CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The issue of Iran's nuclear development program continues to blow till now and to heat not only political constellation in the regional level that is the Middle East, but also in the international level. Some believe that Iran's nuclear program is the most dilemmatic issues in one of the world's most volatile regions. While the United States of America and European officials believe that Tehran is developing nuclear weapons, Iran's leadership says that its goal in developing a nuclear program is to generate electricity.[1] That is why Iran's nuclear then called as the most dilemmatic issues. Moreover, the dilemma is not only about the issue itself; however, it also raises a different response from some countries that feel most threatened by the presence of the nuclear enrichment program.

Iran is one of the Middle East countries which is serious about its nuclear development program. Since for that Islamic Republic, as it is explained before, nuclear development program that they stimulate is a project for the purposes of generating electricity. The program does not make any political sense that is the development of nuclear weapons that allows Iran to improve its regional profile. In other words, Iran's nuclear development program is an effort for peaceful purpose. As said by the president of Iran Ahmadinejad,

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[1] "Iran's nuclear program" (Topics), *The New York Times*, September 27, 2012, accessed October 2, 2012, from
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/iran/nuclear_program/index.html

that Iran had joined the world's nuclear countries and successfully enriching uranium to an industrial level. This kind of emphasizing of Iran's nuclear ambitions is often done by Ahmadinejad even in international forums.[2]

The seriousness of Iran for developing nuclear program received much criticism from many countries, particularly western countries that incorporated the European Union (EU), an economic and political union. The EU is strongly supporting the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The EU then states through the European External Action Service (EEAS), the high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, that EU criticizes Iran to develop nuclear weapons and not contributing to proliferation by referring to the treaty.[3] Furthermore, the United States and its major ally in the Middle East, Israel, are the strongest countries in criticizing the Islamic Republic's nuclear enrichment activities.

In response the spread of nuclear weapons in the world, the United States actually have a series of actions summarized in 'Obama-Biden Plan'. In case of Iran's nuclear development, the United States offer the Iranian regime a choice. First, if Iran abandons its nuclear program and support for terrorism, the United States will offer incentives like membership in the World Trade Organization (WTO), economic investments, and a move toward normal diplomatic relations. On the contrary, if Iran continues its troubling behavior, the Unites States will step up the economic pressure and political isolation. In

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[2] "Nuclear powers in the Middle East" (News), *BBC News*, April 25, 2008, accessed October 2, 2012, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7367475.stm
[3] European Union External Action, "Iran's nuclear programme", accessed October 2, 2012, from http://eeas.europa.eu/iran/nuclear_en.htm

addition, Obama will coordinate closely with their allies and proceed with careful preparation in carrying out that diplomacy.[4]

The spread of nuclear weapons is the United States concerns not least in the Obama leadership as it is today. Obama believes that the threat of a terrorist attack with a nuclear weapon and the spread of nuclear weapons to dangerous regimes have been becoming the gravest danger to the American people. To fight terrorism and prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, Obama took bipartisan action to secure nuclear weapons and materials by joining Senator Dick Lugar (R-In) in passing a law to help the United States and our allies detect and stop the smuggling of weapons of mass destruction throughout the world. Furthermore, he joined Senator Chuck Hagel (R-Ne) to introduce a bill that seeks to prevent nuclear terrorism, reduce global nuclear arsenals, and stop the spread of nuclear weapons.[5]

Iran is one of the countries comprising the 'Axis of Evil', an initial to addressed by the former United States president George W. Bush describe governments that he accused of sponsoring terrorism and seeking weapons of mass destruction, besides Iraq and North Korea. Iran was announced to be the United States' concerns since February 23, 1998. The United States at that time believed that Iran's nuclear energy program could lead to the development of nuclear weapons.[6] The nuclear-armed Iran now returns to threaten the security and interests of the United States, as it is stressed by

[4] "The office of the president-elect", *Change.gov*, accessed May 10, 2012, from http://change.gov/agenda/
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] "Timeline of Iran's controversial nuclear program", *CNN.Com*, March 19, 2012, accessed October 3, 2012, from http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/06/world/meast/iran-timeline/index.html

Obama. Obama further says that he will not hesitate to use force to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapon.[7]

