

## CHAPTER II

### THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

This chapter discusses about The United States foreign policy. The United States foreign policies that discussed in this chapter are The United States foreign policy in general, The United States foreign policy towards Middle East and The United States foreign policy toward Iraq.

#### A. The United States Foreign Policy in General

The United States political scientist in 1962 said “*decision and actions in international arena can be understood predicted, and manipulated only in so far as the factors influencing the decisions can be identified*”( Wittkopf, 2008). As well The United States foreign policy can be predicted and analysis according to several aspect which influence The United States foreign policy.

Every The United States foreign policy basically contain the eternal objective; those are power, peace, prosperity and principles. All particular policy can be seen to pursue one, several or all the four objectives. Generally The United States foreign policy was based on the national interest.

The United States foreign policy from objective inside was disucussed further in the following paragraph. Power is the first objective in The United States foreign policy. It is a key of strong defense and credible deterrence, beside as the key of strong defense, it also enhances influence over the actors (Cipto, 2008). The United States foreign policy shows a strong realist perception. Such as

power, realist perception international politics is a struggle of power; it means that power has important role in term of international politics.

Subsequently after power, peace is one of objectives of The United States foreign policy. Although The United States foreign policy can be seen containing strong realist perspective, the perception of international institutionalism also seen in The United States foreign policy. Cooperation is the one thing that The United States always upholds in their policy. Cooperation is the way to reduce tensions. The United States understands international world is anarchy according to realist perspective, but it believes anarchy cannot be eliminated but can be tempered or regulated through international organizations, negotiations and treaties (Cipto, 2008).

Prosperity is one of the objectives of The United States foreign policy. The United States foreign policy contains the prosperity, it means The United States spreads the economic capitalist. This objective relates to The United States belief toward liberalism. Free trade economic thinking is used as the objective by The United States when creating the policy (Cipto, 2008). This goal reflects on The United States foreign policy like signing international agreement related to international trade, supporting to economic organization such as GATT, IMF and WTO.

The last of the objectives is principle. This goal involves the values, ideals, and beliefs that The United States has claimed to stand for in the world. The United States concerns to promote democracy around the world. Promoting

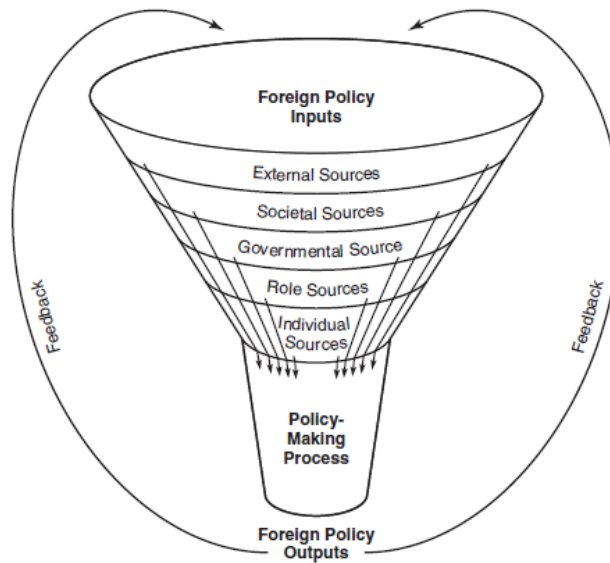
democracy around the world serves the interest of promoting peace because democracies do not fight among themselves. This goal is reflected on several The United States foreign policies such as sanction toward communist states, concern toward human rights as a policy factor.

Therefore the conclusion is that The United States foreign policy in general always contains by four objective/goals of The United States. Those are power, peace, prosperity and principles.

## **B. The United States Foreign Policy towards Middle East**

Middle East is an important area for The United States. In the previous explanation, The United States has important interest in Middle East states. For all countries, to achieve the national interest they realized through foreign policy. A foreign policy embraces the goals seeked by nation's attain abroad, the values that give rise to those objectives, and the means or instruments used to pursue them (Wittkopf, 2008).

Practically when The United States creates foreign policy, it is influenced by several sources. The United States sources of foreign policy are external sources, societal sources, governmental sources, role sources, and individual sources. For more detail The United States foreign policy sources is showed in the picture below.



**Figure 1**

**The sources of The United States Foreign Policy**

In fact, The United States has eternal values in their foreign policy. Every kind of foreign policy contains the eternal values/goals those are: peace, prosperity, democracy and power (Wittkopf, 2008). The possibility of The United States to issue a national policy without eternal values inside is very small.

