

CHAPTER IV

THE REASONS OF THE UNITED STATES ATTACK TOWARD IRAQ

This chapter discusses about the reason behind The United States attacking Iraq. The United States security dilemma, including the history of crimes against Humanity did by Saddam Hussein, is explained in this chapter. Later, The United States perception to the Inefficiency of United Nations Security Council is also explained, which reputedly this was the main reason of The United States to attack Iraq.

A. The United States Security Dilema regarding to Saddam's Potential Threat

International politic does not know the global government, which mean international politic only knows international system which is anarchy. International anarchy is the perspective from realist. Anarchy is described as self-help system. The state has no one to rely on in security aspect, besides strengthening its own power (Ellman, 2008). Realism believes that in anarchy system, the basic state's behavior is survival. Some scholar saw realism emphasizes to power, power as the important element of a state. Even Machiavelli stated that the basic desire of human to gain more power (Machiavelli, 1532).

Because of the condition of international system is anarchy, it makes states to build the military capability up in order to survive. States can do everything as they want freely. But those actions which are done by states can lead into the condition which called as security dilemma situation. As the first chapter

discussed, security dilemma is defined as a condition where a state feels threaten because another state is raising their military power, and that state will respond with similar action and can emerge a conflict between them. Even both parties do not intend to do so (Jervis, 1978).

That condition also was the motive of The United States to invade Iraq. After Saddam Hussein elected as the successor of President Ahmad Hasan Al-Bakr to lead Iraq on 1979, Iraq under Saddam Hussein became a rich and powerful state (Solichien, 2014). Even Saddam Hussein had ambition to become the leader of influential figures in Middle East. Saddam Hussein at that time was known as the dictator leader who rejected by several people. The crimes against humanity happened under the Saddam Hussein regime. Several minorities groups in Iraq could not enjoy their right, it made The United States aware with that condition. It became a dilemma for The United States. The United States was afraid that the Iraq would do more than that.

1. The History of Crimes against Humanity did by Saddam Hussein

Saddam Hussein was known as the charismatic and success leader for Iraq at that time. But beside Saddam Hussein was known with his excellence during his regime, he also did several cases of human right issues. It became the concern of the international world.

The history of crimes against humanity in Saddam Hussein administration started from Al-Anfal campaign in 1986-1989. Al-Anfal campaign was part of a campaign of genocide by the central government in Baghdad against the mainly

Kurdish population of northern Iraq (BBC, 2016). Al-Anfal campaign was led by Ali Hassan al-Majid.

This campaign aimed to exterminate all adult males of military service in rural Iraqi Kurdistan. Thousand people were killed in that tragedy, even human right watch estimated up to 100.000 people were killed in systematic ethnic cleansing program. The one thing that made this campaign censured by international world was Iraq became the first government to use chemical weapons against its own people (BBC, 2016).

Actually this campaign began on 23 February 1988 when the Iraq army began its military attack to Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan Headquarter at Sergalau-Begalou. During this campaign, the worst incident was in Halbarja when 5.000 civilians were killed in an aerial bombardment of mustard gas and nerve agents (BBC, 2016). Beside thousand people were killed because of this tragedy, the infrastructure was also destroyed. Human Right watch reported 2000 villages were destroyed. Automatically thousand people lost their home and infrastructure related.

Another tragedy which happened during Saddam Hussein administration was Halabja Poison Attack. Halabja poison attack was a genocide attack against the Kurdish people. The Halabja Poison gass attack was an issue on Iraq-Iran War in 1988. On March 16, 1988, in Halabja, the Iraqi aircraft began to drop the chemical bombs (BBC, 1988). Around 3.000 until 5.000 people were reported died, and 10.000 people were injured because of the bombing.

That tragedy was very pathetic. Saddam Hussein regime killed thousand innocent people who had right to life. Iraq government used the chemical weapon to destroy its people. The incident done by Iraq government made The United States aware. If Saddam Hussein could do all of those massive kill to his own people, therefore it was an easy way for Saddam Hussein to do the same things to another state. What The United States did at that time was reasonable thing, The United States was worried if they were not concern about that it would take more victim. It was dilemma for The United States. Theoretically, a state can make a decision by its own capability. They can build their military as strong as they want. But, those actions can lead into security dilemma situation.