Meanwhile, Israel views that the spread of nuclear weapons, especially in the Middle East, is an issue to threat Israeli security. And, the most threatening country in the Middle East is Iran. Amos Gilad, Director of the Defense Ministry's Diplomatic-Security Bureau, said on speaking at the Ashkelon Academic College that Iran is the biggest threat to Israel, and called on the Iranian government to prioritize the issue and take action. His statement is response over the Iranian aim at nuclear missiles. So does the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. He said that Iran is a tremendous threat and stated that The Defense Minister of Defense is also aware of the threat and understands that is a central threat.[8] Furthermore, some Israelis believe and often refer to Iran with its nuclear development program as even an "existential" threat.[9]

In response the nuclear-armed Iran, Israel then insists to give military sanction in term of strikes on the Iran's facilities. Israeli threats against Iran were announced in the beginning of November, 2011. This sort of plan of attack came after the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), an autonomous international body to both regulate and control nuclear installation held by all states over the world, claimed that they have a new

[7] Jon Swaine, "Obama: I will not hesitate in using force to block Iran's nuclear threat from Iran" (News), *The Telegraph*, March 4, 2012, accessed October 4, 2012, from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/barackobama/9122351/Obama-I-will-not-hesitate-in-using-force-to-block-Irans-nuclear-threat-from-Iran.html
[8] Elad Benari, "Gilad: Iran is Currently the Biggest Threat to Israel" (News), *Arutz Sheva*, October 28, 2011, accessed September 4, 2012, from http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/149188#.UEYEeJioquJ
[9] John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 2007, New York, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, p. 280

evidence to strengthen the fact relating to the Iran nuclear development program.[10] This kind of Israeli threat toward Iran is surely not the first time. Nonetheless, some similar actions have preceded it for the last three years (early of Obama administration).[11]

Here, it in fact emerges difference of actions between the United States and its major ally in the Middle East, Israel. The taken actions of the United States are not even in line with the expectation of Benjamin Netanyahu as the Israeli Prime Minister in response the Iran's nuclear program. In the same time (11/11), the United States Secretary of Defense, Leon Panetta affirms that the United States prefers to apply economic sanction rather than military sanction against Iran related to its nuclear installation which according to the last IAEA report it is used for seeking nuclear weapons. The Panetta's affirmation then not only make the planning of attack speculation against Iran blur, but also certainly points out that there is difference of international agenda of between the two mutual back-ups countries, the United States and Israel.[12]

Israel in fact is focusing on the agenda of making the Iran's nuclear weapons possession into failure. While, the United States now prefer its own interests; maintaining or if possible increasing its influence in the post-revolutionary Arab world. Furthermore, the United States political maneuver now more directed towards holding the new players in Arab countries that have just toppled the old regime down through the people's revolution such

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[10] "AS, Kubu Islamis, dan Iran" [the US, Islamists, and Iran] (News), *Kompas*, November 12, 2011.

[11] "Putting Israeli Threats to Strike Iranian Nuclear Facilities in Perspective", November 14, 2011, *Analysis Intelligence* accessed September 5, 2012, from http://analysisintelligence.com/intelligence-analysis/putting-israeli-threats-to-strike-iranian-nuclear-facilities-in-perspective/

[12] *Kompas*, loc. cit.

as in Tunis, Egypt, and Libya. The United States also focuses on preserving the shift of power in Arab countries which are experiencing people's revolution such as Syria and Yemen. In other words, the United States try to avoid those countries do not transform into another Iran or being controlled by Tanzim al Qaeda and extremist Islam. Moreover, the United States realize that if there is another agenda such as military action toward Iran, then it can disturb or even thwart the nowadays project in Arab world.[13]

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, however, is still questioning even criticizing the stance of the United States President Barack Obama who believes that economic sanctions and diplomacy can stop Iran's nuclear programs. Whereas Netanyahu formerly indicated Israel will attack Iran's nuclear facilities.[14]

B. Research Question

From the background to describe about the latest developments of Iran's nuclear program followed by the United States and Israeli response toward that Iran's nuclear program, as well as the political dispute between the United States and Israel due to difference response, then emerge a question, "Why did the United States under Obama prefer to apply economic sanctions rather than military sanctions as it is planned by Israel in response Iran's nuclear development program?"

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[13] *Ibid.*
[14] "Presiden RI berpidato di PBB" [the president of the republic of Indonesia addressed in the UN] (News), *Kompas*, September 29, 2012.

