



Parahyangan Catholic University

Faculty of Social and Political Science

Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN-PT NO: 3095/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/VIII/2019

The Exertion of U.S Power Under Obama

Administration by Employing Private Military Companies in

Iraq in Order to Achieve U.S National Interests

Thesis

By

Chintya Tjusanto

2017330177

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On Wednesday, July 21, 2021
And hereby declared **GRADUATED**

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Hereby stated that this thesis to be the result of my own writing on academic paper and has never been proposed to achieve academic degree by others. Any quoted opinion is written based on the scientific rules that applies. This statement was written under my full responsibility and I am willing to receive any consequences if this statement would be prove false.

Maumere, 14 Juli 2021



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ABSTRACT

Name : Chintya Tjusanto

Student ID : 2017330177

Title : The exertion of U.S power under Obama Administration by employing Private Military Companies in Iraq in order to achieve U.S national interest

U.S intervention or invasion in Iraq started during President Bush administration in 2003. The legacy was handling over to Obama administration from 2009 until 2017. During Obama's electoral campaign, he promised to withdraw from Iraq if he got elected as U.S president. Throughout the years of his presidency, Obama made numerous decisions in regards of Iraq intervention. Started off with the withdrawal plan on 2009 and the realization of U.S troops withdrawal from Iraq by the end of 2011, by reviewing the reduction of violations case in Iraq. As U.S military troops left in 2011, U.S could not fully withdraw its existence in Iraq, since during U.S intervention in Iraq from 2003 until 2009, U.S also established its assets such as U.S embassy in Iraq and economic assets (oil industry). Besides that, U.S also claimed numerous interests in Iraq. These interests drove U.S to find the alternative to secure its interests since Iraq's situation was not completely stable. U.S perceived that by employing big number of Private Military Companies (PMCs) personnels, these interests were possible to be secured and achieved.

This research aims to analyze U.S power exertion by employing the problematic outsource such as PMCs in Iraq in order to achieve and secure its national interests. By utilizing the political realism theory by Morgenthau, this research is focusing on power exertion and struggle of U.S to achieve its national interests in Iraq, particularly for Iraqi people, American people and in Middle East. National interest can be defined as rationality of a state to govern based on its goal. Therefore, for deeper analysis, this research also utilizes the concept of American Exceptionalism. This research found that with the power U.S held, U.S was able to achieve its national interests by employing the problematic PMCs personnels in Iraq.

Keywords: Private Military Companies, U.S, Iraq intervention, National Interests, U.S power, American Exceptionalism.

ABSTRAK

Nama : Chintya Tjusanto

NPM : 2017330177

Judul : *Pengerahan kekuatan AS di bawah Pemerintahan Obama dengan mempekerjakan Perusahaan Militer Swasta di Irak untuk mencapai kepentingan nasional AS*

Intervensi atau invasi Amerika Serikat di Irak dimulai dari masa pemerintahn Presiden Bush pada tahun 2003. Peninggalan bekas pemerintahan Bush diturunkan kepada pemerintahan Obama mulai dari tahun 2009 sampai dengan 2017. Pasa masa kampanye pemilihan presiden, Obama berjanji untuk menarik mundur pasukan AS dari Irak jika ia terpilih menjadi presiden AS. Sepanjang tahun kepresidenannya, Obama membuat banyak keputusan yang berkaitan dengan intervensi Irak. Dimulai dengan rencana penarikan pasukan AS pada tahun 2009 dan realisasi penarikan pasukan AS dari Irak pada akhir 2011, setelah meninjau adanya pengurangan kasus kekerasan di Irak. Dengan penarikan pasukan militer AS pada tahun 2011, AS tidak dapat sepenuhnya menghilangkan keberadaannya di Irak, karena selama melakukan intervensi di Irak dari tahun 2003 hingga 2009, AS juga mendirikan beberapa aset penting seperti kedutaan AS di Irak dan aset ekonomi (industri minyak). Selain itu, AS juga mengklaim banyak kepentingan di Irak. Kepentingan-kepentingan ini mendorong AS untuk mencari alternatif untuk mengamankan kepentingannya karena situasi Irak yang tidak sepenuhnya stabil pada saat itu. AS memandang bahwa dengan mempekerjakan personel Perusahaan Militer Swasta dalam jumlah besar, kepentingan-kepentingan tersebut mungkin dapat diamankan dan dicapai.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis penggunaan kekuatan AS dengan menggunakan alih daya yang bermasalah seperti perusahaan militer swasta di Irak untuk mencapai dan mengamankan kepentingan nasionalnya. Dengan memanfaatkan teori politik realisme Morgenthau, skripsi ini berfokus pada pengerahan kekuatan dan perjuangan AS untuk mencapai kepentingan nasionalnya di Irak, khususnya bagi rakyat Irak, rakyat Amerika dan di Timur Tengah. Kepentingan nasional dapat diartikan sebagai rasionalitas suatu negara untuk menjalankan pemerintahnya berdasarkan tujuannya sendiri. Oleh karena itu, untuk analisis lebih mendalam, penelitian ini juga menggunakan konsep American Exceptionalism. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa dengan kekuatan yang dimiliki AS, AS mampu mencapai kepentingan nasionalnya dengan mempekerjakan personel perusahaan militer swasta yang bermasalah di Irak.

