

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ANALYSIS OF NEOCONSERVATIVES OPERATION IN IRAQ WAR**

Before an invasion of Iraq, there had more debates over the war plan that would be used in Iraq. War planning involve serious debates over the principals that it is the duty of the military to select the best possible military solution to ensure that the plan demonstrates political and resource constraints and the priorities of the President. Interestingly, the debate over the use of Powell doctrine favoring decisive force using more conventional military means and Rumsfeld favoring minimum force using high-technology weapons, reflected a much broader political debate in Bush administration. The way of war led to a result of using a new mix of strategy, tactics, and technology in Iraq.

Prior to the U.S. decision to launch a full invasion of Iraq in 2003, the U.S. had attempted to invade unilaterally. However, to respect its alliances and international communities, President Bush eventually requested the UN authorization on September 12, 2002. France and Germany criticized the plan to invade Iraq. They proposed to continue diplomatic solution and weapons inspections. After serious debate, the U.N. Security Council approved a compromise resolution 1441, which authorized the resumption of weapons inspections and enforced serious consequences for noncompliance.

In February 2003, Secretary of State Colin Powell addressed the United Nations General Assembly to continue the U.S. effort to gain U.N. authorization for an invasion. Powell presented evidence alleging that Iraq was actively producing chemical and biological weapons and had a relationship with Iraq and al-Qaeda. As a follow-up to Powell's presentation, the United States, United Kingdom, and Spain proposed a UN Resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq. On the contrary,

Canada, France, Germany, and Russia, strongly insisted the use of diplomatic resolution. Facing a defeat in voting as well as a veto from France and Russia, the U.S. eventually withdrew the resolution.<sup>49</sup>

With the failure of their resolution, the U.S. and UK abandoned the Security Council procedures and decided to pursue the invasion without U.N. authorization. This decision was widely unpopular worldwide and raised an opposition to the invasion coalesced in a worldwide anti-war protest. Throughout 2002, the Bush administration made clear that removing Saddam Hussein from power was a major goal. The principal stated justifications of the policy of regime change were Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction and supported terrorist organizations. Eventually, on March 20, 2003, the invasion of Iraq by the United States and its allies began without UN support. It was different from the first Gulf War or the invasion of Afghanistan.

The explosion occurred in Baghdad. Australian Special Air Service Regiment personnel crossed the border into southern Iraq. President Bush announced that he had ordered the occupation forces to launch an "attack of opportunity" against targets in Iraq. The U.S.'s plan envisioned simultaneous air and ground assaults to devastate the Iraqi forces as fast as possible. It was expected that the elimination of the leadership would lead to the collapse of the army and the government. The invasion was swift with the collapse of the Iraq government and the military of Iraq about three weeks.<sup>50</sup>

Securing the oil infrastructure was considered important. Presumably, oil infrastructure was secured for financial as well as strategic reason. The oil infrastructure of Iraq was rapidly secured with limited damage at that time. Prior to

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<sup>49</sup> *Global Policy Forum*. (2003). "US, Britain and Spain Abandon Resolution," retrieved April 9, 2007, from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/attack/armtwist/2003/0317usbritspain.htm>.

<sup>50</sup> Seymour M. Hersh, *Chain of Command: the Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib*. (USA: Harper Collins, 2004), pp. 176-184.

the invasion, Iraqi forces had mined some 400 oil wells around Basra<sup>51</sup> and the Al-Faw peninsula<sup>52</sup> with explosives. The British Royal Marines 3 Commando Brigade launched an air and amphibious assault on the Al-Faw peninsula during the closing hours of 20 March to secure the oil fields there.<sup>53</sup>

Three weeks after the invasion, the U.S. forces moved into Baghdad. Initial plans were for armor units to surround the city. However, within days the U.S. tanks were launched to the Baghdad airport. On April 9, 2003, Baghdad was formally secured by the U.S. forces and Saddam Hussein was overthrown. In the north, the U.S. Special Forces and airstrikes were able to occupy oil-rich Kirkuk, the centre of the northern Iraqi petroleum industry. Occupation special forces had also been involved in the west of Iraq, attempting to occupy key roads to Syria and airbases. Consequently, on May 1, 2003, Bush gave a speech announcing the end of major combat operations in the Iraq war with a statement of "Mission Accomplished."