C. Theoretical Framework

To analyze the problems, it then takes a theory. Mochtar Mas'oed explains that the term of *theory* comes from the Greek it means to see or to show. Here, theory can be simply understood as a view or perception of what is happened. Mas'oed further argues that theory is the most common form of explanation that tells why things happen and when something predictable will happen.[15] One of the concepts of theory proposed by Mochtar Mas'oed stated that the theory in the International Relations shaped through the development of propositions. For instance, rational behavior based on a dominant motif such as power. That sort of theory is established to describe the political behavior of rational actors.[16]

Here, to analyze the problem, by looking at the background and research question, then the theoretical framework in this research is to use decision-making theory, especially foreign policy decision-making. Decision-making theory is kind of important theory and is presumably quite right in analyzing the actions of a state. And, in this case, it results in political dispute between a state (the United States) and its ally (Israel). Furthermore, the approach will be elaborated based on the experts who have their opinions.

Decision-making theory

The option of the United States in response Iran's nuclear development that is considered contrary to the option-tended of Israel, however, is heavily influenced by the decision-making process, given the decision-making is the process to be done in implementing their policy, both domestic and foreign

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[15] Mochtar Mas'oed, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi* [science of international relations: discipline and methodology], 1990, Yogyakarta, LP3ES, p. 185-186
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 22

policies. James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. define that decision-making is simply the act of choosing among available alternatives about which uncertainty exists.[17]

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff further explain that decision-making theory directs attention not to states called as metaphysical abstractions, or to governments, or even to such broadly labeled institutions as "the Executive," but instead seeks to highlight the behavior of the specific human decision-makers who actually shape governmental policy. In addition, the acts of the decision-makers, to all intents and purposes, are the acts in the name of state so that those, as Richard Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin said, are the acts of the state."[18]

Foreign policy is an action and commitment of a state to the external environment. It is also the basic strategy to achieve the objectives of national interests to be achieved beyond the borders. Furthermore, the basic strategy is applied in a number of decisions made in the foreign policy of a state. The actors and decision-makers of foreign policy will consider the factors that affect the process of foreign policy decision-making. The individuals that is in this sense a group of people to have capacity to decide policies or decision-makers are actually not able to decide policies without any consideration influencing it.

This basically corresponds with the description of William D. Coplin on the factors that influence the decision makers in deciding foreign policy. According to Coplin in his book titled "Introduction to International Politics:

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[17] James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations: a comprehensive survey*, 1971, 3rd edition, New York, Harper Collins publisher, p. 469
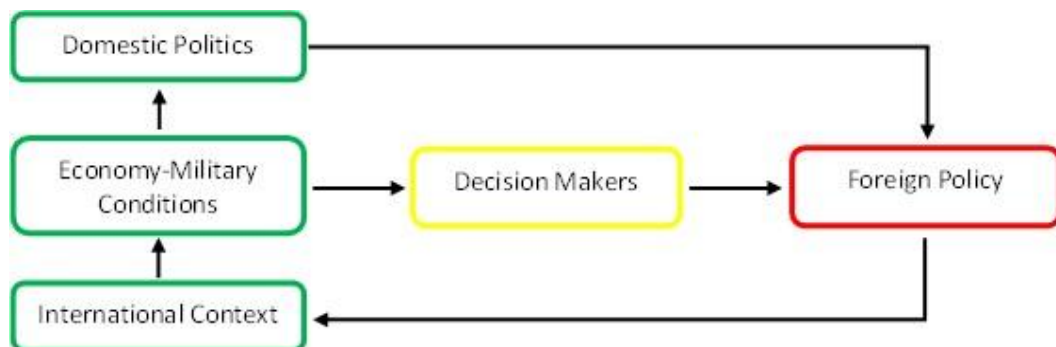[18] *Ibid.*

A Theoretical Overview", if we want to analyze the foreign policy of a state, then we have to question the state's leaders in making foreign policy. It is quite wrong to assume that the leaders of a state (policy makers) to act without consideration.