Kata kunci: Private Military Companies, U.S, Iraq intervention, National Interests, U.S power, American Exceptionalism.

PREFACE

The utmost blessing of more than six months have spent to complete this thesis. This thesis entitled as “The Exertion of U.S Power Under Obama Administration by Employing Private Military Companies in Iraq in Order to Achieve U.S National Interest” has submitted as requirement in order to obtain Bachelor’s degree of International Relations in Parahyangan Catholic University from the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences.

In concise, this thesis aims to take a considerate look at employment of Private Military Companies particularly in Iraq. Furthermore, author describes how U.S under Obama administration exercise its power in order to achieve the national interests. This thesis also comes with rational considerations of U.S itself, whether U.S under Obama administration was rational or not rational enough by employing Private Military Companies personnels who carry numerous debatable issues during the employment.

Moreover, author acknowledges the flaws of this thesis including any error, misinterpretation, and inaccuracy from data collection and analysis. Author realizes that there is some space to improve, therefore author sincerely hopes for possible feedback and constructive critics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. First thing first, to **the almighty God** for being super generous and kindest to always look after me and being my strength.

2. To **my mama**. There wouldn't be me writing and stressing out my thesis without being birthed from my mama so thank you mama for being the most understanding, tender, caring and patient, I'm glad you're my mama cause I'm 100% positive nobody would put up with me rather than you. And uh thank you for lending me all your clothes and accessories for my dress up since I left most of mine in Bandung. Ade loves you eternally.

3. To ma entire family members. We all rock it. **Papa, ce novi, ce ayen, meme Jhesslyne, ko hen, koko mav and my little meme V**. I'm not sure who I'm able to survive until today, but absolutely it's all done with your support, jokes and love. I've spent the best one semester writing my thesis with full of joy and pleasure. I'm glad to be home and safe with all of you guys. Taking this chance to specially thank meme jhes for being super patient, checking on my thesis progress, understanding and perhaps more mature sometimes. I hope I can make you all proud with this outcome of this thesis.

4. To **my advisor mas Nyo** for being quick-witted, understanding and supportive. Grateful that I got to be one of the lucky student which directly guided by you. I'm grateful for all the knowledge and experience that you've share with me and others. I'm praying all the good things you've spread will go back at you.

5. To **Tannie's appa**. The past 6 months had been a roller coaster even though I am just quietly sitting at home or the beach and trying to find inspiration to write, but I could not thank you enough for being born, alive and incredibly mesmerizing. Your existence is keeping me going. **My Vitamin V**.

6. To **my OT7 RM, Jin, SUGA, J-Hope, Jimin, V, and JK**. I remember those days I barely had energy to turn on my laptop and started to write, as a very visual person I always make some time to watch my favorite video of you guys. Magic shop, 00:00 o'clock, Love Myself, Still with you, Blue and Grey, Euphoria, Butter, BS&T, and others that keep me breathing delightfully. All those amusing videos and most of all life lessons that I've learnt from 7 of you. I am thankful for your glowing existence.

7. To **my Vania**, your sassy and sarcastic words make me realize that actually I should be on the ground more than fly somewhere, it's been more than a year since the last time I met you but you still feel so close to me. Thank you for always being there and putting up with me. I aspire to have your thoughtful mind in my future. My best friend, my sister, my army, my muse.

8. To **my halu chinggu/ Stef eonnie**, let's be real, I would not survive this entire journey without you. I still thank God to let the universe make some space and time for our path to somehow cross. Thank you for being my biggest thesis supporter and never stop encourage me to keep moving forward. Throughout all hard time, you're always be there. To be honest, you motivate and guide my thesis process more than I ever wanted you to, I am absolutely

grateful for getting to be close to you, let's keep this friendship (re: 'mulut princess kita') for very long time.

9. To **The Fals, Unnie Anggi, Tata Echy, Tata Angel, Tika and Lanny**. No other word that let's commence our debut. 3 different cities but still, our group chat never goes silent for cheering each other and getting me through these challenging period of time. I'm thankful for my HS memories, uni and more years ahead. For the 6 years strong of 'wora'.

10. To **Kevin**, I miss Bandung as much as I miss our after church routine. Bandung would not be the same without you, thank you for teaching me basic tip to survive there, for all the memes and jokes an most of all for being inspirational. This pandemic is taking away my insanity but I'm grateful I have you as great friend to cope it with.

11. To **MUN family, Vaishnav, Nina, Emma, Marshaa, Debrashee, Somya, Sprash, Ibrahim, Debroshee, and all ALAGS E-MUN fam**, also hundred of amazing delegates and staffs that I met throughout my MUN journey. I did not expect to make MUN as my regular addiction. All of you has formed Tya today.

