

Chapter I

Introduction

A. Background

The concept of modern state sovereignty was developed and arranged through the Westphalia Treaty in 1684. It finished the conflicts that happened in Europe and produced the new provision of international law that finally serves as a basis of the modern state system. The basis of the modern state system is the acknowledgement of the sovereign character of a nation state and the refusal of the intervention of external power in aspect of domestic affairs. The Peace of Westphalia is crucially important to modern international relations. It has several keys principles, which explain the significant effect for the world today:¹

1. The principle of the sovereignty of states and the fundamental right of political self determination
2. The principle of legal equality between states
3. The principle of non-intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another state

The principles of Westphalia Treaty have been inspired the states behavior which shape the pattern in international relations. It is obeyed by the international community and applies in any field of matter until year to year. These kinds of principles were strengthened by the emergence of United Nations Charter (UN Charter). UN Charter include commitments to eradicate war, promote human

¹Wikipedia Encyclopedia, *Westphalian Sovereignty* (accessed on March 4, 2009); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westphalian_sovereignty

rights, maintain respect for justice and international law, promote social progress and friendly relations among nations, and use the United Nations as a centre to harmonize their actions in order to attain these ends.²

Common perceptions that inspired by Westphalia Treaty were also strengthened in the United Nations Charter (UN Charter). The UN Charter was written in the closing days of the Second World War by the representatives of 50 governments meeting at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. The Charter was based from the draft of proposal that worked by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States when they met at Washington in 1944. The Charter was signed and adopted on 26 June 1945 by the 51 representatives of the states and Poland which had been unable to attend.³ The UN Charter finally came up as the one of the concept of international law.

The United Nations (UN) is an international organization whose stated aims are to facilitate cooperation in international law, international security, economic development, social progress, human rights and achieving world peace. The United Nations was founded in 1945 after World War II to replace the League of Nations, to stop wars between countries and to provide a platform for dialogue.⁴ By establishing the UN Charter as the rules of world order it hopes that the relations between international communities will well-manage and are going to have pattern. Those kind principles include in the UN Charter hold by the states

² Department of Public Information, *Basic Facts About the United Nations* (New York: United Nations, 1992)

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Wikipedia Encyclopedia, *United Nations* (accessed on March 4, 2009); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations

as manners in international relations in line with the increasing of roles of UN as supranational organization. The emergence of international organization such as UN was viewed by the experts as the development of international community that respects to the global peace.

However, since the post Cold War era states begin to consider huge impacts of war involve the decreasing state economy come from much military spending, environmental and physically damages, even the civilian victims as great dilemma of war. At that time, states begin to leave the military force to settle international conflicts. The soft diplomacy is preferred by states as the better one.

Diplomacy usually begins with bargaining, through direct or indirect communication, in an attempt to reach agreement on an issue. This bargaining may be conducted tacitly among the parties, each of whom recognizes that a move in one direction leads to a response by the other. The bargaining may be conducted openly in formal negotiations, where one side offers a formal proposal and the other responds in kind; this is repeated many times over until a compromise has been reached. In either case, reciprocity usually occurs wherein each side responds to the other's moves in kind.⁵

In the mid of trend of soft diplomacy in the 20th century, the United States surprised the world by practicing coercive diplomacy toward Iraq in March, 2003. The United States sent 248.000 troops to Iraq and gains the coalition with the British, Australia, Spain, Poland and Denmark. It started the military action toward the Iraqi soldiers that were commanded by Saddam Hussein.

