CHAPTER III

THE VALUE OF IRAQ TO THE UNITED STATES

This chapter discusses about the value of Iraq to The United States. The discussion are about the overview of Iraq, oil, and Israel as The United States's main priorities in Middle East.

A. Overview of Iraq

Republic of Iraq, and later will be mentioned as Iraq is a state located in Western Asia and Baghdad as their capital city. Iraq has a direct border with Iran on the east, Kuwait on the south, Turkey on the north, and Syria also Saudi Arabia on the west. Iraq total area is more than 430.000 km², and its population is more than 37 million. Majority of citizen in Iraq is Muslim for more than 90%, and the rest is Jewish and Christiant.

The term of Iraq firstly was found in 1920, but historically, in ancient era, Iraq was a wealth and developed area. Even in Ancient Mesopotamia, there were Babylonian, Assyrian, Akkadian, and Sumerian empire (Hart, 2007). Iraq area was also ever ruled by Persian empire in the 3rd century, and at this time, Arabic people began to come to this place until Iraq had a caliphate era and Islamic Golden Age in about 6th-9th century.

a. Ancient Iraq

In 13th century, Mongol Empire began to invade Baghdad as a center of Iraq at that time because Iraq under The Al-Mustasim caliphate rejected to join Mongol Empire (Allsen, 2002).

In the 14th century, there was the term of Black Sheep and White Sheep Turkmen in majority of Iraq's area. Each of them was a tribal group that represent the group of Moeslem. Black Sheep Turkmen is a Syiah group, then White Sheep Turkmen is Suni. In 15th century, the Black Sheep and White Sheep Turkmen had a war to take over Iraq area that had been controlled by the Black Sheep Turkmen at that time. After the Ottoman Empire authority at 16th century, Iraq had divided into three region, Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra.

b. Modern Iraq

In the 20th century, the world faced the World War I. And it was also the end of the Ottoman empire authority in Iraq. The British Army took over the Iraq area through Baghdad in Mesopotamian Campaign in 1917. In this battle, the Ottoman empire joined the Central Powers, and was against British army. While the Iraqi consisting of Assyrian, Armenian, and Arabic tribes was supported by British Kingdom and fought against Ottoman empire. In this era, Iraq had their independence under the League of Nation as The Monarchy of Iraq. The first king of this monarchy state was Faisal I of Iraq that legitimized in 1921. The British Mandate ended at 1932, and so Iraq got their independence.

c. Post Independence

After the independence, Iraq began to have their early civil war between Sunni and Syiah. When its first monarchy government was dominated by Sunni, the Syiah group began their rebell in 1936 until they had their first military coup.

Around the World War II, Iraq faced the international intervention when the Nazi government supported the coup of Rashid Ali that overthrown the 'Abd al-allah in 1941. But it was only for short period because of the rebell in the same year by the local tribes that supported by allied forces. Four years later, when Iraq joined the United Nation, the rebellion held by Mustafa Barzani that supported by the Soviet Union attacked Baghdad, but it failed and Mustafa Barzani ran away to Soviet Union.

In January 1948, Iraq faced the Al-Wathbah Uprising. This incident happened as the reaction to the government that made a treaty with British Empire that would make Iraq as their *protectorate*. Protectorate is a term to describe an area that has their independence (but has not complete enough) and still belong to the The King Authority from the greater sovereign state (*Dumieński, 2014*). Those rebellion was supported by the communist party and ended in 1948, as also the end of the First Arab-Israeli War.

In 1958, Iraq faced the new era of their government. The Hashimite Monarchy was overthrown on July 14, 1958 by Abd al-karim Qasim and Abdul Salam Arif, and since that time the Iraqi government was changed from monarchy into republic. 1960 was the year when conflict in Iraq was begun. Iraq claimed sovereignity over Kuwait, while Kuwait got their independence from Britain, and it caused the unstability in the government because of the conflict with Britain.