The foreign policies, instead, as Coplin further explains, are seen as a result of the three considerations that affect foreign policy makers; *first*, the domestic political conditions of the state, including cultural factors that underlie the human political behavior. The *second* is economic and military conditions of the state, including the geographic factor that has always been a major consideration in the defense/security. *Third* is international context, the circumstances of a state that has been goal of the foreign policy and the influence of other states relevant to the faced problems.[19]

To more easily understand the interaction of factors that influence the foreign policy decision-making process, the researcher tries to describe it into an illustration of chart form as follows:

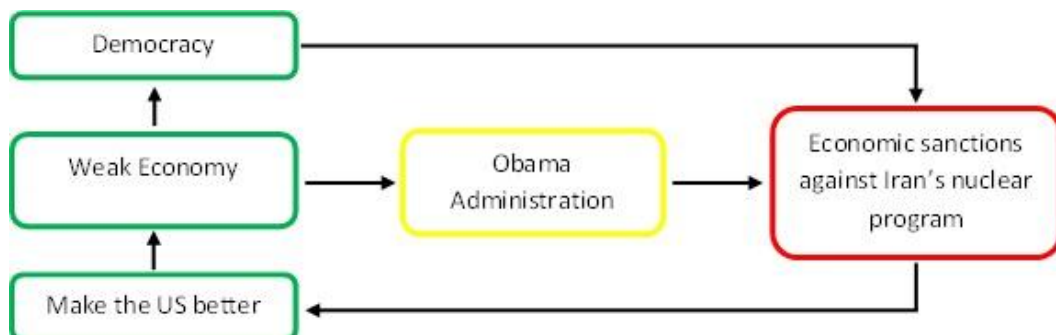**Chart 1.1 Foreign Policy Decision-making Process, according to William D. Coplin.[20]**

[19] William D. Coplin, *Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis* [Introduction to international politics: a theoretical overview], 1992, Mersedes Marbun, Trans., 2nd Edition, Bandung: Sinar Baru, p. 30
[20] *Ibid.*

The chart describes that foreign policy of a state can be influenced by domestic conditions, particularly the domestic politics. The conditions of domestic politics can be simply understood as a system of governance adopted by the concerned state. Furthermore, the factors that influence foreign policy decisions is the economic and military capabilities. The long debate about which is more important between economic and military capabilities of a state makes both the influential factors in a foreign policy decision-making process. Finally, Coplin mentions the international context as the third factor to be considered by the actors and decision-makers of foreign policy.[21]

The United States foreign policy, in this sense, is based on the political system adopted, economic conditions related to the need for oil, and the United States efforts in the era of Obama administration that want to make a better America and its citizens in the eyes of the world. For more details, the researcher illustrate the basis of the United States foreign policy with the following chart:

Chart 1.2 The illustration of the applied theory

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[21] *Ibid.*

The illustration can be explained based on the theory:

1. Domestic politics

    The domestic politics is one of factors that influences foreign policy decision-making. Also, it becomes consideration of the leader of a state, for instance, in conducting international agenda. Domestic politics even considered as the inextricably interrelated with the international relations realm. Furthermore, a country's international position exerts an important impact on its internal politics and economics. On the other hand, its domestic situation shapes its behavior in foreign relations.[22]

    It is obvious that the domestics politics can be understood as the dynamics of internal politics of a state, or simply the political system adopted. While, the United States adopt democracy as the political system. For the American nation, democracy is a basic principle of national character development.[23] Some believe that in the democratic political system, the state is ruled by majority. Democracy also uphold the rights of individual so that they can fully-participate in politics, including in decision-making process. They are able to assess the resulted policy; whether it is wrong or right.

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[22] Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information; Domestic Politics and International Relations*, 1997, New Jersey, Princeton university press, p. 3
[23] Bambang Cipto, *Politik dan pemerintahan Amerika* [American politics and government], 2nd Edition, 2007, Yogyakarta, Lingkaran Buku, p. 4

2. Economic and military capabilities

Economic and military capabilities of a state greatly influence the result of the foreign policy decision-making.[24] Economic conditions of a state is also able to become a depiction of the domestic condition of the state. As previous explanation, the international position of a country is strongly influenced by its internal political and economic conditions.[25] Coplin, however, sees the economic and military capabilities are influential in the process of foreign policy decision-making, regardless the long debate about which one more important between both economic and military capabilities.

It has no doubt toward the United States military capability. They have achieved a sophisticated military armament. The condition of the United States economy, however, is not stable. It is weakening. In the early of Obama administration, the United States economy is undergoing a serious recession. The economic recession is caused by variety of factors. One of the factors that affect the United States economy resulting in degradation is a series of wars waged began in the year George W. Bush took office, precisely since the post 9/11.[26] As the leader of the world economy, the United States crisis impacts to the economy of most countries in the world. This is an early depiction of the United States economy is decreasing.