12. To **delegate of Afghanistan, Jessi, Shan, Sekar, Grace, Cece, Mir and Kiki**. I am beyond blessed to spend my last group project with these talented girls.

13. To **self claimed keluarga**: EL, Itha, Omy, Ule, and all HS bestie, thank you for spending the best 21st birthday of mine with me and more reunions ahead.

14. To **IREC**, I had fun for hectic yet fun 3,5 years I dedicated here.
15. To **Batch 2017**, for clueless TAHI 2017 and confusing prakdip 2020 moments. Thank you for drawing memories and competitiveness.
16. To **Greenate and all my environmentalist buddies**, keep on rocking, don't let pandemic take away our youth then climate change take away our adulthood.
17. To **Women for Indonesia**, even until now I am still not sure how I got accepted and got to work with inspirational people with full of passion and knowledge.
18. To **Ruang Ilmu Bandung**, thank you for believing in me even though I wasn't even sure of myself, for giving me opportunity to learn.
19. To **every kind of committees** I've ever attended and joined, I am growing up and improving for the past 4 years because all of these mind-blown experiences.
20. To **my fabulous self**, this might sound weird but I don't know how but I did it somehow somewhat. To be very honest, I am glad that I made it this far happily and gratefully. Writing thesis during this uncertain time of pandemic is a very new challenge that I somehow enjoyed. I was fighting my utmost lazy perfectionist self but eventually I learnt how to cooperate with it instead. I am proud of you Tya, "you nice keep going" –Park Jimin.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

U.S	: United States of America
PMCs	: Private Military Companies
DoD	: Department of Defense
WMD	: Weapon of Mass Destruction
UN	: United Nations
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
ISIS	: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
UCMJ	: Uniform Code of Military Justice
UNGA	: United Nation General Assembly
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
MEJA	: Military Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act
SOFA	: Status of Forces Agreement

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Topic

During Obama electoral campaign, he promised to withdraw from the Iraq War if he got elected as the next U.S president. After two years of his presidency, Obama was able to fulfill his promise. At the same time Obama also found U.S troops substitution which was the PMCs. PMCs were used by U.S under Obama administration as instrument to achieve its national interest. Iraq War or Second Persian Gulf War is a contention in Iraq which had of two stages. The first stage was shorter, which was a battle in March–April 2003, in which A joint troops from of the U.S and Great Britain that attacked Iraq and quickly defeated Iraqi military and paramilitary powers¹. The objective was to overthrow the administration of Saddam Hussein. In this phase, Saddam Hussein was captured in Operation Red Dawn in 2003 and later was executed in 2006. U.S portrayed Hussein's administration as a system that created weapons of mass destruction that held and supported terrorist group and committed brutal abuse of human rights, hence Hussein was urged by U.S to be caught and later sentence to death².

However, during Obama administration he did not directly implement his promise since the issue was not eased after the death of Saddam Hussein. In fact, the attack led to the breakdown of the Ba'athist government instead. It generated

¹ Congressional Budget Office, “Contractors’ Support of U.S. Operations in Iraq,” prepared at the request of the Senate Committee on the Budget, August 2008, 13

² Carl Kaysen et.al, *War with Iraq: Costs, Consequences, and Alternatives*, (Cambridge: American Academy of Arts and Science: 2002) 57

the conflict to continue for few decades, when insurgents emerged to oppose the occupying forces and the post-invasion Iraqi government³. The U.S invasion was called the Operation Iraqi Freedom. Later on, it was trailed by a longer second stage of war in which a U.S-led occupation of Iraq was restricted by insurgency within Iraq territory⁴. Bush left ‘messy’ legacy of Iraq War to Obama administration. During Obama presidency, after the violence started to decrease in 2007, U.S gradually reduced its military presence in Iraq, officially finishing its withdrawal in December 2011. During U.S major military absence in Iraq, U.S hired Private Military Companies (PMCs) personnels to substitute U.S military troops task in that particular period of time. It proved the ‘broken promise’ of Obama proceeded during this administration since instead of withdrawing from the War, Obama hired PMCs to replace the U.S troops tasks in Iraq.

Following the spread of the Syrian Civil War and the regional gains of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), the Obama determined to redeploy its forces to Iraq in 2014 including PMCs soldiers⁵. As result of its current situation, U.S immediately re-engaged with the war in 2014 along with the new coalition as the insurgency and numerous dimensions of the civil armed conflict kept raging on. Numerous former officers were employed both of U.S military and private military companies⁶. Out of numerous actors involved in Iraq War, private

³ Ibid, 59

⁴ Colonel J. D. Rayburn and Colonel Frank K. Sobchak, “ The U.S. Army In The Iraq War: Invasion Insurgency Civil War”, Vol. 1, (2019): 95

⁵ Ibid, 112

⁶ Ibid, 17

military company was the interesting actor to be further elaborated its role during the war time in Iraq.