The United States military action against Iraq is contrary to certain phenomenon. When we see the relation between United States and Iraq at the past time, it is so contrastive. Iraq has ever been the United States' close friend. The relations between United States and Iraq rebuild a decade later after the 1967 Arab

⁵ Karen Mingst, *Essentials of International Relations* (USA: W.W. Norton&Company, 1999), p. 121

– Israeli War. The United States supported Iraq during the Iraq – Iran War as a counterbalance to post-revolutionary Iran. This support include several billion dollars worth economic aid, the sale of dual-use technology, weaponry, military intelligence, special operation training and direct involvement in warfare against Iran.⁶

Saddam Hussein believes that the return of Bagdad-Washington relationship will strengthen the Iraq position in the Middle East as the counter of Iran power post-revolution. The United States embraced Iraq during the confrontation with Iran in order to counter the sphere of influence of Soviet Union, also to be a counterbalance of the Iran revolutionary power, and to save the oil interest in Middle East. On other hand, the history changed in line with the Iraq foreign policy to invade Kuwait in 1990. The U.S. continued to view Saddam as a bellicose tyrant who was a threat to the stability of the region. Saddam, meanwhile, was embittered by the aftermath of the Gulf War, which he viewed as a betrayal by a nation that once considered him an indispensable ally. During the 1990s, President Bill Clinton maintained sanctions and ordered air strikes in the "Iraqi no-fly zones" (Operation Desert Fox), in the hope that Saddam would be overthrown by political enemies inside Iraq.⁷ The relation between United States and Iraq were getting worse until the practice of United States coercive diplomacy in 2003.

⁶ Wikipedia Encyclopedia, *United States Support for Iraq during the Iran–Iraq War* (accessed on April 17, 2009); Available from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S. support for Iraq during the Iran-Iraq war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._support_for_Iraq_during_the_Iran-Iraq_war)

⁷ Wikipedia Encyclopedia, *Saddam Hussein* (accessed on March 4, 2009); Available from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saddam Hussein](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saddam_Hussein)

Military action launched by the United States that move to Iraq begins the new event of confrontation in the modern world. What the United States done against Iraq can be seen as the opposite to international laws and customs. The coercive diplomacy by using the instrument of military power becomes the one of the form of intervention on a sovereign state. As we know that based on the international law, military intervention to the sovereign state is not allowed. In the 3rd principle on Article 2 (Purposes and Principles) of UN Charter, it mentions that, *“All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered”*. Then, the 4th principle asserts clearly, *“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”*⁸

Previously, the issues of WMD possession and international terrorism have become the United States’ concern that persuasively makes UN Security Council released 1441 resolution. It mentioned the return of UN weapon inspection to Iraq and threatening “serious consequences” for noncompliance. In fact, they did not find what is expected before.

Despite the resumption of inspections, the Bush administration argued that Iraq was not fully cooperating with inspectors and was continuing to hide banned weapons. Bush, with the support of Britain and several other countries, sought UN authorization of force against Iraq. However, some countries, such as France, Germany, Russia, and China, wanted to give the weapons inspections more time to proceed and opposed military action.⁹

⁸ United Nations Website (accessed on August 19, 2009); available from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml>

⁹ Bush, George W(alker). Microsoft Encarta 2006.

France in particular has insisted that any resolution granting authorization for military action should be passed only after inspections are thwarted.¹⁰

There was much international opposition toward the United States proposal to launch military action against Iraq.

A spate of massive demonstrations throughout the advanced capitalist countries, from Seattle to Montreal, from Genoa to Rome, from Berlin to London to Tel Aviv show that there is no room for despondency. The people belonging to the countries of the European Union are boycotting the goods from Israel and workers of many ports of Europe are refusing to load and unload cargo of the Israeli ships. Anti US demonstrations are being held in the Philippines, in Bolivia and in South Korea. The US inspired coup in oil-rich Venezuela was frustrated by the massive people's protest. Impact of the people's protest movement on rulers of the Western capitalist countries is palpable. The European view at this point is marked by a total rejection of the unilateral, contemptuous and arrogant US policy which leads to flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the states and disrespect for international law. German Chancellor flatly refused to go along with Bush. Turkey, a key US ally, expressed grave reservation against the US policy of invading Iraq. Russia adamantly opposes military strike against Iraq. It is reported from the Kremlin that the Russian President Putin spoke over the telephone with the Italian Prime Minister, Berlusconi and they agreed that they had a similar position on this question.¹¹

In the United States domestic, there was also opposition toward this kind of coercive foreign policy called *dove point of view*. Such as on the side of Secretary of State -Colin Powell- group that suggested Bush administration to maintain the economic sanction toward Iraq while supporting financially Iraqi opposition rather than launch military force.¹² But these rejections seem not effective and did not make any change toward the United States decision.