President Clinton stated on February 17, 1998, *"If Saddam rejects peace and we have to use force, our purpose is clear. We want to seriously diminish the threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program."* (Clinton, 1998) The statement showed that The United States gave serious attention on the Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Madeleine Albright, the first United States Secretary of States said that what happened to Iraq was important for The United States as stated on her statement, *"Iraq is a long way from [here], but what happens there matters a great deal here. For the risks that the leaders of a rogue state will use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons against us or our allies is the greatest security threat we face."*(Albright, 1998)

According to Nancy Pelosi, a leader of The United States House of Representatives, Saddam Hussein had evidently been proved in the development of Weapons of Mass Destruction which threat another countries in the region which related to Middle East as stated in her statement in 1998 "*Saddam Hussein has been engaged in the development of weapons of mass destruction technology which is a threat to countries in the region and he has made a mockery of the weapons inspection process.*" (Pelosi, 1998)

Another statement come from Hillary Clinton on 2002 when she was The United States senator at that time,

"In the four years since the inspectors left, intelligence reports show that Saddam Hussein has worked to rebuild his chemical and biological weapons stock, his missile delivery capability, and his nuclear program. He has also given aid, comfort, and sanctuary to terrorists, including al Qaeda members. It is clear, however, that if left unchecked, Saddam Hussein will continue to increase his capacity to wage biological and chemical warfare, and will keep trying to develop nuclear weapons." (Clinton, 2002)

Those statements explained about the statement of The United States state official which most of them supported the invasion towards Iraq regarding the potential threat made by Saddam Hussein. Most of them said that Iraq was a potential threat by look at Saddam's Crimes, therefore The United States should do a preemptive strike before Saddam, just like a quotation "*If we don't do, then somebody else will.*"

B. The United States Perception to the Inefficiency of UNSC

1. The History of UNSC investigation (After Gulf War)

After the first gulf war and Iraq leaving Kuwait, international world responded by giving sanction to Iraq. Actually the sanction to Iraq began on August 6th, 1990, only four days after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. International sanction to Iraq was based on the United Nations resolution 1483.

Although Iraq had got the sanction from international world, The United States was still concerning about Iraq's weapon mass destruction. The United States gave more attention regarding this issue, The United States had persuaded the United Nations to give Iraqi government sanction. Actually, Iraq had used the weapon of mass destruction to kill its own people (BBC, 2016). That condition made The United States aware that Iraq had been developing their weapons of mass destruction.

Before understanding the action that done by The United Nations regarding on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, it is necessary to find out the development of weapon mass destruction in Iraq. Actually, the Iraqi leader had been interesting in weapons of mass destruction since 1970. Iraqi leader built weapons of mass destruction to balance the power of Middle East region. Iraq was very interested in developing the WMD, everything regarding this project was supported by the Iraqi government such as money, science, human resource etc. Development of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction was to support the ambition of Saddam Hussein to lead the Middle East.

The United Nations investigation on Iraq's weapon mass destruction began on 1990 after gulf war. United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) was set up to implement the non-nuclear provisions of the resolution and to assist the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the nuclear areas. By the resolution 687 on April 3rd, 1991 The United Nations Security Council established the terms and conditions for the elimination, under international supervision, of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometers (km), together with related items and production facilities (Sipri, 1988). UNSCOM had two main basic functions: first, to inspect and to oversee the destruction or elimination Iraq's CBW (chemical & biological weapon) and ballistic missile capabilities and their production and storage facilities, and second, to monitor Iraq over the longer term to ensure the continued compliance (Sipri, 1988).

United Nations Special Commission was led by director Rolf Ekeus in the period 1991-1997 and in 1997-1999 it was lead by Richard Bulter. The United Nations Special Commission investigated during 1990-1998. Two main finding by UNSCOM in Iraq were chemical weapon and biological weapon. Ironically, after seven years UNSCOM set up, UNSCOM was still unable to certify that it knew the full extent of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs and also UNSCOM was unable to determine that all agents, munitions and facilities had been declared and therefore destroyed.