Historically, there are trends in The United States foreign policy. The Major trends of The United States foreign Policy are: Expansionism (in the era of 18<sup>th</sup> century – 19<sup>th</sup> century), Isolationism (during World War I – World War II), and Interventionism after Wold War II.

The relation between The United States and Middle East are very interested to be discussed. The existence of The United States interest in Middle East influenced The United States foreign policy for Middle East countries. It is

commonly known that The United States foreign policy should be supported by the permanent interest of The United States in Middle East, they are: oil, Israel and regional stability.

### **C. The United States Foreign Policy toward Iraq**

In the era of cold war, the rivalry between The United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was felt. USSR tried to expand their influence to all over the world. The United States tried to balance the power of USSR at that time. In the era of President Reagan, The United States implemented political containment in order to restrain USSR domination. This principle which implemented by The United States had success, to minimize the expansion of USSR, because expansion of USSR would give the bad effect to the domination of The United States (Jatmika, 2014).

In the era of cold war, The United States did intervention in Persian area. It started when the war between Iraq and Iran in 1998 until the end of gulf war. This war was caused by the withdrawal of the agreement about border between Iraq and Iran by Saddam Hussein. This condition was an opportunity for The United States to intervene (Jatmika, 2014).

In this case, The United States acted double face, in one hand they supported Iraq with aids in politic, economic and security. Later, in the other hand they support Iran through Israel. The United States and western country were basically afraid that this condition if Iran would stop to supply the oil. The United States allied with Iraq to destroy Iran. The United States had fully supported Iraq,

until Saddam Hussein thought as the winner of this war. With support of US Saddam Hussein became more confidence and wanted to control the other area. Kuwait was the next target of Saddam Hussein (Jatmika, 2014).

Post-cold war era was the one historical era for The United States foreign policy toward Middle East and Iraq particularly. Several accidents happened during this era, they were the gulf war, The United States invasion toward Iraq in 2003 and recently United Invasion in 2014 to destroy the new power in Middle East called as ISIS or Islamic State of Iraq and Syria.

The United States foreign post-cold war era was greatly influenced by the president who running the government of The United States. The United States Foreign Policy was influenced by several sources including the party of the incumbent President. This session discussed deeper, The United States foreign policy in every era of The United States President post-cold war era.

### **George H W. Bush Era**

George Herbert Walker Bush was the President of The United States who governed in 1989-1993. He came to the office with huge experience in many sectors as public servant in The United States. He was a member of the congress, chair of the Republican National Committee, a director of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), The United States Ambassador to United Nations, and the latest before being a President was vice President of The United States (Wittkopf, 2008).

The United States foreign policy was influenced by the characteristic of leadership from the President. George H. W. Bush used his intelligence inside to decide the foreign policy, such as what happened in the era of cold war. He was very cautious to decides the decision at the time, especially at that time, the rivalry between Europe and USSR given the high effect for world development.

The United States foreign policy, toward Middle East particularly for Iraq, could be seen from The United States involvment in the Gulf War, at the end of the Cold War. Since the beginning of The United States appearence in the international arena, particularly being dominant in the Middle East, The United States always shows that they have special interest in Middle East.

After the success of The United States in the Middle East, it tried to liberalize Middle East countries because at that time some of Middle East countries were developing countries, both politic and economic were still unstable. That was an opportunity for The United States as a liberal country to influence those countries to reform their politic, economic and religion to be more liberal (Solichien, 2014).

In the end of cold war, The United States focused in Persian area, The United States indirectly involved in Civil war between Iraq-Iran by allying to Iraq. Planning from Saddam Hussein to control the Kuwait face the resistance from several parts includes The United States. Although, in beginning of Iraq invasion toward Kuwait, The United States hesitated to overcome the problem, but at the end The United States was willing to take over that problem upon the request of

The United Kingdom (Solichien, 2014). The United States pushed Iraq to go out from Kuwait. All the pressure from The United States did not discourage the spirit of Iraq to invade Kuwait.

The United States government through President Bush on August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1990 announced Iraq had been violated international law. The United States would mobilize all ways to overcome this problem, including sending the troops to the battle field in Kuwait. The purposes of The United States plan were to extrude Iraq from Kuwait, to restore the legitimation of Kuwait government, to secure the gulf, and to protect American who lived in that area. The United States strategy or plan was not directly accepted by Saudi Arabia, because before sending the troops to Kuwait, The United States made Saudi Border as the preparation area before attacking Iraq. However, finally, King Fahd approved The United States troops and allowed 150.000 The United States troops to enter Saudi before the invasion (Solichien, 2014).