### **The post-invasion environment**

The post-invasion in Iraq with the overthrow of the Ba'ath Party<sup>54</sup> government of Saddam Hussein, the situation was stuck in turmoil between occupation forces and UN efforts to establish a democratic state along with anti-occupation fighters who demands that the foreign forces leave the country. In fact, the war was considered unpopular from its beginning in many coalition countries. In the weeks followed, all

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<sup>51</sup> The area surrounding Basra has substantial petroleum resources and many oil wells. The city also has an international airport, which recently began restored service to Baghdad with Iraqi Airways. Basra is in a fertile agricultural region, with major products including rice, maize corn, barley, pearl millet, wheat, dates, and livestock. The city's oil refinery has a production capacity of about 140,000 barrels a day (22,300 m<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>52</sup> It is a marshy region adjoining the Persian Gulf in the extreme south-east of Iraq, between and to the south-east of the cities of Basra (Iraq) and Abadan (Iran). It is the site of a number of important oil installations. The only significant town on the peninsula is Umm Qasr, a fishing town and port which comprised Iraq's main naval base.

<sup>53</sup> Ivo H. Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Maryland: Phoenix Color Hagerstown, 2003), p. 146-148.

<sup>54</sup> Ba'ath Party is secular Arab nationalist political party. It functioned as a pan-Arab party with branches in different Arab countries (Yemen, Lebanon, Sudan), but was strongest in Syria and Iraq. After the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime, the Iraqi party has since then been associated with armed resistance to US, UK and cooperating Iraqi government forces.

types of crime significantly increased in Iraq due to the end of the Saddam Hussein regime.

Importantly, Saddam Hussein was captured on December 13, 2003 by the U.S. Army. It has forced a step up of anti-occupation mostly the centers were the area around Fallujah and the poor Shia sections of cities from Baghdad to Basra in the south. The U.S. and the occupation Provisional Authority decided to face the growing anti-occupation fighters particularly in two countries, Fallujah<sup>55</sup> and Najaf.<sup>56</sup> However, the United States was unable to dislodge the anti-occupation fighters.

### **Analysis of neoconservatives's operation in Iraq War**

As mentioned that the U.S. accused that Iraq possessed WMDs and had link to terrorist network, there were the reasons why the U.S. launched aggressive policy against Iraq. Considering the context of neoconservatives and the threat of Iraq, it seems to be the right time to invade Iraq by neoconservative point of view. However, nothing is totally perfect, this scheme is problematic when it faces with the problem of imperfect intelligence. That is not an objection on principle but it is an objection of practice. The most tragic element of the Iraq war is not an eventuality of war itself, but it is an involvement of a matter of the disinformation of Bush administration to support allegations that Iraq possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction and thus posed a military threat to the U.S.

The lead-up to war and the aftermath of the invasion, the U.S. and British claim over Iraqi weapons programs and link to terrorist network have been discredited by the fact that Iraq have not develop WMDs including link to any terrorist network..<sup>57</sup> As evidence supporting the U.S. and British claim about Iraqi WMDs and links to terrorism weakened, supporters of the invasion have increasingly shifted their

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<sup>55</sup> It is a city in the Iraqi province of Al Anbar, located in the west of Baghdad. Within Iraq, it is known as the "city of mosques" for the more than 200 mosques found in the city and surrounding villages. The war has reportedly damaged 60% of the city's buildings, with 20% totally destroyed including 60 of the city's mosques.

<sup>56</sup> It is a city in the south of Baghdad. It is one of the holiest cities of Shia Islam and the center of Shia political power in Iraq.