The inspection team from The United Nations was difficult to find the Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The pressure from The United States also made them to expand their time in Iraq. A lot of demands toward Iraq government were delivered at that time. All United Nations resolutions had to be followed by the Iraqi government. Although Iraqi government already did all the resolutions, they were still not accepted. It was very ironic. It showed that this case was manipulated to succeed several interest from several group in Iraq. Even until the end of UNSCOM works in Iraq, they could not prove that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.

United Nations Security Council issued Resolution 1284, the main purpose was to replace UNSCOM with The United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC). The function of UNMOVIC and UNSCOM was not too different. The main task was to disarm Iraq's weapon mass destruction. Dr. Hans Blix was an executive chairman of United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission.

The difficulties to find the facts regarding the Iraq's weapon mass destruction program, were explained by Dr. Hans Blix as the executive chairman of United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission in front of United Nations Security Council to explain the progress of the inspection in Iraq.

Mr. President, Iraq, with a highly developed administrative system, should be able to provide more documentary evidence about its proscribed weapons programs. Only a few new such documents have come to light so far and been handed over since we began inspections. It was a disappointment that Iraq's

declaration of the 7th of December did not bring new documentary evidence. (Hans Blix: 2003)

Under the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission, 34 Al Samoud 2 missiles, including four training missiles, two combat warheads, one launcher and five engines, had been destroyed (CNN, 20013). That was the data that Dr. Hans Blix released when giving the report on January 27, 2003 in front of the United Nations Security Council.

The United States was very concern with Iraq's weapon mass destruction, The United States assisted the inspection toward Iraq. The United States fully supported the inspections by providing any information related to prohibited programs, and recommending several sites to be inspected, persons that need to be interviewed and such as data to be collected (Squassoni, 2003).

During the effort of The United Nations Security Council to investigate the Iraq's weapon mass destruction, The United States as a state which concerned with that situation still gave accusations towards Iraq. Basically it already cleared under the resolution 1284, The United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) was a regime which had function to disarm Iraq's weapon mass destruction.

George W. Bush in front of the congress on January 28, 2002 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 the Africa in order to develop their weapon mass destruction. That action got reaction from George W. Bush as The United States president, and its allies. The

United States tried to solve the problem peacefully, but in the other hand many groups were still throwing accusations that made the situation badly.

The United States is a state which had ambition to stop the Iraq development on weapons of mass destruction with their way. From the previous chapter explanation, George W. Bush, as The United States president, came from the Republican Party that applied realism in gaining power. He preferred using hard power rather than to using soft power, as it was influenced by his political party.

The United States invasion toward Iraq was also influenced by the momentum on war on terrorism. After 9/1 tragedy George W. Bush as the incumbent President of The United States at that time declared war on terrorism. The United States was the only state which always tried to convince the International world that Iraq had weapon of mass destruction and needed to get the sanction from United Nations. After Resolution 1441 was issued, Iraq accepted and fully cooperated with the investigation command. In the result of the investigation, Hans Blix reported that Iraq had no weapon of mass destruction or any chemical weapon to declare war (CNN, 2003).

2. The History of Resolution that Issued by United Nations

Iraq in the era of Saddam Hussein got their success, in economy and politic they grew up rapidly. With that situation, Saddam Hussein personally had ambition to make Iraq as the leader of Middle East/Arab region. Since 1978, Saddam Hussein did the maneuver, tried to put Iraq as important state in Arab

region. Saddam Hussein sponsored the Arab states meeting in Baghdad in 1980, which resulted the Arabian charter.

1980 was the historical year for this world. International world was shocked by the invasion of Iraq toward Iran. It was just 2 years after the Saddam Hussein elected as the President of Iraq. Instability from the Iranian government was seen by Iraq as the potency to occupy Iran. Moreover that was one way to achieve Saddam Hussein ambition to become superpower of the region.

Later in 1990, Iraq under Saddam Hussein declared war against Kuwait. This war was also as the impact of the Iraq-Iran war. The Iraq economy was destroyed when the Iraq-Iran war, Iraq needed a lot of money to recover their economy and to buy several loan when defray the Iraq-Iran war (Solichien, 2014). Iraq under Saddam Hussein officially launched the invasion on August 2, 1990. This situation got the reaction from international world, particularly The United States and the other Arabian states. Regarding this conflict, The United Nations Security Council issued the resolution 660. The resolution contained condemning the invasion and withdrawal of Iraqi troops in Kuwait border (UNSC, 2013).