Peter Singer in his book *The Rise of the Privatised Military Industry* defines Private military companies (otherwise called or known as private military firms) that are private business entities which have the goal to deliver to consumers a wide range of military and security services⁷. Specifically to serve U.S, Private military companies (PMCs) provide a certain range of services to the U.S. military within its territory and also abroad. These services provider incorporate getting the food ready for officers, driving truck for supply, giving military trainings, being security guards, and directing interrogations within detention facilities. In spite of the fact that the military use of the contractors goes back to the Revolutionary War, the U.S. military has enormously expanded its organization of private military companies' roles.

U.S was relying heavily on private military company to generate and produce good type of services in Iraq based on U.S' needs, including security after the demands from public to bring U.S troops home⁸. Based on the available public information, it can be apparently the primary time that U.S had quite depended on these companies to produce security in a very hostile and fragile environment⁹. PMCs personnels in Iraq employed to safeguard the individuals and

⁷ Peter W. Singer, "The Privatized Military Industry Distinguished." In *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2008) 40-48

⁸ John S. Kemp, "Private Military Firms and Responses to Their Accountability Gap", Vol. 32 WASH. U. J. L (2010): 494

⁹ Congressional Budget Office, "Contractors' Support of U.S. Operations in Iraq," 12

convoys, guarded operating bases and buildings, and other economic infrastructure, also in charge of training Iraqi police and military personnel¹⁰.

During Obama Administrations, a large number of PMCs personnels were employed. These companies had a goal to enable the U.S mission to win the conflict in Iraq as the substitution of U.S military troops who withdrew from Iraq. Nonetheless, the former U.S President Obama wanted to diminish U.S reliance on Private Military Companies in armed conflicts. Obama pledged to improve transparency and accountability of PMC to public in general. Regardless, the available data shows that the Obama Administration did not just unable to diminish U.S reliance on PMCs, but instead, they expanded its usage of these companies in Iraq¹¹.

In 2011 when U.S announced the withdrawal from Iraq, public was very supportive to U.S decision. U.S public reacted the same for both Afghanistan and Iraq withdrawal plan made by Obama administration. Public had similar reason to end both wars, they believed that the length of military intervention in Iraq particularly, was very draining for people especially American as the one who intervened Iraq. In 2011, after a decade of 9/11 incident, there has been a skepticism around the public. The skepticism was about whether the intervention in Iraq had improved the national security of U.S or not. At the same time, U.S still had unfinished national interests in Iraq. It caused dilemme to fully leave Iraq or find another option. By providing security service for the use of reconstruction

¹⁰ John S. Kemp, *Private Military Firms*, 496

¹¹ Paul Shemella, "The Spectrum of Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces," (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006) 138

and stabilization efforts, numerous analysts and decision makers stated that private security contractors contribute a huge and necessary also vital service to U.S and at the same time also contribute to international efforts in order to bring the peace to Iraq¹².

1.2 Problem Identification

1.2.1 Problem Description

During his electoral promise in 2008, Obama promised to fulfill public demands to withdraw the U.S existence, in this case is U.S military from Iraq¹³. However, the fact was standing in contrast. The increased number of PMCs personnels employment by U.S military in Iraq armed conflicts stands in contrast to many initiatives that pledged by Obama. Instead of fulfilling the promise to the public, the number of PMCs employment did not decrease or diminish, but instead the number of PMCs employment got higher during Obama administration. The extensive use of PMCs throughout years of employment in Iraq, show that U.S had utilized the use of PMCs in various levels¹⁴.

At the same time, the PMCs prominent role during Obama administration attracted public attention. In order to avoid the unsupportive reaction from the public, in 2007 Obama introduced a bill to improve the transparency and also accountability within the Military and Security Contracting Act. In an address

¹² Nihat Dumlupinar, "Regulation Of Private Military Companies in Iraq" (California: Master diss, Naval Postgraduate School, 2010) 11

¹³ Christian Nünlist, "The Legacy of Obama's Foreign Policy", *Center for Security Studies* NO. 188 (2016): 1

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 2

regarding to the bill, Obama described that he was ‘disturbed’ with some incidents involving an American-hired PMCs and Iraqi civilians. Within the same issue, he also stated that PMCs actions should not harm U.S efforts to reach its goals. To overcome the situation, the Obama Administration introduced a series of reforms in 2009 ‘designed to reduce state spending on PMCs and return certain outsourced work back to full-time government employees. Nonetheless, an increase of the use of PMCs in Iraq during Obama’s presidency was registered. This action raised the concerns of numerous parties of the legitimacy, moral significance, accountability and transparency of Obama’s actions regarding the increased usage of PMCs in Iraq¹⁵.