The end of 60's was the dark era of Iraq history. In 1966, President Abdul Salam Arif died in a helicopter crash. At the same year, there was a battle called *Battle of Mount Handrin*, the Military of Iraq was attacked by the Kurdish Tribe, but the tribe was defeated by Mustafa Barzani who came back from Soviet Union. In 1967, The Six-Day War was launched, between Arab League and Israel. Arab was lost in the war, and issolated the Iraqi government. By considering the situation, in 1968, known as *17 July Revolution*, once again Iraq faced coup d'etat in a bigger and worse situation. The rebellion was led by Arab Social Ba'ath Party under Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr. At that time, the Ba'ath Party retained all the military building and several government means. But the coup was not only done by the Ba'ath Party , the militarry of Iraq also supported the coup because of an agreement. If the coup was succesful, the head of the Iraq Military, Abd ar-Razzaq an-Naif and Ibrahim Daud was promised to be the Prime Minister of Iraq for their contribution.

After all those battle, Iraq began to decide their coallition axist. In 1972, Iraqi government signed the treaty with Soviet Union to become an allied. Those agreement also opened the issolation from the Arab World that had been done to Iraq for several years.

B. Oil and Israel as the Main Interests of The United States

Every state has its own national interest which is realized to their national policy. According to Morgenthau, national interest is a basic to determine a strategy of diplomacy for a state. National interest of a state is to achieve the power which can create and control another state (Masoed, 1990). Likewise with The United States, it has own national policy in every sector and every region including in Middle East.

Basically there are three The United States national interests in Middle East. Those are oil, Israel and regional stability. Dr. Sidik Jatmika in his book wrote the basic of The United States interest in Middle East, are: first keeping the existence of Israel as the actor of The United States interest in Middle East, second, keeping the existence of The United States interest and their alliance in Middle East, and third, keeping the existence of oil exploration and oil transport to The United States alliance (Jatmika, 2014).

1. Oil as the Main Purpose in Middle East

In the era of World War I, The United States of America did not play too much. The United States just appeared in the international world. The United States watched the competition among big countries, and did not take a significant role in Middle East (Solichien, 2014). It showed that The United States power just appeared or became stronger after the era of World War I. Nevertheless, when the era of World War I, The United State joined with France, and The United Kingdom to fight against Germany, Ottoman Empire, and Austro Hungarian Empire to seize the Middle East. When France and The United Kingdom divided Arab region, The United States did not involve.

Since the era of 1920, basically the oil fields in Middle East were occupied by The United Kingdom and France. United Kingdom and France oil companies dominated the occupation of oil in the Middle East while The United States just occupied 10% of Middle East oil. Later, on 1930 when oil field was firstly founded in Saudi Arabia, it emerged the conflict between The United States oil companies and The United Kingdom oil companies, but The United Kingdom companies had to give the oil field to The United States companies because The United Kingdom had debt of gratitude to The United States, when World War I The United Kingdom spent money to finance the cost of World War I (Solichien, 2014).

Since the domination of The United States oil companies in Saudi Arabia, the domination The United States in Middle East was stronger than before. Moreover, when Saudi Arabia kingdom gave the exclusive concession toward Arabian American Company (Aramco), it showed the beginning of The United States domination in Middle East. The United States had concerned to Middle East countries since Mei 23th, 1933 Standard Oil Company from California was allowed to do oil exploration in East Saudi Arabia for 60 years (Jatmika, 2014).

It is commonly known, in the era of World War I, The United States did not play important role in international world. The United States only watched the rivalry among big countries in the World War I era. After it dominates the Saudi Arabia oil field, The United State position in Middle East stronger than before.

Since World War II, the position and power of The United States in international world changed. Although The United States lost a lot of troops in that war, The United States was spared from civilian casualties and damage of infrastructure. As the effect of that war, The United States influence in international world strengthened than before, different to The United Kingdom and France. Even, Soviet Union which had nuclear weapon in that era lost their people, around 20 million died when the war happened and the ironically they had to rebuild the damage of infrastructure in long time (Solichien, 2014). World War II made The United States starting its hegemony in the world.

As the winner of Second World War, The United States showed its identity as the super power country. After the World War II, The United States tried to issue the policies about Middle East which was more beneficial for The United States. Although President Harry Truman said that all the Middle East policies were more beneficial particularly for The United States oil company. Since the end of World War II, The United States oil companies occupy 42% of Middle East oil field. The United States companies which occupied the Middle East oil field were: Socal, Esso, and Socony (Solichien, 2014).

