

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **A. Background**

Terrorism is a new challenge in international world and faced by almost of countries in this world. This case attacked many countries, such as Indonesia, Russia, The United States, etc. Terrorism is a global threat to stability, democracy, and prosperity. One of terrible attack about terrorism happened on September 11, 2001. This tragedy noticed all countries in the world that terrorism is a big threat. Terrorism become threat for security and regional stability which difficult to be guessed because of its amorphous, unshapped, and also do not care about the boundaries of state and sovereignty. Tragedy of 9/11 brings the significant impacts toward international political situation.

The tragedy of 9/11 happened with many actions of terrorism which attacked some of important places in The United States, especially the Tower of World Trade Center. At 8:48 A.M. an American Airlines passenger jet, hijacked by terrorists after leaving Boston's Logan Airport, careened into the North Tower of the nation's second tallest structure, The World Trade Center (WTC) in Lower Manhattan. Fifteen minutes later a second hijacked jet crashed the WTC's South Tower. At 9:37 A.M., a third hijacked crashed into the Pentagon building in Washington D.C. At 10:10 AM., the fourth hijacked headed to Washington (possibly the White House) but its plane crashed into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. By 10:30, both WTC towers, had collapsed.

Nearly 3,000 people died in those four locations.<sup>1</sup> The United States accused Al Qaeda<sup>2</sup> which led by Osama Bin Laden as the main actor of this tragedy.

The United States itself claimed war toward terrorism directly. It is proved by the speech on September 20, 2001, President George Bush declared war on terrorism, he ensure to the Congress and the nation to use every resource and tool, even war, to disrupt and defeat the global terror network. Bush also implied that the United State intention to conduct a military strike on countries that harbor terrorist or support terrorism :

“We will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nations, in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nations that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.”<sup>3</sup>

Response toward the tragedy of 9/11 also comes from the international organizations, such as United Nations (UN) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The UN Security Council passed the Resolution 1368 which recognized ‘the inherent right of individual or collective self defense’ of Article 51 of the UN Charter and which also declared the body’s readiness to take the necessary: steps to respond to the terrorist attacked of 9/11 2001 and to combat terrorism. As required in article 51, the

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Ewans, *Conflict in Afghanistan Studies in Asymmetric Warfare*, New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2005, p.130

<sup>2</sup> Al Qaeda is an organization of Islamic Sunni fundamentalist military movement that has main purpose reducing the intervention from the Western toward Islamic interests. Al Qaeda categorized by the USA, European Union, United Nations, etc as an international terrorist organization. Accessed from <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda> on June 25,2011.

<sup>3</sup> Debra Miller, *The War Against Iraq*, The Lucent Terrorism Library, p.28

United States reported to the United Nations on the reasons for invoking the article to justify their military action. They are doing any military action toward Afghanistan because the United States believe that Osama Bin Laden has protected by Taliban<sup>4</sup> in Afghanistan and they did not want to give Osama Bin Laden to The United States. Taliban that has authority since 1996-2001 applied Islamic rule which almost authoritative toward their citizens. A researcher from Harvard University, Hassan Abbas, state that the existence of Taliban is a terrorism threat because they always forced the Islamic rule with military action since they has connection with Al Qaeda. Actually, the military campaign in Afghanistan was not specifically mandated by the United Nations because there was no specific Security Council Resolution that authorising the invasion, but it is perceived to be a legitimate form of self defence under the United Nations Charter. In fact, the United Nations Security Council Resolutions had already been passed requiring the Taliban to stop giving sanctuary to Al Qaeda. Taliban has strong connection with Al Qaeda which led by Osama bin Laden. Mullah Omar, Taliban's leader has connection to Osama bin Laden in economic and ideological reasons. Osama bin Laden was the heir of Saudi oil fortune and paid the Taliban government millions to allow him to operate in Afghanistan. Al Qaeda also uses

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4 Taliban is an Islamic Sunni nationalist movement that supports Pashtun who is empowering almost of Afghanistan's regions effectively since 1996 until 2001. This group has recognition from 3 states: Arab Emirat Union, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia, and also government of the Republic of Chechnya Ichkeria which has no recognition. Members of this group is including Mullah Mohammed Omar as the leader and also the mullah (junior student of Islamic religion) who are the student of Islamic school in Pakistan. This movement is come from Pashtun in Afghanistan, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) in Pakistan, and also has many volunteers from Arab, Eurasia, and South Asia. Accessed from <http://id.wikipedia.or/wiki/Taliban> on June 25, 2011.

territory of Afghanistan as their base for their terrorist activities because they are covered by Taliban.