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[24] Sidik Jatmika, *AS Penghambat Demokrasi: Membongkar Politik Standar Ganda Amerika Serikat* [US the inhibitors of democracy: dismantling double standards of the United States politics], 2000, Yogyakarta, Bigraf, p. 161
[25] Helen V. Milner, *loc. cit.*
[26] James Crotty, The great austerity war: what caused the US deficit crisis and who should pay to fix it? [Electronic version], *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 36*, issue 1, 2011, 79-104, accessed September 18, 2012, from http://cje.oxfordjournals.org/content/36/1/79.full#sec-4

3. International context

International context assume international conditions as one set of factors influencing foreign policy activities of states, remembering that those who make foreign policy do not always perceive the international context as the analyst perceives it. International context also becomes the consideration of action would be taken by a state in response the emerging issues. Furthermore, international context tells about the position of the relations with other states in international systems. In addition, The issue-content of international context is surely international issues.

The United States under Obama leaderships is more responsible to what happens with the world today. Some believed that the "Change," as his slogan during the presidential election campaign, 2008, means a change of political consensus that was very aggressive, militaristic, and like much doing interference in the domestic affairs of other countries as presented by Bush administration.[27] Obama in fact commits to build world without nuclear, creates a new relationship with Islamic world, and cancels missile defense systems in East Europe. Obama's historic speech delivered at Al Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt, on June 4, 2009, might reflect his seriousness in handling of an unraveling

[27] Anwar Holid, *Barack Hussein Obama: Kandidat Presiden Amerika Yang Punya 'Muslim Connection'* [Barack Hussein Obama: the American presidential candidate who has 'Muslim connection'], Bandung, Mizania, 1st Edition, 2007, p. 15

circumstance in the Middle East. Here, the speech also pointed out that Obama hoped the crisis circumstances ended and presented peace.[28]

Analysis of employing the decision-making theory especially foreign policy decision is expected able to reveal the fact behind the United States' shift in policy. Furthermore, it results in political dispute with its major ally in the middle east, Israel, due to each response against Iran's nuclear program.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical frameworks, then it is proposed the following hypothesis: The United States' policy against Iran's nuclear development program by imposing the economic sanctions is due to:

1. Domestic politics, namely the participation of the American people in the internal United States political dynamics, particularly related to foreign policy decision-making process in which they refuse to impose military sanctions as a response to the issue of Iran's nuclear development program.

2. Economic and military capabilities, namely the weakening of the United States economic that makes them reluctant to be in line with Israel.

3. International context, namely the United States in Barack Obama administration wants to make Americans better in the eyes of the world.

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[28] Ruslani and Toto Suparto, *Obama di Balik Aksi Yahudi* [Obama behind the Jews actions], 2010, Yogyakarta, Galangpress, p. 24

E. Method of Research

1. Scope of research

   To make easy researching, then the research stresses on the difference of opinion between the United States and Israel and of factors that encourage the U.S. to take different policy to Israel on Iran's nuclear development. The interval of time of research is to begin in 2008, especially when it was the United States president general election going on or during the period of campaign.

2. Method of collecting data

   The data of this qualitative research will be sought by doing literature search; means that the researcher collects data from the available sources to support the research. The researcher then will conduct the following actions:

   a. Collecting books to have correlation with the research title.

   b. Clipping news from daily newspaper to load the development of the United States actions on the Iranian nuclear proliferation.

   c. Browsing the related sites through internet to get additional data.

3. Method of analysis data

   This research is analyzed by descriptive analysis technique; means that the data and fact obtained and based on theory will be systematically analyzed so that it can display the correlation among facts.

F. Purpose of Research

This research aims at understanding the fact behind the United State policy-taken of applying economic sanction that seems contrary to Israel policy in response Iran's nuclear development program.

G. Organization of Writing

The systematic of writing of this research is arranged as follow:

Chapter I   Introduction. This chapter contains explanation about; Background, Research Questions, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Method of Research, Purpose of Research, and Organization of Writing.

Chapter II   This chapter will describe the politics and government of Iran, followed by explanation of its nuclear development program to the extent that the development reaching controversy in the world politics.

Chapter III   The United States policy toward Iran's nuclear program. this chapter will describe the history of United States policy that eventually comes to the policy against Iran, especially toward the nuclear-related activities.

Chapter IV   The United States' map of power in response Iran's nuclear development program. This chapter is going to be analysis of the United States strength which then led the state taking the policy. The analysis includes the domestic politics, the

economic and military conditions, and the international context.

Chapter V Conclusion.

Bibliography

Attachments