Beside issuing the Resolution 660, United Nations also issued the other resolution such as resolution 661, 665 and 678. All the resolutions were issued because of the situation of Iraq invasion of Kuwait. Those resolutions contained economic and military sanction toward Iraq. The resolutions that issued by United Nations were not obeyed by Iraq, Iraq even tried to strengthen their military power in Kuwait. Resolution 678 gave the mandate to all members of The United

Nations to use all necessary means to extrude Iraq from Kuwait (Solichien, 2014). Because Iraq rejected the Resolution 678 The United States and alliance began to attack Iraqi troops in Kuwait border on January 17, 1991.

The issue of resolution 678, by The United Nations was the success of The United States diplomacy. The United States used all necessary means to pass the resolution 678. The United States tried to persuade all UNSC members to agree with the resolution 678 (Solichien, 2014).

In 1990, United Nations issued Resolution 1284. This resolution had aims to replace United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) with United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC). This commission had responsibility to investigate the case of Iraq's weapon mass destruction (WMD).

The United Nation 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 United Nation to look for the Iraqi chemical weapon. It took several times for negotiations by the UNSC members like Russia, China, and France.

C. The Course of the Iraq War

On Tuesday, March 18, 2003, George W. Bush as The United States President ultimated Saddam Hussein and his sons to leave Iraq within 48 hours or Iraq would face the war. But the ultimatum was ignored by Saddam, and even Iraq was ready for the war. Finally, on Thursday, March 20, 2003 at 05:53 Baghdad time,

95 minutes from the deadline of 48 hours ultimatum, The United States couped the Iraqi president from office. War waged by The United States and Great Britain against Iraq had began. Missile cruiser started to hit specific targets in Baghdad. Meanwhile, the air forces were striking in Baghdad, ground assault was occurring in Umm Qasr, a small town located in Iraq-Kuwait border. The United States military power started to invade by crossing the border and entered Iraq (Al-Mudarris, 2004).

Iraq did not stand still and began to fight back by firing six scud missiles to Kuwait, a few hours after the initial attack of The United States. Most of the Iraqi scud missiles hit places in the northern Kuwait. As on Friday, March 21, 2003 evening, the news from the battlefields in Iraq said that The United States troops had entered Iraq as far as 160 kilometers. While on the air, the jet plane of The United States and Great Britain continued to bomb various important targets in Baghdad. The goal of the bombing was the palace of Saddam Hussein, the Baath Party Headquarter, and the remained military installation.

In addition to military action, The United States also broke the telecommunication system to ruin the chain of command between Iraqi official and the level below it. But the electricity was deliberately extinguished because both The United States and Iraq needed of radio and television to influence and to mobilize public opinion. The United States required radio and television to encourage the army and people of Iraq leaving Saddam and surrender.

Until March 20, 2003, air strike massively continued in Baghdad and in other cities, including cities in the northern region such as Kirkuk, Mosul, and Tikrit. Three US warships (USS John S McCain, USS Colombia, and USS Providence) and two British submarine (HMS Turbulent and HMS Splendid) which were took part in the component coalition maritime forces fired Tomahawk land attack missiles. Total 600 cruise missiles were also released by the joint forces. Military army which involved among others bomber B-52, B-2 stealth bomber, fighter bomber stealth F-117, and F-15 were used to counter air attacks.

On March 23, 2003, for 24 hours starting at 09.00, The United States jet has done more than 1500 attacks, as many as 170,000 US soldiers, US Marines and personnel of the joint forces had entered Iraq. March 24, 2003, The United States forces moving into Iraq was located approximately 60 miles from Baghdad. They faced fierce resistance troops from the Iraqi army all the way to Baghdad, especially in the city of Nassiriya and Basea. At the same day, The United States Navy stated that since the war started they had fired more than 500 missiles.

On March 25, 2003, The United States Airforce did more than 1500 attacks with 100 goals. The goals focused on units command and control, as well as on units of the Republican Guard and around Baghdad. Fierce fighting also occurred near Najaf and Nasiriah. They pounded Baath party headquarters in As-Samawah. March 26, 2003 about 1000 troops landed in north Iraq Kurdish-controlled territory. B-52 bombers bombarded the spirit Iraqis national communication network. Meanwhile, the fighting was still going on Najaf and Nasiriyah.

