, it can be concluded that he will make an aggressive decision, and also make his state aggressive.

George W. Bush was The United States president who came from the Republican Party that more applied realism in gaining power. He preferred to use hard power rather than soft power, and it was influenced by his political party, just like the idea of realism that “power is everything”. It means that we can do everything whether using soft means or hard means, only for gaining a bigger power.

b. Security dilemma

In the international system, state should build the military capability up in order to survive. It is because in an anarchic system, a state can make a decision by its own capability. A state can build their military as strong as possible. However, the action can lead into security dilemma situation. Security dilemma is a condition where a

state feels threatened because another state is raising its military power, and the other states will respond with similar action and can emerge a conflict between them. Even both parties do not intend to do so (Jervis, 1978).

Robert Jervis stated in his book that a state can build up its military capability for defensive purposes (Jervis, 1978). However, since realist theory describes that a state can not believe each other, the defensive purpose may change into offensive. Then if another state also changes the purpose into offensive, this condition can bring up into the arm race possibility or even the preemptive strike.

The Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) that possessed by Iraq had become one of the reasons behind the invasion. According to George W. Bush, Iraq still had enough chemical weapons to declare war. Moreover, Iraq claimed that it had a sophisticated nuclear weapon that could produce nuclear bombs. The WMD issue and the strengthening power of Iraq actually affected Israel as an ally of the United States. Located in the Middle East just like Iraq, Israel is the United States's way to spread its hegemony in that area. Therefore, if Iraq had enough chemical or nuclear weapons to declare war, it was necessary for the United States to attack the Iraqi government.

c. Balance of power

The security dilemma is only aiming at a balance of power condition. Balance of power is an idea explaining that national security

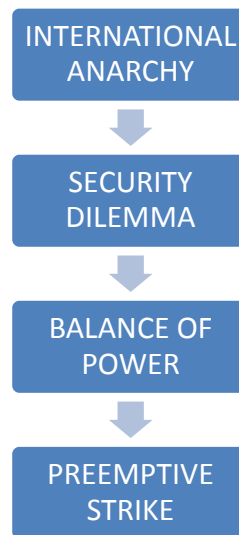
of a state is equal with another state so that there is no single state that strong enough to dominate the others. When the power is distributed well and equal, the world will maintain in peace. In the other hand, if one state is stronger than another, it can easily invade the other state.

In the Iraq War, it could be seen that no other state behind Iraq. It could be seen that the military power of Iraq could not be compared to The United States military power. Therefore, it could be concluded that the situation was imbalance of power and the invasion could not be avoided.

d. Preemptive strike

Preemptive strike is the self defense to attack another party before it attacks first. Some scholar stated that the pre-emptive strike is an illegitimate action in the war (Shue, 2007), but this can happen for neo-realist perspective. In the Iraq War, the WMD issue was the main topic that related to preemptive strike. President Bush stated that the 2003 invasion was a preemptive war because of the chemical weapon of Iraq. Before Iraq launched their WMD, The United States invaded as preemptive strike to begin the war.

Based on those explanations, we can make the pointing and description like:



E. Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical framework, the hypothesis proposes as follows: The United States decided to unilaterally invade Iraq in 2003 regardless the cooperation of Iraqi government on UN weapon inspection because of:

- The United States Security Dilemma

One of the reasons of The United States invasion of Iraq was because The United States had accused Iraq violated the agreement on the ownership of weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons. Saddam Hussein evidently used chemical weapon and poison gas in several times

- The United States Perception to the Inefficiency of The UNSC

United Nations as an International Organization was one way for The United States to resolve their conflict with Iraq. Furthermore, The

United States tried to open an investigation towards Iraq in case of the WMD ownership. However, The United States considered this action as a long and wasting time situation.

F. Methodology

A. Scope of Research

The Iraq War was the war that had several actors involved in it. To make it simple, this undergraduate thesis would take The United States foreign policy as the subject. And for the time of the research were take time from 1991-2003, under Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administration in particular. But this undergraduate thesis consisted the data around 1980-1991, to strengthen the explanation about the history of Gulf War.

B. Method of Collecting Data

This research had secondary data, which were descriptive sources, statistic data, and direct citation from The United States president or the official authorities. This undergraduate thesis was also supported by the book, journal, news, and site to accomplish the data. The terms used in this research were The United States foreign policy, The United States invasion, Iraq domestic condition, and Realist perspective.

C. Content of Analysis

This undergraduate thesis consisted of description analysis method, to interpret the course of Iraq War. The description method was used to

explain the history or whatever that needed to describe the Gulf War, and the analysis was used to explain the more complex situation, while the realist perspective was used to explain the theory inside the war.

D. Purpose

This undergraduate thesis tried to look for the reason behind The United States invasion towards Iraq in 2003, even Iraq was cooperatives with The UN in case of investigation of weapons' possession. And how far the realist theory was match to the factor behind the invasion and the decision of it.

E. Organization of Writing

Chapter 1 : This Chapter consists of background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, and purpose of research, and organization of writing.

Chapter 2 : This chapter explains about The United States foreign policy in general, The United States Foreign policy in Middle East, and The United States foreign policy towards Iraq

Chapter 3 : This chapter explains about the Iraq value to The United States

Chapter 4 : This chapter explains about the reasons of The United States attacking Iraq

Chapter 5 : Conclusion