As mentioned in background section that there are numerous countries and parties that are concerned about the accountability, transparency, and legal issues due to the role that delivered by PMCs. Most importantly, they are organizations that endeavor to generate profit which makes them profit-oriented organizations. Since their field of services is mostly useful only during conflicts, they apparently benefit from existing conflict. The companies regularly incite a very antagonistic response and have been violently assaulted in the public field. Besides that, other issue that being concerned by numerous countries and parties is the lack of the public available information on the terms of the contracts, including their

¹⁵ John S. Kemp, *Private Military Firms*, 497

costs and the standards governing hiring and performance, contribute to the evaluating efficiency even more difficult¹⁶.

The lack of public available data also contributes to the transparency issue that has been the main concern of numerous parties such as country and individuals. These parties are unable to examine the effectiveness of PMCs due to the availability of public information. At the same time, the lack of a practical means to hold PMCs accountable under U.S. law for abuses and other transgressions, and also the possibility that they might be prosecuted by foreign courts, is additionally a source of concern. The fact is that the civilians of U.S. must be attempted by U.S. courts-martial during a proclaimed war. As a U.S. military field manual state that Contractual worker representatives are not dependent upon military law under the UCMJ [Uniform Code of Military Justice] while accompanying with U.S forces, aside from during a proclaimed war. Sustaining of contractor employees is the obligation of the contractor's management, not the U.S military command.

1.2.2 Problem Restrictions

This thesis has limitation of analyzing the Private Military Companies employment in Iraq. The actor that is being analyzed is Obama administration. For the timeline, the limitation is starting from the campaign and election period until Obama's last period of presidency. Therefore, this thesis has provided the analysis of the exertion of U.S power to the PMCs employment by U.S in Iraq

¹⁶ Charles Tiefer, "Legal Control of Private Security Contractors in Iraq and After" *Oregon Law Review* Vol. 88, (2009): 756

from the year of 2009 until 2017 in order to achieve U.S national interests. However, it has to be noted that this thesis will use various documents, articles, books and other available data related to the topic.

1.2.3 Research Question

Based on previous background and problem identification, research question of this thesis is: **“Why did U.S employ Private Military Companies after Obama promise to withdraw from Iraq?”**

1.3 Research Objective and Contribution

1.3.1 Research Objective

This thesis aims to concede and describe the reasons why U.S exercised its power in terms of national character, military preparedness and industrial capacity by utilizing private military companies in Iraq under the Obama Administration in order to achieve U.S national interest from the year of 2009 until 2017.

1.3.2 Research Contribution

This thesis has been serving to be a point of view for the readers who study U.S decision and action on foreign policy that are related to PMCs employment also how problematic issues entangle with PMCs yet U.S under Obama administration still utilized its power to employ PMCs’ as super power outsource in order to achieve its national interest in Iraq intervention.

1.4 Literature Review

In this thesis, author reviews three literatures. First one is a paper with the title “Code of Conduct: Tool for Self-Regulation for Private Military and Security Companies” by Nils Rosemann. This first literature examines the definition and field of PMCs employment also the possibility of PMCs self-regulated. Second one is by Nihat Dumlupinar with the title “Regulation Of Private Military Companies in Iraq.” This literature examines problems that states face when PMCs which include non existing international regulation to solve the PMCs related issues. This literature contradicts with the first literature with the main argument of this literature is that the problems and their solutions are not the same for all states. The third literature with the title “Petroimperialism: U.S Oil Interests and the Iraq War” by Nayna Jhaveri. This literature argues that U.S invasion to Iraq occurred due to its oil interest and in order to achieve that, U.S tends to act as predator to go through any possible options in order to achieve its interest. The fourth literature is entitled “The 2003 War on Iraq. Purposes and Motivations.” This literature supports the third literature and examines how U.S justified its act to declare the war in Iraq by using political discourse.

First literature argues that markets are established and ensured by government regulation and deregulation. For administrations in the field of security and military, it turns out to be clear how the protection of the public interest has been changed as a result of globalization.¹⁷ Its components – the internal maintenance of law by the police and the secret agents, also the external

¹⁷ Nils Rosemann, “Code of Conduct: Tool for Self-Regulation for Private Military and Security Companies”, (Geneva: Geneva Centre For The Democratic Control Of Armed Forces , 2008) 7

security of the presence and implementation of interests by military power and potential threat, are not perceived as the center government tasks anymore. The decrease of government tasks by using outsourcing and public/private organizations has brought about a condition whereby organizations are offering military, security and insight administrations. Though in the military context, the progression from product to service was somewhat little, therefore security and insight benefits as "business thoughts" is a serious new phenomenon.

A definition should be included the corporate type of private organization and the company's own goal to produce benefit in order to delimit the services that the company offers from the government's assurance of the public interest and from the military, security and also intelligence activities¹⁸. The definition of "services" must ensure a differentiation from companies that manufacture weapons and military technology or innovation (merchandise). Though the notion of military services in the sense of battle activities should be exercised with some self-control, the idea of security services should be characterized comprehensively in order to incorporate with human, financial and, in parts, environmental security and sustainability.