<sup>57</sup> Christopher Marquis, "Powell admits no hard proof in linking Iraq to Al Qaeda," *New York Times*, January 9, 2004.

justification to the human rights violations of the Hussein government. However, such human rights concern was not a central justification for the invasion, nor was military intervention justifiable on humanitarian grounds due to the fact that "the killing in Iraq at the time was not the exceptional nature that would justify such intervention."<sup>58</sup>

Bush's plan to invade Iraq originated as "a blueprint for America" in 1996 think-tank whitepaper with the portentous title: "A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm".<sup>59</sup> The "Clean Break" document advocated military pre-emption and aggression to deal with perceived regional enemies of the U.S., principally Iraq, Syria and Iran. Subsequent to the release of the "Clean Break" document in 1997, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz and Donald Rumsfeld authored a letter to President Clinton calling for military force to be used in the ouster of Saddam Hussein, urging his removal as a primary aim of American foreign policy.<sup>60</sup>

That is flawed foundation for war in Iraq in the concept of pre-emption and aggression in the pursuit of war. To this point Iraq has proven to be an ultimate political failure for the Bush regime by neglecting ongoing violences of invasion Iraq and with no real plan or strategy in volatile areas. Iraq has become a major mistake for the Bush administration.

Neoconservatives exist behind the strategy for war devised by Vice President Richard Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld along with many supporters of war who actively quashed all opposition to the Iraq war. Internal dissension between the Pentagon's neoconservatives and the CIA also caused a problem. It appeared in an interview of Vincent Cannistraro, a former senior CIA official and counterterrorism expert said that "There is tremendous pressure on the

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<sup>58</sup> Ken Roth. (2004). "War in Iraq: Not a Humanitarian Intervention," retrieved April 9, 2007, from <http://hrw.org/wr2k4/3.htm>.

<sup>59</sup> A Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm. In Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, June 1996.

<sup>60</sup> Pelletiere, pp. 150-151.

CIA to come up with information to support policies that have already been adopted,”

<sup>61</sup> Although CIA attempted to do the best job of them, whenever the CIA provided objective, unbiased intelligence to the White House such intelligence was rejected. For instance, before a full invasion, director of CIA George Tenet had planned to go to the Middle East for more UN inspections but Powell wouldn't let him go.

As a result of invasion, presently Iraq exists in volatile situation of aggressive violence and an operational base for jihadist terrorists. Mass numbers of American soldiers were sent to Iraq for surveillance, they would be target of Iraqi counter invasion. Although the U.S. has a chance of creating a Shiite dominated democratic Iraq, but the new government will be very weak for years to come. There are clear benefits to the Iraqi people from the removal of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship and perhaps some positive spillover effects in Lebanon and Syria but it is very hard to see how these developments in themselves justify the blood and treasure that the U.S. has spent on this operation.

The Bush Doctrine was seen by neoconservatives that it responds to the September 11 attacks. The U.S. launched preventive wars to defend itself against rough states and terrorists with weapons of mass destruction and intend to do this alone, if necessary. Moreover, the U.S. believes that the democratization in Iraq would bring a long-term solution to the terrorist problem. However, success of preemption will not be occurred without an ability to predict the future accurately and on good intelligence.

The Bush administration and neoconservatives supporters underestimated the world reaction of using American power. Opponents of the U.S. operation perceived the U.S. as benevolent hegemony, academically it is premised on American exceptionalism, the idea that America could use its power in instances where others

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<sup>61</sup> “Contested Case: Do the Facts Justify the Case for War in Iraq?,” (2003). Report of the Sanctions and Security Project of the Fourth Freedom Forum and the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame, retrieved February 6, 2007, from [http://www.fourthfreedom.org/Applications/cms.php?page\\_id=2](http://www.fourthfreedom.org/Applications/cms.php?page_id=2).

could not because it was more virtuous than other countries.<sup>62</sup> The U.S. utilizes, or it can be seen as exploits its power aggressively against hostile states. Evidently, the case of Afghanistan and Iraq. To respond for this an example of a rising of anti-Americanism in post-invasion Iraq, can be a part of many reasons why the world do not accept American benevolent hegemony.

Another problem with benevolent hegemony was in the domestic area. There are a few number of American people's attention to foreign affairs. September 11 changed that way, it provides popular support for two wars in the Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq) and large increases in defense spending. However, the durability of the support is uncertain, most American want to do what is necessary to make the project of rebuilding Iraq to succeed. On the contrary, the aftermath of the invasion did not increase the public support for further costly interventions.

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<sup>62</sup> Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, *American Exceptionalism and US Foreign Policy: Public Diplomacy at the End of the Cold War*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp.25-26.