¹⁰ Bill Van, *US Plan for Iraq Inspections: Invasion Under Another Guise*, October 9, 2002 (accessed on August 21, 2009); available from <http://www.wsws.org/articles/2002/oct2002/iraq-o09.shtml>

¹¹ World Socialist Web Site, *Bush Administration Planning Invasion of Iraq* (accessed on August 21, 2009); available from http://www.iacenter.org/Iraq/iraq02_suci.htm

¹² Alan Sipress, *Support Iraqi Opposition While Maintaining Sanctions*, Washington Post, February 2, 2001, report collection from Colin Powell on War & Peace Website (accessed on August 21, 2009); available from http://www.issues2000.org/Celeb/Colin_Powell_War_+_Peace.htm

Actually there are many choices to solve the international dispute. According to Boer Mauna, the concept of International Law explains that the international dispute should be settled peacefully and utilizing violence to other states is prohibited. The International Law proposes the manner of peace dispute settlement mechanism through the methods:¹³

1. Settlement through Diplomatic Negotiation, Conciliation and Mediation
2. Settlement through the frame of United Nations
3. Settlement through the Regional Organization

The dispute settlement through the diplomatic negotiation opens the discussion and bargain of the state interest that is performed by the ministries, diplomats, even the president that carry the diplomatic missions. The relationship between the states that involves in the dispute can be closer and the meetings between the government that perform the negotiation, conciliation or mediation decreasing the risk of war. Each of state interest can be bargained directly by achieving the win-win solution.

Thus, if the settlement of dispute through the direct meeting between states cannot be reached, the United Nations as the supranational organization can help as a forum to solve the international conflict. The United Nations has the certain council such as the Security Council that has the duty to maintain the global peace and security.

¹³ Boer Mauna, *Hukum Internasional: Pengertian Peranan dan Fungsi Dalam Era Dinamika Global* (Bandung: PT. Alumni, 2000), pp. 185-219

The regional organization also can take the role to settle the international dispute through the mediation. Sometimes the regional organization is effective in settling the dispute because it has the member state that is the neighbor country that has close relationship with the conflicted state. Then, they can give the strong influence in conflict resolution.

The peace dispute settlement mechanisms use the persuasive method rather than the coercive diplomacy that apply the military force. The coercive diplomacy is the method that results in high risk and spends much cost. It involves destructive physical building and environment and also victims. In the modern era, this method is supposed to be left.

Moreover, the United States is the permanent members of the UN Security Council that has the primary responsibility under the Charter for maintenance of international peace and security. The UN Security Council also has the job to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to the international friction. Indeed, the United States is supposed to implement its commitment as the members of UN Security Council that has to respect and obeys the principles of UN Charter. Therefore, the military action that is covered in the term of coercive diplomacy that was released by the United States toward Iraq in 2003 breaks the international rules and reverses the spirits of UN Charter. The practice of the United States coercive diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003 actually describes the collapse of international law.

B. Research Question

Based on this phenomenon, the writer calls this case in to question: *Why does the United States practice coercive diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003?*

C. Theoretical Framework

The writer applies the theory and concept in order to analyze this problem. A theory is general explanation of certain selected phenomenon set forth in a manner satisfactory to someone acquainted with the characteristics of the reality being studied. A theory is an intellectual tool that helps us to organize our knowledge, to ask significant questions, and to guide the formulation of priorities in research as well as the selection of methods to carry out research in fruitful manner.¹⁴ Moreover, the effort to understand the social phenomenon involves the attempt to simplify that phenomenon by using the concept.¹⁵

In order to analyze the research of “The Practice of United States Coercive Diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003” the writer applies the concept of ‘*Coercive Diplomacy*’ that is based on the grand theory of ‘*Realism*’.