Eventually, it is significant for a definition of PMSCs that they are alluded to as legitimately settled entities in order to separate them from private groups and individuals. In combination with the model of the pursuit of profit, this gives the vital delimitation from other organizations (such as research foundations, think tanks, lobbyists) and the introduction of a potential approach to regulation with a

¹⁸ Ibid, 10

view to the foundation and approval of a company as a legitimate entity. In order to differentiate from other entity and define the ruling policy for PMCs regulation, this literature argues that by referring to basic principles or human rights and international humanitarian law are sufficient to be the guidance of self-regulation.

The second literature argues that the most recent example of the extensive and progressive use of PMCs is the Iraq War. PMCs in Iraq are mainly deployed and employed by the U.S¹⁹. During the employment, PMCs personnels have been performing a various range of services from logistical support functions and also serve as adviser and trainer to Iraqi armed forces in order to armed security services in Iraq. However at first glance, to the services that PMCs provide in Iraq, there was no operational military functions that run among their services. But considering the level of security can dynamically change the based on the situation, for instance from static security and convoy security can develop to operational military functions. Several range of services such as the site security, personal security and also convoy security must be considered as tactical military roles due to existing situation in Iraq which is the high risk of possible armed conflict.

It is also argued that the name of certain task of PMCs may not reflect the actual function of core military tasks especially the ones that taken during great danger or ability to inflict harm when PMCs performs for an insurgency battle mission. The extensive use of PMCs in Iraq made the problems of using PMCs become more visible than ever. The scope of the challenges is very broad and

¹⁹ Dumlupinar, "Regulation Of Private Military" 12

diverse, ranging from fundamental ones (for instance, PMCs become a threat to a state's sovereignty) and to the wasting national resources by using outsource military. At the same time, U.S also face main challenges such as decreasing the international reputation because of the immunity gain by PMCs employment in Iraq.

Another issue is the unclear definition of "Inherently Functions of the Government" and nontransparent form of PMCs that have high possibility to harm the legitimacy of outsourcing military functions, which could lead to harm the values of democracy that highly promoted by U.S; funding inefficiency due to waste of taxpayers money because of uncompetitive contracting and due to insufficient oversight on the existing contracts; military functions get hit by negative effects due to the unreliability and incredibility of PMCs employment. On the other hand, as weaker state, Iraq also face main challenges that directly related to the survival of its democracy. The first challenge faced by Iraq is that PMCs (especially operational functions) hold high possibility impose to threaten the sovereignty of Iraq; secondly, the use of PMCs will possibly become an obstacle for Iraq to develop their military capability (Iraqi Security Force); thirdly, PMCs perhaps can be a great opportunity for Iraqi ethnic groups to be armed. However, in return, it also has the high possibility to generate a security dilemma between the internal factions in Iraq.

The third literature is arguing that the more predatory objectives that made by U.S to justify its action to invade Iraq war as primarily a strike to disarm President Saddam Hussein of the weapons of mass destruction that based on what

U.S belief, it would harm thousands lives²⁰. If there was even one reasonable dimension of this war that actually able to unite the popular opinion in the various countries of Middle East, it was that the real motive of U.S behind the removal of Hussein which is to control Iraq's oil. Yet, as the well-known British journalist named Robert Fisk has stated, analysis of the relationship between the war and oil interests has been a distinctly invisible point to cover the mainstream war in the world. The Bush administration has been unmistakably remained silence about its oil interests in determining its war policy.

Although the international oil market has undergone considerable change since the 1970s, the Middle East's oil base still strongly remains as the center of economic gravity in such very long term which proved by the fact that the region still holds more or less two-thirds of global oil reserves²¹. A closer look at the dynamics of oil politics over the last few years before U.S invaded Iraq will reveal that a more specific and also complex set of oil supply situations that resulted in the U.S foreign policy making to attack Iraq at that specific range of time. however, the changes of global oil market and at the same time domestic political instabilities of Saudi, have made it hardly challenging for the Saudi government to keep maintaining a good relationship with U.S. It is knows that from the middle of 1990s, the response by the Saudi government resulted in the emergence of a new power nexus in Middle East since it began to circumscribe the the huge role of U.S dominance in that region.

²⁰ Nayna Jhaveri, "Petroimperialism: US Oil Interests and the Iraq War" (Washington: Antipode Department of Geography, 2004) 2

²¹ Ibid, 4

On the other hand, for the U.S particularly, despite it was clear that this was considerably to take the role to lead to more negative consequences since Saudi government was not just a major supplier to U.S oil source, but at the same time U.S keeps continue playing a dominant role as the swing oil producer that impact fully contribute to the influence of global oil prices in global market.²² The Saudi government began to diversify their network of not only global and regional political but also the economic allies in order to avoid the negative consequences. At that time, Saudi considered Iran as the most notable new alliance since Iran is Saudi's close neighbor, which clearly noticeable that U.S was not in favor of the Saudi's plan.