Another organization is North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). It is an international organization which is made for common security which was signed on April 4th, 1949. Headquarters of NATO are in Brussels and Belgium. Earlier, this organization is constitute a system of collective security whereby its member states agree to mutual defence in response to an attack by any external party. The main article that mentioned in the agreement says that:

“ The Parties of NATO agreed that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all. Consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence will assist the Party or Parties being attacked, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.”<sup>5</sup>

This article was originally applied for if a member of the Warsaw Pact to launch an attack against its European allies of the United Nations, it will be considered as an attack on all members (including the United States itself), which has the largest military force in the alliance and the parties itself can give respond to its enemies. Unprecedented in its half century existence, NATO invoked Article 5, was offering immediate assistance from all members to the USA based on its primary function of collective security. There is no doubt the event 9/11 have forever changed the world security environment. After 9/11, and the emergence of new and dangerous threats to

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<sup>5</sup> Accessed from <http://id.wikipedia.or/wiki/NATO> on June 25, 2011.

society, many officials, pundits, and scholars called on NATO once again to redefine itself to face these new challenges.

On 7 October 2001, the United States started to defeat Taliban in Afghanistan with the initial stages of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Next day, on 8 October 2001, The Secretary General of NATO, Lord Robertson gave statement:

Yesterday evening, the United States of America and the United Kingdom began military operations as part of the global campaign against terrorism. As Secretary General of NATO, I received advance warning. Vice President Dick Cheney telephoned me before the first attacks. I have just come from a meeting of the North Atlantic Council which met to review the situation and to reaffirm its full support for these targeted actions. The Permanent Representatives of the United States of America and the United Kingdom briefed the Council. This operation is not directed against the people in Afghanistan. It is designed to strike against Al Qaida terrorist training camps and military installations of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. NATO Ambassadors this morning expressed their full support for the actions of the United States and the United Kingdom, which follow the appalling attacks perpetrated against the United States on 11 September 2001. They reiterated their readiness to provide assistance as required.<sup>6</sup>

Those statements means that NATO, with their new mission, agreed to do some assistance of military operations to support United States to fight terrorism in Afghanistan. This war on Afghanistan attack lasted for months and then followed by the fall of Taliban regime in 2001.

Not long after the fall of Taliban regime, the United States tried to create a new government in Afghanistan by promoting some typical values such as democracy and liberal. The United States and alliance help the process of general election in Afghanistan which won by Hamid Karzai as a new president in Afghanistan. The new

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<sup>6</sup> *Statement by NATO Secretary General, Lord Robertson on 8 November 2001.* Accessed from the official website of NATO on 9 November 2011 at 8 a.m.  
[http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions\\_18992.htm](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_18992.htm)

government also eradicate some regulations such as have to wear Burqa and settle in home for women, built some schools for women, etc.

This situation means that the United States brought back the “Northern Alliance” to power of the Taliban which are anti foreign intervention, anti democracy and become more strict because of the intervention from the United States and also state allies such as NATO. There is a complicated and interrelated about the set of social, cultural, religious, ethnic, tribal, historical, and geographic factors that all come together in the middle of a country torn by decades of attack and foreign intervention.

NATO ratified this new mission at the Prague Summit in October 22, 2002 where according to Lord Robertson who said:

“reached agreement on the character of the new threats and on the best way that NATO and its members should respond to them. Terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are the two defining challenges of the 21st century... as a result, in 2002, we effectively buried the perennial debate on whether NATO could or should go “out of area”. At the Prague Summit, we took that consensus a decisive step further. We agreed a new military concept for defense against terrorism, which states that our focus must be able to “deter”, “disrupt”, and “defend” against terrorism, and that they should do so wherever our interests demanded it.”

NATO has seemingly tied its future to fight the threat of terrorism and ready to take the alliance. The words of “deter”, “disrupt”, and “defend” implies a much more offensive NATO that will act anywhere to meet these new security threats. Afghanistan also become the targets to run their mission related to fight the threat of terrorism following the United States mission.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Joshua Stern, *NATO Collective Security or Defense: The Future of NATO in Light of Expansion and 9/11*, January 2005, p. 9

## **B. Research Question**

According to the problem background, this research is going to answer the question on: **How NATO's effort to fight terrorism in Afghanistan related to their mission in countering terrorism after the tragedy of September 11, 2001?**

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

The war against terrorism is already become an international agenda. Almost all states in the world and also international organizations tried to fight against terrorism with many variety of policies. One of them is using the concept of Counterterrorism that will be explained above.