Concept of Coercive Diplomacy

Actually, the success of running diplomacy of a state is an effort to strengthen the foreign policies that is influenced by the national interest. According to the KM Panikkar in the book of *The Principle and Practice of Diplomacy*, “the diplomacy is an art of forwarding one’s interest in relations to

¹⁴ James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr, summarized from *The Nature and Function of Theory, Contending Theories of International Relations; A Comprehensive Survey*, 3rd edition (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990), pp. 15-16

¹⁵ Mohtar Mas’oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional; Disiplin dan Metodologi* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), p. 92

other states”.¹⁶ The existence of a state in international community depends on their way to perform diplomacy.

Diplomacy which is described as the politics of international relations has developed continuously in line with the method that is related to the world that seems to be anarchy. In the world that consists of competitive state system, one to another tries to survive, struggle for their national interest until dominate other states. Therefore, it appears the other method of diplomacy that tends to create military force in order to support the interest that called coercive diplomacy.

According to Alexander L. George, *Coercive Diplomacy* is a diplomatic method used by a country in which the use of force, military action or economic sanction is threatened or hinted at to force another country to give in to a certain demand or take or not take a particular action.¹⁷

“Coercive diplomacy does indeed offer an alternative to reliance on military action. It seeks to persuade an opponent to cease his aggression rather than bludgeon him into stopping. It is used to punish the adversary if he does not comply with what is demanded of him.”¹⁸

Actually, the coercive diplomacy is the alternative to war. It is the forceful persuasion done by the United States that we can see as the ‘diplomacy as America version’. The people often see the coercive diplomacy as the war that same using the military power to persuade the adversary to meet the demand of the actor. But the differences between coercive diplomacy and war are at the point of limited demand that is proposed by the actor. The coercive diplomacy is sound

¹⁶ S. L. Roy, *Diplomasi* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 1995), p. 3

¹⁷ Wikipedia Encyclopedia, *Coercive Diplomacy* (accessed on March 4, 2009), available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coercive_Diplomacy

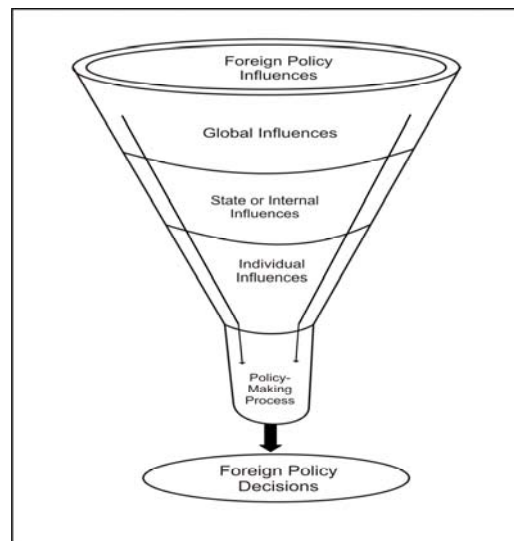
¹⁸ Alexander L. George, *Forceful Persuasion; Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1991), p.5

legalized by strong state if the soft diplomacy cannot meet their interest. There are some factors that influence the success of Coercive Diplomacy:

1. Actor

The actor has the important role to make coercive diplomacy successful. Basically, the use of military force as the mean of coercive diplomacy is the decision made by the primary actor that is a state. The highest position of decision-maker in a state is the government. It means that government has full authority to release the military power. The decision that is made by the government is foreign policy as the output that collect the supporting input from the others element such as global influence, internal or state influence and individual influence.