Considering the Saudi's plan, U.S made its own strategy to overcome the unfavorable situation. U.S planned to dismantle the nationalized of Iraq oil industry by changing the ownership to privatize it in order to make a new oil order that revive the glories of the past situation when oil majors have big role to rule the trade.²³ Michael Watts (2001) has stated that one of the eight natures of oil is an enduring character which known as petroimperialism. The form of petroimperialism that is the true the intentions of post-Cold War geo-economics by aiming the result of chaos by implementing privatization strategies to imply to the structures. In order to keep the U.S goal to be major power especially in trade, it could be argued that at that moment, U.S was crucially has no other choice rather than using the imperial strategems.

²² Ibid, 7

²³ Ibid, 8

The fourth literature argues that in order to justify the war, U.S used the political discourses. U.S declared 2 objectives of official justification for the Iraq war. The primary objective was the threat use of weapon of mass destruction (WMD).²⁴ The second objective was the menace of act of terrorism due to most critical challenge claimed by U.S to its the national security by then, since U.S has suffered numerous terrorist attacks on 9/11. Often, politicians use discourses as a method of transference political agendas that are far off from the actual truth and reality. In this case, President Bush utilized rhetoric that was aimed at creating a suitable climate and planning the base that needed for any military action to be self-evident in this case.

At 13 March 2002, during Press Conference Bush stated: “Moreover, so should individuals who love freedom to be concerned about Iraq.”²⁵ He also stated that it is crucial to point out here the fundamental terms such as “security, adversaries, justice, equity, threat, democracy, opportunity, values, peace and evil” offer reasonable examples of how political discourse can be used to achieve U.S interest. Within the title of national security, Bush admonishes Americans to conduct themselves with the most extreme carefulness and to gather their efforts to defeat the enemies. He utilized a structure and powerful parallel phrases in his talks to make a sense of urgency. With this strategy, his goal was to lead the audience to come to that conclusion on their own.

The rhetoric was found in Bush’s speech on a radio address on October 2002 as he stressed security problems, American values, and threat:

²⁴ Salwan Al Taie, “The 2003 War on Iraq. Purposes and Motivations. An Analytical View” (Östergötland: Master Thesis, Linköping University, 2016) 39

²⁵ Ibid, 42

“American security, the protection of our friends, and therefore the values of our country lead us to confront this collective threat.” Bush also expanded the influence, in his address to the United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) in New York on September 2002, he stated: “This threat hides inside several nations, including my own.” One main style coined by Bush was his popular slogan “You are either with us or against us”, forcing the entire world to be in favor to his campaign against Iraq and Afghanistan.²⁶ Throughout their speeches, they attempted to make an image of half-truths to serve their political agendas/ interest in regards to the war. It is obvious that political discourse brings narrative to the misinformation provided by the politicians. Thus, within the discourse, America’s war on Iraq legitimized.

Therefore, this thesis aims to provide explanation of the power and capacity U.S had in order to employ the problematic entity such as PMCs. This thesis aims to mediate the debate among the four literatures and complete missing points of how U.S broke its promise during Obama administration by employing PMCs. Therefore, the author hopes that at least this thesis will pertain the problems from research question.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

In order to be able to analyze and gain the understanding regarding The Use of Private Military Companies employment in Iraq under Obama Administration to achieve U.S national interest, the author will use the theory of political realism, and the concepts of power and national interest, derived from]

²⁶ Ibid, 43

the theory in order to help analyzing the issue. In this writing, concepts and theories are used in order to achieve the purpose of answering the research question that proposed by the author.

In his book, Hans J. Morgenthau explains six principles of realist theory. These principles will be used in this writing in order to elaborate the topic. First principle: Politics is governed by the objective laws which rooted in human nature. Second principle: The sign of political realism is the idea of interest that characterized as far as power which inject rational order into the topic of legislative issues, and subsequently makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible conceivable. Third principle: realism assumes that interest characterized as power is an objective classification which is universally not invalid yet not with an meaning that is fixed unequivocally. Force is the control of man over other man. Fourth principle: political realism is aware of moral significant of political activity. It is additionally mindful of tension between the ethical command and the requirement of effective political activity. Fifth principle: political realism denies to identify the moral aspirations of a specific country with the moral laws that govern the universe. It is the concept of interest characterized as far as power that saves us from moral overabundance and political imprudence. Last principle: realism maintains the independence of its political circle. Every circle is represented by its own laws; politics issues is governed by rational laws, and its morality quality is controlled by political success and consequences.

To support the six principles, author will use the concept of power by Morgenthau. He argues that states are always in the condition of a struggle for power, whereas every state in constant effort to achieve its goal to maximize the power they have in order to fulfill its national interest²⁷. Morgenthau defines the concept of power as man's control of actions and also minds of other men. In international system, states are most likely trying to control actions that made by other states'. Therefore, they will act accordingly to state's effort for power gain. Power is divided to eight elements which are: geography, national character, national morale, industrial capacity, natural resource, population, military preparedness, and quality of diplomacy. However, in order to elaborate more on this thesis, author will only focus on few elements that are related to the topic which are: military preparedness, industrial capacity and national characters.