On Saturday, March 29, 2003, a modern shopping center in Sarqiyah was attacked by the Iraqi missile. Kuwait claimed that they had been under attack at least 17 Iraqi missiles during two weeks of the war running. On March 30, 2003 until on April 1, 2003 The United States Brigade crossed to northern Iraq to complete their mission by sending their troops. The Airforce against Republican Guard division around Baghdad and Tikrit was continued. And the war was already beginning to break in Al-Hillah, Karbala, and As-Samawah. The The United States forces in Karbala intercepted Medina Division and Nebuchadnezzar Iraq.

On April 2003, the joint forces attacked targets in Baghdad and throughout the country. Iraqi Resistance forces appeared in several territories. While The United States special operations forces reported rescuing a female United States soldier Jessica Lynch touted in the Iraqi army hostages at a hospital in Nasiriyah since March 23, 2003. At the same day, The United States Airforce had done 1900 missions, including 900 attack missions, 500 of the refueling missions, 225 missions lift cargo, and 100 missions commandos, spies, and controls. Their targets were the division of the Republican Guard's Medina, Baghdad, and Hammurabi.

April 3, 2003, The United States continued to launch air strike towards Iraq. On the next day, the joint forces for 24 hours straight bombarded the command headquarters and divisions of the Republican Guard. The main target was to cripple the Iraqi army. The United States did 1850 total fight missions, including

700 assault missions, 400 missions fuel refill, 350 missions of cargo, and 100 spy missions, command, and control.

On April 5, 2003, The United States tanks moved to Baghdad and involved in a fierce battle with Iraqi forces. On April 6, 2003, 10 members of US Special Forces reported killed by a bomb in the “friendly fire” incidence, involving F-15 E Strike Eagle and ground forces. After The United States investigation, it turned out that the bombs were dropped by The United States troops themselves from an F-15 E Strike Eagle that was supposed to protect the ground forces in danger.

On April 7, 2003, British forces managed to take control of Basra, the second largest city in Iraq. On that day, 1500 flying mission carried out, including 500 assault missions, 35 of refueling missions, 49 cargo missions, and 175 supervision missions, control, command, and spies. On April 9, 2003, Baghdad fell and The United States troops also managed to control the city. After The United States-controlled Baghdad, Saddam was reported missing.

On April 14, 2003, the Pentagon declared that the war in major had finished after The United States forces captured Saddam in his hometown in Tikrit. General Jay Garner was appointed by The United States for controlling Iraq until a new government was formed. Garner was held meetings with a number of Iraqi leaders and started planning the formation of the Iraqi Federal Government. The meeting was held at Al Ur, near Nasiriya, in southern Iraq, and successfully issued 13 significant decision which became the foundation of state system and the post-Saddam Iraqi government (Abd Rahman, 2003).

On May 1, 2003, President George W. Bush, aboard The United States Abraham Lincoln, declared that the war had finished. Furthermore, President Bush declared that the victory was in the allied side with The United States as the leader. Since that time, it began a phase of stability and Iraq's post-war reconstruction.

D. The Effect of the War

The falling of Saddam statue was the symbol of the collapse of the Saddam regime. The war had been declared ceasefire by the President Bush and Iraq subsequently fell into the occupation forces led by The United States. After the fall of Saddam Hussein, Iraq entered a new phase which was very different from the previous one. The United States had managed to coup Saddam regime and formed a new government and Iraq promised to be more democratic. The political impact after the falling of the Saddam regime automatically made Iraq as The United States occupation area, and they would form a transitional government of Iraq to a permanent government without foreign interferences (Setiawati, 2004).

Since then, the military operation on a large scale terminated in Iraq and began the occupation by The United States supported by 35 states including the UK, Australia, Italy, and Poland. The purpose of the occupation according Bush was to enhance the liberation of Iraq from "dictatorship" government and to provide the opportunities for the people of Iraqis to enjoy a freedom and prosperity (Kuncahyono, 2004). Since Saddam fall, 150 newspapers in Iraq was reborn. It was one indication of a new birth of freedom in Iraq. When Saddam was in power,

he controlled all information channels in Iraq. All medias were under his control and authority. Not only were the medias, but also the reporters were not given freedom by Saddam. Journalists should be careful in collecting the facts and made the news that not criticize the regime of Saddam. The medias published by Arab countries and the international media reported that after the fall of Saddam, crime rose sharply in Baghdad.