Finally on November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1990 United Nations Security Council issued the United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 as the result of The United States diplomacy toward the permanent and non-permanent members of The United States Security Council. Basically due to this problem, there were two arguments among the American. Through Senate decision The United States government was allowed to do military operation in Kuwait base on United Nations Security Council Resolution 678. Beside that the legislative also supported The United States government to do military operation, majority of legislative members



agreed to do military operation in Kuwait and to push Iraq out from Kuwait (Solichien, 2014).

On January 17<sup>th</sup>, 1991 at 03.00 am, The United States launched air strike, Operation Desert Storm began. Operation Desert Storm was implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 678 in order to extrude Iraq from Kuwait, to restore the legitimacy of Kuwait government, and to restore peace in Middle East. This military operation occurred 42 days.

### **Bill Clinton Era**

William Jefferson Clinton was The United States President who governed in 1993-2001. He came in to presidential election with huge capability to become The United States President. He was a politician with strong political skill. When coming to the presidency, Clinton had aims to save government from its own excesses so it could be a progressive force again (Wittkopf, 2008).

During his era, Clinton had been challenged by the Iraq leader Saddam Hussein. The United States foreign policy toward Middle East in the era of Clinton was influenced by the condition of Iraq invasion toward Kuwait. The decision of The United States from previous President to do military intervention to extrude Iraq from Kuwait had put The United States in Bill Clinton era in a difficult situation.

The decreasing of Arab world support to The United States in term of Anti-Iraqi Policy was the major challenges to The United States in the era of Bill Clinton. In addition, another problem that made The United States in difficult

situation was the Russian active diplomacy to rebuild the position in Middle East (Freedman, 1999). Robert Freedman wrote in his paper, the reasons of Russian Leader Boris Yeltsin supported Iraq. Those were:

First, to demonstrate to the world and to an often hostile Duma (Parliament) that Russia remained an important factor in the world, both willing and able to oppose The United States. Second, to obtain repayment for the \$7 billion owed Russia's predecessor, the Soviet Union -- something that will not happen until after the lifting of sanctions on Iraq. Third, Russian arms manufacturers and oil and gas companies seek contracts in Iraq, even though they cannot actually begin operations until sanctions are lifted.

The United States and The United Kingdom put their forces in Persian Gulf because Saddam Hussein prohibited inspection toward his presidential palaces. Presidential palace was suspected as Iraq's weapons depositories. Decreasing of US's Arab allies made Clinton to do several actions in other ways. To come out from this problem, Bill Clinton used the diplomatic way, with the help from United Nations Secretary General. The Iraqi leaders promised that they would not interfere UNSCOM inspections. This decision was criticized by Republican leader in the Congress (Freedman, 1999).

The United States launched a major military attack to Iraq, it was the way for Clinton to strengthen his political position. Clinton claimed that Iraq had backed down and threatened Iraq if Iraq failed to fully cooperate with UNSCOM. The attack to Iraq, coming on the eve of the impeachment vote, rised strong criticism both in The United States and abroad (Freedman, 1999). In Clinton era, the conflict with Iraq was the most problematic.

In his era, The United States foreign policy toward Middle East was promoting the peace process. Such as what happen to the conflict Arab-Israeli, Clinton used the peace process through serious negotiation.

### **George W. Bush Era**

George Walker Bush was a The United States President who governed The United States in 2001-2009. His backgrounds were politician and businessman. With his experience in politics and The United States business, he took place in The United States presidential election, and became the 43<sup>th</sup> The United States President. George Walker Bush is the son of the 41<sup>st</sup> The United States President George H. W. Bush. During his administration there were several tragedies and policies regarding Middle East in general and particularly for Iraq.

When he came to the office, The United States was leading global power. On September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 The United States was shocked by the terrorist attack. The terrorist attacked the World Trade Center and Pentagon. This situation made The United States under President George W. Bush issued the policy that called as war against terrorism.

George W. Bush was angry with 9/11 tragedy until he issued the policy to war against terrorism and would find terrorists to all over the world. Bush Doctrine was the name of The United States foreign policy grand strategy. Basically there were three the principal of Bush doctrine, such as what Eugene and Christopher wrote in their book:

- Pursuing terrorists and the states that harbor them;

- Halting the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction;
- Promoting the spread of liberty and democracy throughout the world

(Wittkopf, 2008).