Firstly, industrial capacity. The advanced technology innovation can be considered to be a country's ability to change resources to be the real power. It very well may be applied in the economic and industrial sphere which means better machines and plentiful products would be very beneficial to the country. No state in the world can turn into an extraordinary force except if it has the ability to create huge amounts of goods and services. Therefore, only industrially advanced states are able to be great powers. Innovation of technology causes a state to have stronger economy power, stronger military, stronger industrial base, stronger system of transport and communication, which contribute to more possibility to win the war and influence other parties (including states and non-state actors).

²⁷ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, 1948)

Industrial capacity contributes towards the creation of weapons that are required to be used in modern warfare nowadays. It gives a state power to persuade other states by providing technical and economic assistance such as loans, aid, grants, etc. Therefore, industrial capacity of a state, is considered to be a great source of wealth and power of state, since industrial capacity of a state is an important factor of national power.

Secondly, the military preparedness. Scientific and technological is the supporting component for the military, since the absence of military power cannot be dependable and self-reliant. Indigenous ability to generate various types of current and advanced weapons is vital, in any case state is unable to continue prolonged warfare. Thus, despite their technological backwardness, numerous states have procured military quality by purchasing weapons from the advanced state which has added to their military might. In the first place, the vast majority of the states improve their quality thusly and later on develop their technological capability for the purpose of defense production and forces. Military power is important both in war and peace condition. Nobody can win a battle without a solid military base. In harmony time additionally, diplomacy is fundamentally influenced by the use that opponents wield owing to their respective military might. Military quality includes two principle things which military and weapons. In order to examine their function in national power, one needs to take into consideration in regards to their size and quantity, their technological sophistication, their authority and their mobility and deployment also the country's morale. Therefore, a state with an enormous size of a large size of

defense forces will be in every case to be a superior position in international system.

Thirdly, national character. It is also considered as an important yet intangible element of national power. National character can be defined as a collective name for referring to the traits of the people and their attitude also aptitude towards their work and national needs. National character is the trait of individuals towards the journey of national life. It is the outcome of the evolutionary process and also the attitude of the previous generations which is transmitted to the next generations. Scholars argue that Americans have initiative and spirit of adventure. In regards to international trends and events, national character contributes to the determination of it, also because the resolution with which they are going to back foreign policy in peace or during war time. The national character consist of intellectual and moral qualities of the people who run the stakeholder positions which leave their imprint on a nation's foreign policy as they are involved in decision-making of domestic and international policies.

Author has also applied the concept of American Exceptionalism to support power ability in terms of national character. This concept helps explaining how U.S implement its own values to the decision making. These values including rights and responsibilities that is believed by U.S to be attained and done. Firstly, the rights are including individual freedom, equal opportunity and the American dream. Individual freedom means every individual including civilian owns

freedom. Secondly, the responsibilities are including self-reliance, competition and hard work. Gilmore stated that American exceptionalism has the core of the notion that the U.S is a singular, and superior country compares to the rest of the world which also means that in the international system as well²⁸.

1.6 Research Method and Data Collection Technique

1.6.1 Research Method

This research will be using the qualitative as the research method. The author acts as a key instrument by gathering, analyzing and examining the data collected throughout this research and also applying the theories then to say date to come to a conclusion. Through combining context and theories, it will contribute to a better and more detailed understanding of the issue.

1.6.2 Data Collection

The author collects primarily secondary data in this research. The secondary data will be obtained through the literature such as academics journals, books, official reports, documents, and also digital or physical form of news from the trustworthy news outlet in the field of academics.

1.7 Thesis Organization

In this entirety, the organization of this thesis will consist of four chapters in order to support a better explanation of the topic.

²⁸ Jason Gilmore, "American Exceptionalism in the American Mind: Presidential Discourse, National Identity, and U.S. Public Opinion," *Communication Studies* 66:3, (2015): 304

Chapter I: Introduction

The first chapter has included the introduction of the research which contain with the topic background. In order to obtain better understanding of the topic, author has included theoretical framework as the base to elaborate the research in the next chapters. Lastly this chapter has completed by the research method and also data collection technique.

Chapter II The Urgency to Secure U.S National Interests in Iraq Intervention

In the second chapter, author has elaborated the data and information for the research including U.S justification to declare Iraq War. Then author has continued with U.S process throughout the struggles to achieve and secure its national interests for Iraqi, Americans and its allies, also the interests in Middle East that can only be secured by entering Iraq. The struggles are including issues caused by U.S intervention.

Chapter III The Utilization Of U.S Power To Achieve Its National Interest

In the third chapter, author has elaborated on how U.S exercised its power to employ private military companies and conduct redeployment to Iraq. This chapter will be analyzed by Political Realism theory by Hans Morgenthau and in order to sharpen the analysis author has utilized the concept of American Exceptionalism by Jason Gilmore.

Chapter IV Conclusion

The last chapter has covered the points of conclusion from the data and analysis from chapter two and three.