Figure 1.1



Source: Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics; Trend and Transformation* (United States: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006).¹⁹

¹⁹ Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf, *World Politics; Trend and Transformation* (United States: Thomson Wadsworth, 2006), p.59

2. Action

The use of military force as the instrument of coercive diplomacy becomes the last choice as the action when the interest cannot be met. Military force is the power to achieve the certain interest that has to be supported by the strong military capability and technology. The military preparedness is the one of the national power. By considering the great costs of using military force as the instrument of coercive diplomacy, the actor has to be careful to choose the actions of coercive diplomacy. It needs the precise strategy and mature observation of the target.

Realist Theory

According to the Hans J. Morgenthau thought, the national interest of each state is to pursue the authority or power that is everything which can shape and maintain the control of one state to another. The power relation or this control toward another can be created through both of the coercive techniques and also cooperation. The power and interest are argued as the means and also the goal of the international political action.²⁰

Accordingly, the concept of coercive diplomacy by using the military force as the instrument of diplomacy take the root based on the grand theory of Realism that focused on the 'struggle of power'.

Realism is based on a view of the individual as primarily selfish and power-seeking. Individuals are organized in states, each of which acts in a unitary way in pursuit of its own national interest, defined in terms of power. These states exist in an anarchic international system, characterized by the absence of an

²⁰ Mohtar Mas' oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional; Disiplin dan Metodologi* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), p.140

authoritative hierarchy. Under the condition of anarchy, states in the international system can rely only on themselves. Their most important concern, then, is to manage their insecurity, which arises out of the anarchic system. They rely primarily on balance of power and deterrence to keep the international system intact and as nonthreatening as possible.²¹

There were four essential assumptions of realism according to Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. *First*, the state is the principal actor in war and in politics in general. *Second*, the state is assumed to be unitary actor. *Third*, decision makers acting in the name of the state are assumed to be rational actors. Thucydides believed that individuals are essentially rational beings and that they make decisions by weighing the strengths and weakness of various options against the goal to be achieved. *Fourth*, Thucydides was concerned with security issues – protecting the state from enemies both foreign and domestic. A state augments its security by increasing its domestic capacities, building up its economic prowess, and forming alliances with other states based on similar interests.²²

The other realist, St. Augustine blames war on the basic characteristics of man that are flawed, egoistic and selfish. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) argues in *The Prince* that a leader needs to be ever mindful of threats to his personal security and the security of the state. Machiavelli promotes the use of alliances and various offensive and defensive strategies to protect the state. According to the Thomas Hobbes, individuals in the state of nature have the responsibility and the right to preserve themselves, so too does each state in the international system.²³ Those are supported by Max Weber (1864-1920) who argued that the

²¹ Karen Mingst, *Essentials of International Relations* (USA: WW Norton & Company, 1999), pp. 70-1

²² *Ibid.*, p.71

²³ *Ibid.*, p.75

leader of state is sworn to safeguard the state from external threat, to provide for its common defense, and ultimately to ensure its survival in a world of anarchy. Because there is no legally or politically superior authority, the power of the state becomes the ultimate guarantee of security.²⁴

Moreover, Hans J. Morgenthau (1904-80) just as for Thucydides, Augustine, and Hobbes, explains that international politics is a 'struggle for power'. That struggle can be explained at the three levels of analysis;²⁵

- 1) The flawed individual in the state of nature struggle for self-preservation;
- 2) The autonomous and unitary state is constantly involved in power struggles, balancing power with power and reacting to preserve what is in the national interest; and
- 3) Because the international system is anarchic – there is no higher power to put the competition to an end – the struggle is continuous. Because of the imperative to ensure a state's survival, leaders are driven by a morality quite different from that of ordinary individuals. Morality, for realists is to be judged by the political consequences of a policy.