Oil plays an important role in international world, particularly for Middle East oil. It is because more than 60% of world oil and gas reserve are located in Middle East. The domination of Middle East oil by The United States made the position of The United States stronger, particularly for the countries which already changed their fuel from coal to oil, and The United States as the supplier of oil for those countries. Therefore Middle East oil is the priority of The United States national interest in Middle East since that era.

2. Israel as the Important Alliance of The United States Interest in Middle East

The United States has strong and close relation to Israel. The good relation between The United States and Israel is influenced by the historical factor. The relation between The United States and Israel started from 1945. The United States acted as the main actor in Middle East since 1945. Since the domination of The United States in Middle East, there was a problem that was huge demand from Jews refugee in Europe who wanted to migrate to their holy land in Palestine.

At that time, The United States and The United Kingdom were the ruler of Palestine. They did not allow and limit the arrival of Jews refugee to Palestine. The United Kingdom as the mandatory in Palestine did not allow Jews to stay in Palestine exceed Moslem and Christian who already stayed in Palestine. President Truman was very enthusiastic to fight for Jews. He suppressed The United Kingdom to revoke all decision regarding restriction for Jews migrating to Palestine (Solichien, 2014).

Truman and The United States believed, if the Jews migrated from Europe to Palestine, it would be a trusted alliance. The United States kept pressing The United Kingdom until The United Kingdom announced that the Palestine problem became the new problem for United Nations. Palestine problem solved under United Nations Special Commission on Palestine (UNSCOP), United Nations gave the recommendation to divide Palestine become two states for Arabian and Jews. The first plan of The United Nations was that 55% of Palestine land belonged to Jews and 45% belonged to Arabian Palestine. The United States was very enthusiastic with that decision. In United Nation General Assembly, more than 2/3 United Nations members approved the separation of Palestine (Solichien, 2014).

On May 15th, 1948 Israel proclaimed their independence. The United States was the first country which recognized the independence of Israel (Jatmika, 2014). However, the independence of Israel made several problems in Middle East. Even, several countries such as Egypt, Jordanian, Syria, and so on sent their troops to Palestine, to fight against Israel. However, the Arabian countries troops could be defeated by Israel troops. That condition made Israel occupying 78% of Palestine land, exceeding The United Nations plan (Solichien, 2014).

When Israel had the economic crisis in 1965, The United States was the country which helped Israel. The United States sent their aids to Israel. The United States aid was a mutual symbiosis for The United States and Israel. Israel is the local power for The United States in Middle East (Solichien, 2014). The United States Minister of Foreign Affair Collin Powel in front of Senate Budgeting Committee said "Israel is friend and strong alliance for American and The United States government, ensure Israel security is our main priority". Later,

Collin repeated his statement in The American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) "Indeed, We have been in the Israel since the establishment of Israel and we would be and always together with Israel" (Solichien, 2014).

Comprehensive cooperation between Israel and the United States on security issues became official in 1981 when Israel's Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and American Secretary of Defense <u>Caspar Weinberger</u> signed a <u>Memorandum of Understanding</u> that recognized "the common bonds of friendship between the United States and Israel and builds on the mutual security relationship that exists between the two nations".

For the missile program, The US had built the relation with Israel in the development of the Arrow Anti-Ballistic Missile Program. The Arrow Anti-Ballistic Missile Program contain about the intercept and destroying ballistic missiles and funded by The United States and Israel.

Israel is the one of state that cooperate with The United States Homeland Security. They cooperate to promote the security and protection of travel and trade. Regularely, The United States officers and Israeli officers have a meeting to study counter-terrorism techniques, intelligence, and threat prevention. In 2005, The United States and Israel signed an agreement of nuclear technoligies. It was a part of a non-poliferaton program of The United States Departement of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration about the joint effort to detect the smuggling of nuclear and other radioactive material. Those facts has showed that the relation between The United States and Israel had build up since the begining of Israel Independence. Those explanation showed that Israel is a good alliance for The United States, and it can be seen that Israel is a way for The United States to develop their occupancy area in Middle East.