The collapse of Saddam regime created a vacuum power. The result was to provide the opportunities for the birth of chaotic political manifesto, sometimes resulted in violence, and sometimes ended with riots. All was done by the Iraqis who suddenly gained their freedom regardless of tyranny. The Iraqis were free and uncontrollable because there were no rules that must be obeyed. This conditions fostered deep hatred among the Iraqis toward The United States-led occupation forces. Though The United States couped the regime of Saddam to make Iraq a better state, the situation in Iraq after Saddam fall did not become better in economy, social, politic, and security.

Since Saddam regime fell, Iraq was completely free because there was no more legally binding, there was no justice and newly formed police was totally helpless. Armed group appeared everywhere to fight the occupation forces. These armed groups then declared that the occupation forces must immediately leave Iraq. The statement embodied in various insurgencies against the occupation forces.

There were great expectations of the majority leader of the Syiah that they would acquire a greater role and significance position in the new government after the regime of Saddam. That expectation was something reasonable by given the demographic reality of Iraqi religion, where Syiah are the majority. If the newly formed government was less to accommodate the interest of the Syiah group it meant as same as putting a “timing bomb” that could explode anytime in the future.

In the economic sphere, Iraq suffered huge losses because of the infrastructure collapse destroyed by the war. Destruction occurred in government buildings, hospitals, road settlements, trade centers, as well as other public places.

After the war declared ceasefire, the coalition forces dispersed Force Armed and Ba’ath Party. The dissolution of the two institutions was a big mistake, because the impact to the coalition forces was the emergence of the new problem in Iraq. Dissolution of the Armed Forces led about 500,000 people who had become unemployed soldiers. They believed to be the part of the armed groups that fight the occupation forces.

Administrator appointed by The United States to Iraq is Jay Garner who held the post form on April 21, 2003 until May 6, 2003. After that Garner was replaced by Paul Bremer who has been appointed as the Head of the Coalition Provincial Authority. As the administrator in Iraq, Bremer should regulate and supervise The United States-led occupation coalition forces to Iraq considered capable led by the Iraqis themselves (Kuncahyono, 2004). On July 13, 2003, Bremer approved the

establishment of the Iraqi Interim Government Council. The formation of this council was a way to ensure that the interests of the Iraqi people were represented. The board of the members appointed by Bremer and selected from political figures, ethnic, and religious leader against the government of Saddam Hussein. Although the council was given some important powers, such as forming a new cabinet, but Bremer remained holding veto power over any board's plan.

The Governing Council was composed of 25 people consisting of 13 representatives of the Arab Shia, and 5 representatives of Arab Sunni, 1 representative of Sunni Kurdish, 1 representative of ethnic Turkoman, and 1 representative of the Christian Assyrian. The formation of the Iraqi Interim Government Council was a step early for the birth of the new government in Iraq since the fall of Saddam. The Board had the power to apply the policy and to nominate and to dismiss a minister. In addition, the board also played an important role in drafting new Iraqi constitution.

After the collapse of Saddam government followed by the formation of the Provisional Government council, it had appeared armed insurgencies. The resistance was originally aimed to the occupation forces then the Governing Council officials that were perceived to support the occupation forces. Various armed groups had sprung up even until the day of devolution of the sovereignty by The United States to Iraq on June 28, 2004. But the occupation forces were still stay in Iraq. They remained there under the pretext to crush the armed groups in Iraq.

The occupation forces did not leave Iraq even the election to be held on Sunday, January 30, 2005. General election was held to elect 275 members of the National Council as well as the members of Parliament for 18 provinces in Iraq. The results of the counting announced that the Syiah group won the election by 48% of total vote.

Convening the General Election and the formation of a new government in Iraq yet also made the occupation forces to withdraw from Iraq. Occupation army remained to entrench in Iraq and armed groups continued resistance. The attack and suicide bombings were still happening as a form of resistance against the occupation forces. This action not only threatened the occupation forces, but also threatened the citizen.