### **Concept of Counterterrorism**

Counterterrorism is a difficult concept to define, especially for western democracies. Paul Wilkinson, writes that "There is no universally applicable counterterrorism policy for democracies. Every conflict involving, terrorism has its own unique characteristics. He assumed that the Western democracies must make respect for civil liberties and the rule of law a staple in the counterterrorism strategies."<sup>8</sup>

According to the journal of the Terrorism Research Initiative that has an article written by Jason Rineheart, he proposed the concept of counterterrorism which defined

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<sup>8</sup> Jason Rineheart, Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency, Perspective on Terrorism a Journal of the Terrorism Research Initiative Vol.4 No.5, 2010. Accessed from <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/122/html>.

in the U.S Army Field Manual. The U.S Army Field Manual defined counterterrorism as “Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism.”. Counterterrorism operations are subject to change according to the nature of the terrorism threat. Overtime, counterterrorism faced its revolution time by time. The nature of international terrorism changed and so too did the counterterrorism. It appeared that terrorists were no longer taking people hostage or hijacking airplanes as the primary tactic to achieve their goals. After 9/11 tragedy, the evolution of counterterrorism became more apparent. Michael Boyle argues “the development of counterterrorism as a model of warfare is new to the post September 11 era.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Hard and Soft Power in Counterterrorism**

There are new terms of counterterrorism after the evolution of counterterrorism nowadays. It is become more increasing clear that a new framework is needed in order to develop and measure successful counterterrorism strategies. Considering the evolution of counterterrorism, it could be more useful to view counterterrorism in terms of “hard” and “soft” power. This would require restructuring the debate around a direct and indirect approach to counterterrorism.

The direct approach would be an enemy-centric doctrine consisting of primarily offensive, hard power tactics such as Predator and Reaper drone strikes which has done by the United States, special forces operations, increased policing and intelligence operations. The drone strikes which has done by the American have been

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*



successfully as a certain extent. Mohammed Atef, the Al Qaida's top military strategist, was killed in November 2001 in a drone strike near Kabul, Afghanistan, two months after the 9/11 attacks. In 2002, Abu Ali Al Harethi, a suspected mastermind of the 2000 attack on the USS Colr, was killed in Yemen, the first drone operation outside Afghanistan. Drone strikes have also been seen as successful. Since 2008, according to Bergen, the US drones have killed dozens of the top militants and at least ten mid and upper level leaders within Al Qaeda or the Taliban.<sup>10</sup>

In the other hand, there is an indirect soft power approach would consist of population-centric methods, and would contain features such as capacity building, economic development, and counter radicalization that focus on the underlying causes that allow terrorism to thrive. Robert Jervis argues that even if political oppression, weak states, poverty, and economic equality were the real root causes of terrorism. He said that "there is little reason to think that we could deal with them effectively". He concludes that we cannot point to solid evidence that doing so would make much difference". This is not to say that American involvement internationally would not include some form of economic and development assistance in weak and failing nations. But it is difficult to give aid to weak states like Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen and expect to be able to determine effectiveness in terms of countering terrorism. It may be more useful from a counterterrorism perspective to view terrorists as rational actors who adopt the tactic of terrorism as a strategic choice to pursue

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

political objectives, not as passive observers who are susceptible to what the supposed underlying causes force them to do.<sup>11</sup>

Related to this case, NATO as an international organizations which also creates policies to support their actions and missions has decided to do some military actions as their direct actions in this NATO's first "out of area" mission beyond Europe, Afghanistan. In brief, NATO which has entering Afghanistan since 2001 has purpose to stabilize and doing some reconstruction in Afghanistan. There are many ways about how NATO helps secure Afghanistan's future and prevent the country from being used as a base for terrorists again because Afghanistan used as a base for terrorists activities. One of their strategic mission is took command of ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) which is operating under a United Nations mandate and at the request of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup> The NATO-led ISAF itself has divided their action into two categorizes, hard measure and soft measure even though in the end, one of ISAF's key tasks is to help train and develop the Afghan National Army and security forces. In this part, writer will relating the military action as NATO's mission in military action. The hard measures which refers to military action is one of NATO's strategy in Afghanistan that focuses on extending security related to the recovery project after the long term war with the Taliban previously. NATO helps the Afghans to secure some of Afghan's areas which has been attacked by the Taliban several times.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> accessed from [www.nato.int/isaf](http://www.nato.int/isaf) on October 2011.