The realist theory brought the point that the state is the unitary actor that struggle for power in order to survive in the world. There is no the authoritative hierarchy that can restrain the state to maintain its own national security. The national security is the ultimate state need that will be realized in term of foreign policy.

²⁴ James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr, *Contending Theories of International Relations; A Comprehensive Survey, 4th edition* (New York: Longman, 1997), p. 65

²⁵ *op.cit.*, p.76

According to the realist thought, human is characterized as the creature that always worried upon its self-safety within the competition among others. Human wants to be the controller that does not demand to be benefited by others. Human expects to be the strongest involve in the term of state in the international relations. The desire of hegemony toward another is the universal value. Therefore, the realist believes that there is no world government or the hierarchical system of power. A state is the primary actor in the world politics that seems to anarchy. The core of foreign policy is to create and maintain the state interest in the world politics. The realist argues that in the world political system there is the domination of powerful states. The international relations are viewed as the struggle of a powerful state to dominate others. The normative bases of realism are state security and self-preservation. Those are the things that move the realist doctrine and foreign policy.²⁶

Moreover, Machiavelli thought that the administrator has the duty to attempt for the priority to maintain national interest and guarantee the state survival. Machiavelli also reminds that the wise state leader must act quickly for the sake of its life security and to respond toward the threat from the neighbor. The leader is supposed to be ready to include in the defense war and the similar initiatives. Therefore, the use of military force even war is the normal action in the context of security defense. Morgenthau also argued that war is the tragic situation but it is the making a sacrifice of the goodness for the sake of the greater

²⁶ Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen, *Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), pp. 88-89

goodness. A war is also the dilemma that has to be taken as the evil action to prevent the greater evil action.²⁷

Therefore, by considering these theories and concepts we can argue that the practice of United States coercive diplomacy is the realization of the foreign policy that tends to follow the mindset of realist. The United States believe that the issue of terrorism becomes the problem that can threat their national security. It can be proved by the experience of 9/11 terrorist attack that destroyed the World Trade Center - symbol of United States economic capitalism power- and disturb the building of Pentagon – as the symbol of United States military power.

The United States believes that Iraq as a member of an “axis of evil” and a terrorist supporter state threatening global security. Iraq under Saddam Hussein did not meet the demand of the UN resolution toward the issue of WMD possession. The United States establishes the coercive diplomacy as its foreign policy to secure its national security and the existence as a superpower country.

D. Hypothesis

The United States practices coercive diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003 because;

1. The United States believes that Iraq actually supports the terrorism actions that threatens the United States’ national security
2. Coercive diplomacy as a strategy of United States’ struggle for power especially in the Middle East

²⁷ *Ibid.*,pp. 94-103

E. Research Method

In order to analyze this thesis with the title “The Practice of United States Coercive Diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003”, we apply the library research method by using explanative type of thesis in which it collect the secondary data is conducted through the literature study. This analysis is also supported by the data and information that come from the sources of references including books, journals, newspapers, magazines, websites, etc. in which are completed through discussions with the academicians. The internet media also useful in supporting the update data and information that related to the object of research. These data and information based on the literature study and media are used to analyze the object by implementation of theories and concept.

F. Scope of Research

The thesis of “The Practice of United States Coercive Diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003” is going to answer the reason why United States practices coercive diplomacy at the time of 2003.

G. Organization of the Research

Chapter I - This chapter will explain the background of the research, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, data collection method and the scope of the research in order to be the prior step to analyze this research.

Chapter II - This chapter will explain the overview of the United States foreign policy; the factors that influence it, its characteristics, its foreign policy making, that strengthen the Bush administration to create the foreign policy of coercive diplomacy.

Chapter III - This chapter will explain the dynamics of the United States practice of coercive diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003.

Chapter IV - This chapter will explain the reasons of the United States practice of coercive diplomacy toward Iraq in 2003 in order to maintain the United States national security and as a strategy to struggle for power.

Chapter V - Conclusion