Those of doctrine also became the reason of The United States invasion of Iraq in 2003. On March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2003 Bush launched the military operation to combat attack Iraq. The United States argued that Iraq had weapon of mass destruction which could threat world peace. This invasion involved Invasion toward Iraq under Bush era involves more than 200.000 troops. The United States was contributed the biggest troops in this invasion with 146.000 troops followed by its alliance United Kingdom with 45.000 troops (Huffington Post, 2008). Previously, in front of the Congress on January 28th, 2002, it was said that “*United Kingdom Government knows that Saddam Hussein in recent times has tried to get the uranium from Africa*”(Abhee, 2013). Iraq tried to get Uranium from Africa in order to develop their weapons of mass destruction. There were three reasons that developed in international world about the reasons of The United States invasion of Iraq. Those are weapon of mass destruction, war on terrorism, and spreading democracy and liberal idea.

- Weapons of Mass Destruction

Weapons of Mass Destruction was one from three reasons that used by The United States to Invade Iraq. The United States saw that Iraq had developed the weapon of mass destruction. George W. Bush always used this reason as the reason to invade Iraq but in fact authenticity of this reason is still doubtful.

- War on Terrorism

Since 9/11 tragedy The United States declared war against terrorism. Similar with The United States's attack to Afghanistan that caused by terrorism, The United States after WTC Tragedy or 9/11 Tragedy were more aware of the Middle East countries including Iraq. The United States argued that Iraq had connection to Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda was an organization that feared by The United States, it was very unreasonable. In one side, Al Qaeda was an organization that wanted to overthrow the government with liberal or secular idea, but Baath Party who led by Saddam Hussein did not have fundamentalism like Al Qaeda idea. Even, Saddam Hussein himself was a target to be destroyed by Al Qaeda because their different understanding.

- Spread of democracy and liberal idea

The United States claimed that to overthrow Saddam Hussein was a purpose to save Iraqis from the dictatorship and authoritarian government. The United States believed that after they overthrown Saddam Hussein from his position as the President of Iraq they could hold the real democratic government. The United States action never got support from other countries including United Nations, UN did not allow another country to enter the internal conflict of state. It is commonly known that The United States is one state that has a spirit to spread democracy in this World.

Clinton declared in 1993, “our overriding purpose must be expand and strengthen the world’s community of market-based democracies” (Wittkopf, 2008). The United States has a mission to spread democracy in around this world but George W. Bush in November 2003 said that The United States commitment to democracy was being tested in Middle East. Democracy in Islam is very different with democracy in The United States.

In 2008, President of The United States George W. Bush and Prime Minister of Iraq Maliki signed the “Agreement between The United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of The United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq”. This agreement was signed in Baghdad, Iraq and Washington, The United States. This agreement basically was about The United States had to withdraw their military force from Iraq. This agreement set the phase of The United States withdrawal from Iraq. This agreement gave a limit to The United States to withdraw all their force troops no more than December 31<sup>th</sup>, 2011.

### **Obama Era**

Barack Hussein Obama is the first African American who becomes the President of The United States. He governs The United States since 2009 until present. During his administration The United States changes, the Principle of Obama foreign policy is “leading from behind”. Obama tries to find another ways of The United States foreign policy, he seeks the most beneficial for The United States.

Barack Obama, in December, 2011 fulfilled his political campaign promise to withdraw The United States military force from Iraq based on the “Agreement between The United States of America and the Republic of Iraq on the Withdrawal of The United States Forces from Iraq and the Organization of Their Activities during Their Temporary Presence in Iraq”.

On August 8th, 2014 The United States of America through President Barack Obama announced that they would make two operations in Iraq. The United States argued that what they were doing was to save American Personnel and to perform humanitarian action to save thousand Iraqis there. The United States would make two military operations, first to attack ISIL or Islamic States of Iraq and Levant, ISIL has begun their operation since June, they moved across Iraq. The United States of America worried about ISIL movement, even their movement had neared the City of Erbil. Erbil is the city in the northern Iraq which is Autonomous Region of Kurdish. There, The United States diplomat, civilian serve at The United States Consulate and American Military were staying, that was the reason of The United States to fight against terrorism (ISIL), because The United State has responsibility to protect its civilians. Obama also emphasized that their military operations in 2014 was requested by the Government of Iraq. Government of Iraq needed The United States helped them to save Iraqis. The United States helped Iraqi government to save innocence Iraqis who stranded on the mountain. Because of the movement ISIL terrorist acrossed Iraq, it was dangerous for Iraqis. ISIL in their action, they killed innocence people, and minorities people in Iraq. The United States launched their airstrike to northern

Iraq, it began just an hour from Obama announcement of their military operations toward Iraq to fight against ISIL terrorists (Carter, 2014). The United States believed that their military operations in Iraq were to keep peace and to keep stability from terrorist threat such as what Islamic State of Iraq and Levant did.