The other ISAF supporting security actions also include support provided to the Afghan government in the removal of heavy weapons which is belonging to terrorists, supporting the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, and assisted the Afghan government in the disarmament of illegally armed groups.

Besides hard measures in the mission of countering terrorism, there is also another way with soft power as their strategic to counterterrorism. There are many countries has been adopted this way as their mission to counterterrorism including doing some actions which refers to eradicate the extremism, one example comes from the United States of America which declare war for terrorism strictly. The United States of America has one top priority in their mission against terrorism. It is promoting an effective democracy in the states which are assumed as a base source place or safe havens for terrorists. The United States of America believed that they also have to promote freedom and human dignity as alternatives to the terrorists' vision of oppression and totalitarian rule. They are now not only employ the military power, but also use diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and law enforcement activities to protect their homeland and extend their defenses, disrupt terrorist operations, and deprive the terrorists about what they need to operate and survive.<sup>13</sup> In the latest actions of the United States mission in countering terrorism, it is happened in Afghanistan as one state of their targets. They do their effort deprived Al Qaida of safehaven in Afghanistan and helped a democratic government to rise in its place. And with the United States of

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<sup>13</sup> *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, September 2006.

America alliances in NATO, those missions are related to the mission of NATO in the soft measures. NATO helps the government of Afghanistan itself from the transition of governance under Hamid Karzai, the President of Afghanistan now, after Taliban collapsed and supporting governance to create a new era for Afghanistan in reconstruction and development which are also followed by the rules which represent the value of democracy.

#### **D. Writing Objective**

The objective of this research are to analyze and also describes the efforts of NATO in countering terrorism after the tragedy of 9/11,2011 in the United States of America,which, until today NATO is still doing their mission in Afghanistan. Then, writer wants to know their operations both of hard power also soft power.

#### **E. Hypotesis**

According to the above theoretical framework for answering the research question, the efforts of NATO in the mission for combating terrorism in Afghanistan are using two different actions,

1. Direct approaches as their hard power which is using the military approaches to help Afghanistan in security aspect by creating cooperation with the Afghan national security forces in ISAF.
2. Indirect approach as their soft power which is aimed to help the civilians in reconstruction and development in line with the Afghan government's priorities.

## **F. The Range Of Research**

The research is more focused on the mission of NATO in countering terrorism in Afghanistan in the Post 9/11 2001. It means that this research started from the presence of NATO in Afghanistan in 2001, this mission is a new mission for NATO itself, until the death of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan (10 years post 9/11 attacks). Writer chose this range because Osama Bin Laden is the main target of counterterrorism operations and he claimed as the main actor of 9/11 tragedy and a top terrorist in the world.

## **G. Method of Analysis and Research**

The method of collecting data is library research in which the data are secondary sources. Therefore, all data are taken from books, scientific papers, scientific journals, newspapers, websites, and other relevant resources data. Those data will be analyzed by the concept which is determined before. It is purposed to prove that the hypotheses can accurately answer the core of related problems. Although this undergraduate thesis uses a secondary data, the writer selects the accurate data and check the reliability of the data to accomplish the trustworthy research.

## **H. The Systematical Writing**

The first chapter is introduction which describes the brief explanation of the paper. It explains the background and also the main problem to be figured out. Besides, it also shows the research question and theoretical framework that used to explain the

core problems on the thesis which can finally draw the hypothesis that will be proved in the next chapters. Moreover, it will explain the objectives, range, method, and system of the research.

The second chapter will describe about the profile of NATO and also the dynamic of international politic. This will be explained the history of NATO in general including the profile and NATO's enlargement.

The third chapter will explain about the issues of terrorism post 9/11. It describes the tragedy of 9/11, the United States and global responds toward terrorism, including the United States policy about terrorism until their decision involving Afghanistan that claimed as a main base of terrorism. Moreover, it will explain about the Afghanistan itself that has an extremist Islamic militant, Taliban who claimed as a movement that facilitating terrorist to use Afghanistan as the terrorism safe haven.

The fourth chapter will explain the effort of NATO in countering terrorism which is their mission in Afghanistan. Their effort consists of two kinds of term, hard power and soft power. In this chapter, writer will explain more about how they do their operations in both terms, such as the use of military operations as the hard power action, involving democracy values which is cooperate with local government that done by many kind of soft power operations.

The fifth chapter is the closing part of this thesis which contains conclusion and summary.